







The Journal of  
**SOCIAL ISSUES**

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**VALUES IN CRISIS:  
RACISM, WAR AND THE  
CONCEPTION OF EVIL**

SELECTED PAPERS: 1968

J. Diedrick Snoek

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: 1968

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW

KURT LEWIN MEMORIAL ADDRESS: 1968

MORTON DEUTSCH

JOSEPH DE RIVERA

CAROL R. ANDREAS

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The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues is a group of over two thousand psychologists and allied social scientists who share a concern with research on the psychological aspects of important social issues. SPSSI is governed by Kurt Lewin's dictum that "there is nothing so practical as a good theory". In various ways, the Society seeks to bring theory and practice into focus on human problems of the group, the community, and the nation as well as the increasingly important ones that have no national boundaries. This Journal has as its goal the communication of scientific findings and interpretations in a non-technical manner but without the sacrifice of professional standards.

The Journal typically publishes a whole number on a single theme or topic. Proposals for new thematically integrated issues should be sent to the Incoming General Editor. (In addition, the Journal welcomes manuscripts for possible inclusion in an occasional issue devoted to separate articles of general interest to its readers, but with no necessary relationship to each other. Single manuscripts should be sent to the Singles Editor.)

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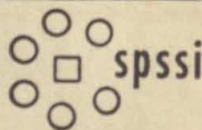
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JANUARY 1969 VOL. XXV NO. 1

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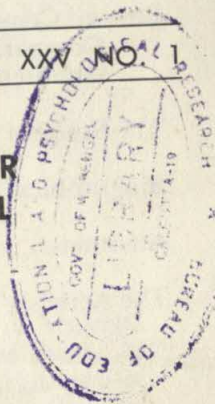
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### COMMENTS AND REJOINDERS

Readers wishing to discuss or comment upon any of the articles in this or subsequent issues of *JSI* may submit their reactions or criticisms to Dr. Joshua A. Fishman, General Editor, *JSI*, Yeshiva University, 55 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10003. Criticisms or observations of general interest will be published in a *Comments and Rejoinders* section of *JSI*.

### Forthcoming Issues

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## Introduction

J. Diedrick Snoek

Clark Science Center, Smith College

Racism and war, these are the major obsession of America in the 1960's. That the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues should stage a symposium on "The Legitimation of Evil", as it did at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association in 1967, is in itself an astounding turn of events. Two thoughtful papers arising out of that symposium, by Coser and Wolff respectively, are included in this issue. Two facets of *de facto* segregation in the schools are the subject of papers by Stinchcombe, McDill and Walker and by Teele and Mayo, while an old and well-known consequence of the stigma of race is reconsidered in the light of new data and theory by Asher and Allen. The opening paper by de Rivera considers some working assumptions of psychologists in dealing with problems of international relations. Andreas traces the curious history of the promotion of toys of violence during the early 1960's in one article, and presents her analysis of the consequences of foreign aid upon the recipients' attitudes in another paper. Thus the themes of racism and war are well represented among the papers that make up this selection.

The remaining papers in this issue cannot be so easily subsumed under any overriding theme. Kurokawa considers the forms in which psychological stress manifests itself in two highly tradition-oriented groups as a function of acculturation. Angrist considers the problem of studying sex roles, in a society in which sex role definitions are both vague and apparently changing. Friedman and Jacka offer an experiment in support of the conten-

tion that a group's cohesiveness may be a detriment in the conduct of intergroup negotiations.

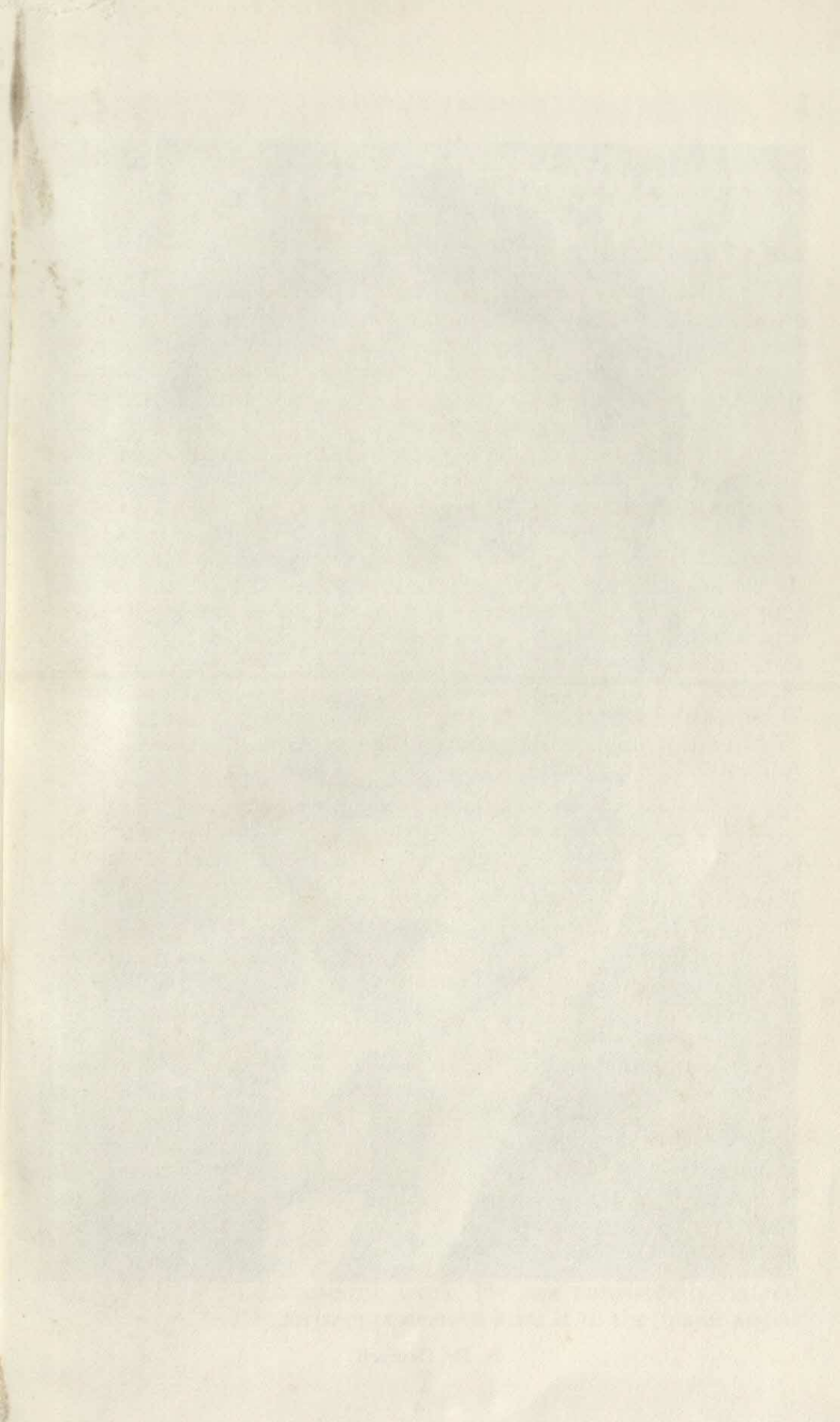
### **But a Faint Echo . . .**

Yet one cannot escape the impression that serious work on critical social issues is still but a faint echo of the struggles taking place in the Great Society *circa* 1968. With due deference to achievements of the past, many of us would probably be ready to admit that the social sciences are still a long way from either good prediction or solid understanding of the social behaviors that underlie the gripping drama of current events. How good are our theories of attitude change and social influence in accounting for the large scale movements of public opinion apparent in aggregate data? How solid a basis for public policies aimed at resolving social conflicts is provided by our current generalizations about the dynamics of group action? And conversely, are we taking the time and opportunity to learn from the variety of practical efforts aimed at political and community organization? What light is shed on our theories of socialization and personality by the reactions of young people to movements aimed at reform or revolution? This is only a sampling of the questions that ought to inform our thinking and research. Nevitt Sanford wrote in *The Activists' Corner* (*Journal of Social Issues*, XXIV, No. 3):

Action and inquiry must be viewed as *mutually* related; not only must action be based in knowledge but we may acquire further knowledge by taking action and studying its effects. It is only when efforts are made to change a social situation or institution that its underlying structure is revealed, making it possible to develop ideas that are useful in practice.

If ever the time was ripe for relating action and research, for practicing the diversity and originality of conceptual and methodological approaches that Sanford calls for, it is now.

In their decision to devote perhaps one issue yearly to a miscellaneous selection of papers, the editors of the *Journal* are giving recognition to the multiplicity of social issues, large and small, that is entailed in the gathering momentum of social change in which we find ourselves. In so doing, it seems to me, the *Journal* seeks to provide a forum where the issues can be articulated, analyzed and debated, often *before* a sizeable body of work and well-defined viewpoints have accumulated. The door is open, the challenge is everywhere around us: Your contributions are invited.





Dr. Deutsch

**The Kurt Lewin Memorial Award Presentation  
by  
The Society for the Psychological Study  
of Social Issues  
to  
Morton Deutsch**

The Kurt Lewin Memorial Award was established by the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues to honor Lewin's memory by honoring an individual for, as the official scroll reads, "furthering in his work, as did Kurt Lewin, the development and integration of psychological research and social action".

The Society this year honors Lewin and itself by presenting this award to Morton Deutsch. Dr. Morton Deutsch, who is a past president of the Society, studied with Kurt Lewin at MIT, and throughout his career has related to social issues as an involved scientist.

The major focus of his work has been on conflict resolution. His research has included studies of domestic social problems, as reported in his book on interracial housing; applications of research and analyses to the international scene, as in his "Preventing World War III: Some Proposals"; and a body of work on interpersonal bargaining, cooperation and competition. His concern with conflict resolution is exemplified as well in his individual psychotherapeutic work. He has consistently related social theory and experiments derived from it to the major social

issues of the day and has not shrunk from the conclusions to which his work led him.

Dr. Deutsch received the 1961 sociopsychological prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and during the 1966-67 academic year was Carl I. Hovland lecturer at Yale University. He is currently Director of the Social Psychology Laboratory at Teachers College, where he is Professor of Psychology and Education and head of the doctoral program in social psychology.

The thoughtful paper which he presents as the Lewin Memorial Address exemplifies his scholarly and original approach to his major area of work. In a sense, the essence of social psychology—and of Lewin's work—is the productive resolution of conflict. It is indeed fitting to present this award to Morton Deutsch, who as man and as scientist so well represents its spirit.

## **Kurt Lewin Memorial Award**

**granted by the Society for the  
Psychological Study of Social Issues  
to**

**Morton Deutsch**

**1968**

**for furthering in his work, as did  
Kurt Lewin, the Development and integration  
of psychological research and social action.**

Martin Deutsch, Ph.D.  
Director  
Institute for Developmental Studies  
Professor  
Early Childhood Education  
New York University

## Conflicts: Productive and Destructive\*

Morton Deutsch\*\*

Teachers College, Columbia University

It is a great honor and delight for me to receive the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award. As you know, Kurt Lewin has had a profound influence on my life and work. I have been influenced by his value orientations as well as his theoretical orientations. He believed that an intellectually significant social science has to be concerned with the problems of social action and social change and that intelligent social action has to be informed by theory and research. He rejected both a heartless science and a mindless social action. I am proud to have had this remarkable man as a teacher and as a guide.

I wish to discuss the characteristics of productive and destructive conflict and to consider the conditions which give rise to one or another type. Although actual conflicts are rarely purely benign or malign, it is useful for analytic purposes to consider the simple cases. Doing so highlights not only the differences in the outcomes of conflict but also the differences in types of processes by which the outcomes are derived.

Let me start with the dull but necessary chore of defining some of the key terms that I shall be using. A *conflict* exists whenever *incompatible* activities occur. The incompatible actions may

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\*Kurt Lewin Memorial Address given at the meetings of the American Psychological Association, September 1, 1968, in San Francisco.

\*\*Preparation of this paper was supported by a contract with the Office of Naval Research, Nonr-4294(00), and a grant from the National Science Foundation, GS-302.

originate in one person, in one group, in one nation; and such conflicts are called *intrapersonal*, *intragroup*, or *intranational*. Or they may reflect incompatible actions of two or more persons, groups or nations; such conflicts are called *interpersonal*, *intergroup*, or *international*. An action which is incompatible with another action prevents, obstructs, interferes with, injures, or in some way makes it less likely or less effective.

A conflict may arise from differences in information or belief (my wife thinks our son's mosquito bites are better treated by calamine lotion, while I think caladryl is better). It may reflect differences in interests, desires or values (I prefer to invest our savings in the stock market while my wife would prefer to spend it on winter vacations). It may occur as a result of a scarcity of some resource such as money, time, space, position (the more closet space that my wife uses for her clothing, the less space there is for my files). Or it may reflect a rivalry in which one person tries to outdo or undo the other.

### **"Competition" and "Conflict"**

The terms "competition" and "conflict" are often used synonymously or interchangeably. I believe such usage reflects a basic confusion. Although "competition" produces "conflict", not all instances of "conflict" reflect competition. Competition implies an opposition in the goals of the interdependent parties such that the probability of goal attainment for one decreases as the probability for the other increases. In conflict which is derived from competition, the incompatible actions reflect incompatible goals. However, conflict may occur even when there is no perceived or actual incompatibility of goals. Thus, if my wife and I are in conflict about how to treat our son's mosquito bites it is not because we have mutually exclusive goals; here, our goals are concordant. The distinction between "conflict" and "competition" is not one which I make merely to split hairs. It is an important one and is basic to a theme that underlies this paper: conflict can occur in a cooperative or competitive context and the processes of conflict resolution which are likely to be displayed will be strongly influenced by the context within which conflict occurs.

I am concerned with psychological or perceived conflict—i.e., conflicts which exist psychologically for the parties involved. I do not assume that perceptions are always veridical nor do I assume that actual incompatibilities are always perceived. Hence, it is important in characterizing any conflict to depict the objective

state of affairs, the state of affairs as perceived by the conflicting parties, and the interdependence between the objective and perceived realities. Let me illustrate some of the possibilities of misperception. I may perceive an incompatibility where there is none (my wife's clothes and my files may both be able to fit into our closets even though neither of us believes so); I may perceive an incompatibility as noncontingent but, in reality, it is contingent upon changeable features of the situation (her clothes and my files can both fit if I remove some shelves from the closet that are rarely used); I may experience the frustration and annoyance of incompatible actions without perceiving that they are due to conflict (my closet space may have become cramped and overcrowded because my wife has placed various objects into my space without my being aware of this); or I may perceive an incompatibility but make the wrong attribution so that I perceive the nature of the conflict incorrectly (I may blame my son for having put some of his things in my closet when it was done by my wife).

The possibility that the nature of a relationship may be misperceived indicates that the lack of conflict as well as the occurrence of conflict may be determined by misunderstanding or misinformation about the objective state of affairs. Thus, the presence or absence of conflict is never rigidly determined by the objective state of affairs. Apart from the possibility of misperception, psychological factors enter into the determination of conflict in yet another crucial way. Conflict is also determined by what is valued by the conflicting parties. Even the classical example of pure conflict—two starving men on a lifeboat with only enough food for the survival of one—loses its purity if one or both of the men have social or religious values which can become more dominant psychologically than the hunger need or the desire for survival.

The point of these remarks is that neither the occurrence nor the outcomes of conflict are completely and rigidly determined by objective circumstances. This means that the fates of the participants in a situation of conflict are not inevitably determined by the external circumstances in which they find themselves. Whether conflict takes a productive or destructive course is thus open to influence even under the most unfavorable objective conditions. Similarly, even under the most favorable objective circumstances, psychological factors can lead conflict to take a destructive course. I am not denying the importance of "real" conflicts but rather I am asserting that the psychological processes of perceiving and valuing are involved in turning objective conditions into experienced conflict.

## **"Constructive" and "Destructive"**

In the next section, I shall characterize the typical development and course of destructive and constructive conflicts. Here let me clarify what I mean by the value-laden terms "constructive" and "destructive". At the extremes, these terms are easy to define. Thus, a conflict clearly has destructive consequences if the participants in it are dissatisfied with the outcomes and all feel they have lost as a result of the conflict. Similarly, a conflict has productive consequences if the participants all are satisfied with their outcomes and feel that they have gained as a result of the conflict. Also, in most instances, a conflict whose outcomes are satisfying to all the participants will be more constructive than one which is satisfying to some and dissatisfying to others.

My characterization of destructive and constructive conflicts obviously has its roots in the ethical value "the greatest good for the greatest number". Admittedly, there are still considerable theoretical and empirical difficulties to be overcome before such a value can be operationalized with any generality or precision. It is, of course, easier to identify and measure satisfactions-dissatisfactions and gains-losses in simple laboratory conflict situations than it is in the complex conflicts of groups in everyday life. Yet even in the complex situations, it is not impossible to compare conflicts roughly in terms of their outcomes. In some instances, union-management negotiations may lead to a prolonged strike with considerable loss and ill-will resulting to both parties; in other instances it may lead to a mutually satisfying agreement where both sides obtain something they want. In some cases, a quarrel between a husband and wife will clear up unexpressed misunderstandings and lead to greater intimacy while in others it may produce only bitterness and estrangement.

One more definitional point. It is often useful to distinguish between the "manifest" conflict and the "underlying" conflict. Consider the conflict of an obsessional patient over whether or not she should check to see if she really turned off the stove, or the argument of two brothers over which TV program is to be tuned in, or the controversy between a school board and a teachers' union over the transfer of a teacher, or an international dispute involving alleged infractions of territory by alien aircraft. Each of these manifest conflicts may be symptomatic of underlying conflict: the obsessional patient may want to trust herself but be afraid that she has impulses which would be destructive if unchecked; the two brothers may be fighting to obtain what each considers to be his fair share of the family's rewards; and so on. "Manifest" conflict often cannot be resolved more than temporarily unless the underlying conflict is dealt with or unless it can be

disconnected and separated from the underlying conflict so that it can be treated in isolation.

I shall now turn to the basic questions to which this paper is addressed. What are the characteristic symptoms and courses of conflicts which end up one way or the other? What are the factors which make a conflict move in one direction or the other? I do not pretend that I have complete or even satisfying answers. Nevertheless, I hope that you will agree that these are questions which warrant attention.

### **The Course of Destructive Conflict**

Destructive conflict is characterized by a tendency to expand and to escalate. As a result, such conflict often becomes independent of its initiating causes and is likely to continue after these have become irrelevant or have been forgotten. Expansion occurs along the various dimensions of conflict: the size and number of the immediate issues involved; the number of the motives and participants implicated on each side of the issue; the size and number of the principles and precedents that are perceived to be at stake; the costs that the participants are willing to bear in relation to the conflict; the number of norms of moral conduct from which behavior toward the other side is exempted; and the intensity of negative attitudes toward the other side.

The processes involved in the intensification of conflict may be said, as Coleman (1957, 14) has expressed it, "to create a 'Gresham's Law of Conflict': the harmful and dangerous elements drive out those which would keep the conflict within bounds". Paralleling the expansion of the scope of conflict there is an increasing reliance upon a strategy of power and upon the tactics of threat, coercion, and deception. Correspondingly, there is a shift away from a strategy of persuasion and from the tactics of conciliation, minimizing differences, and enhancing mutual understanding and good-will. And within each of the conflicting parties, there is increasing pressure for uniformity of opinion and a tendency for leadership and control to be taken away from those elements that are more conciliatory and invested in those who are militantly organized for waging conflict through combat.

### **Three Interrelated Processes . . .**

The tendency to escalate conflict results from the conjunction of three interrelated processes: (a) competitive processes involved in the attempt to win the conflict; (b) processes of misperception and biased perception; and (c) processes of commitment arising out of pressures for cognitive and social consistency. These

processes give rise to a mutually reinforcing cycle of relations which generate actions and reactions that intensify conflict.

Other factors, of course, may serve to limit and encapsulate conflict so that a spiraling intensification does not develop. Here, I am referring to such factors as: the number and strength of the existing cooperative bonds, cross-cutting identifications, common allegiances and memberships among the conflicting parties; the existence of values, institutions, procedures and groups that are organized to help limit and regulate conflict; and the salience and significance of the costs of intensifying conflict. If these conflict-limiting factors are weak, it may be difficult to prevent a competitive conflict from expanding in scope. Even if they are strong, misjudgment and the pressures arising out of tendencies to be rigidly self-consistent may make it difficult to keep a competitive conflict encapsulated.

### Competitive Effects

Elsewhere (Deutsch 1962a, 1965a, in preparation) I have characterized the essential distinctions between a cooperative and competitive process and described their social psychological features in some detail. Here, I shall only highlight some of the main features of the competitive process. In a competitive encounter as one gains, the other loses. Unlike the cooperative situation where people have their goals linked so that everybody "sinks or swims" together, in the competitive situation if one swims, the others must sink.

Later in the paper, I shall detail some of the factors which lead the parties in a conflict to define their relationship as a competitive one. For the moment, let us assume that they have competitively defined their conflict and let us examine the consequences of doing so and also why these consequences tend to expand conflict. Typically, a competitive process tends to produce the following effects:

- . . . (a) Communication between the conflicting parties is unreliable and impoverished. The available communication channels and opportunities are not utilized or they are used in an attempt to mislead or intimidate the other. Little confidence is placed in information that is obtained directly from the other; espionage and other circuitous means of obtaining information are relied upon. The poor communication enhances the possibility of error and misinformation of the sort which is likely to reinforce the preexisting orientations and expectations toward the other. Thus, the ability to notice and

respond by the other away from a win-lose orientation becomes impaired.

- . . . (b) It stimulates the view that the solution of the conflict can only be of the type that is imposed by one side on the other by superior force, deception, or cleverness—an outlook which is consistent with the definition of the conflict as competitive or win-lose in nature. The enhancement of one's own power and the complementary minimization of the other's power become objectives. The attempt to create or maintain a power difference favorable to one's own side by each of the conflicting parties tends to expand the scope of the conflict as it enlarges from a focus on the immediate issue in dispute to a conflict over who shall have the power to impose his preference upon the other.
- . . . (c) It leads to a suspicious, hostile attitude which increases the sensitivity to differences and threats, while minimizing the awareness of similarities. This, in turn, makes the usually accepted norms of conduct and morality which govern one's behavior toward others who are similar to oneself less applicable. Hence, it permits behavior toward the other which would be considered outrageous if directed toward someone like oneself. Since neither side is likely to grant moral superiority to the other, the conflict is likely to escalate as one side or the other engages in behavior that is morally outrageous to the other side. Of course, if the conflicting parties both agree, implicitly or explicitly, on the rules for waging competitive conflict and adhere to the agreement then this agreement serves to limit the escalation of conflict.

## Misjudgment and Misperception

In our preceding discussion of the effects of competition, it was evident that impoverished communication, hostile attitudes, and oversensitivity to differences could lead to distorted views of the other which could intensify and perpetuate conflict. In addition to the distortions that are natural to the competitive process, there are other distortions which commonly occur in the course of interaction. Elsewhere (Deutsch 1962b, 1965b) I have described some of the common sources of misperception in interactional situations. Many of these misperceptions function to transform a conflict into a competitive struggle even if the conflict did not emerge from a competitive relationship.

Here let me illustrate with the implications of a simple psychological principle: *the perception of any act is determined both by our perception of the act itself and by our perception of the context in which the act occurs.* The contexts of social acts are often not immediately given in perception and often they are not obvious. When the context is not obvious, we tend to assume a familiar context—a context which is most likely in terms of our own past experience. Since both the present situations and past experience of the actor and perceiver may be rather different, it is not surprising that they will interpret the same act quite differently. Misunderstandings of this sort, of course, are very likely when the actor and the perceiver come from different cultural backgrounds and are not fully informed about these differences. A period of rapid social change also makes such misunderstandings widespread as the gap between the past and the present widens.

Given the fact that the ability to place oneself in the other's shoes is notoriously underdeveloped in most people and also that this ability is further impaired by stress and inadequate information, it is not astonishing that certain typical biases emerge in the perceptions of actions during conflict. Thus, since most people are motivated to maintain a favorable view of themselves but are less strongly motivated to hold such a view of others, it is not surprising that there is a bias toward perceiving one's own behavior toward the other as being more benevolent and more legitimate than the other's behavior toward oneself. Here I am simply restating a well-demonstrated psychological truth: namely, the evaluation of an act is affected by the evaluation of its source: the source is part of the context of behavior. Research, for example, has shown that American students are likely to rate more favorably an action of the United States directed toward the Soviet Union than the same action directed by the Soviet Union toward the United States. We are likely to view American espionage activities in the Soviet Union as more benevolent than similar activities by Soviet agents in the United States.

If each side in a conflict tends to perceive its own motives and behavior as more benevolent and legitimate than those of the other side, it is evident that conflict will spiral upward in intensity. If "Acme" perceives its actions as a benevolent and legitimate way of interfering with actions that "Bolt" has no right to engage in, "Acme" will certainly be amazed by the intensity of "Bolt's" hostile response and will have to escalate his counter-action to negate "Bolt's" response. But how else is "Bolt" likely to act if he perceives his own actions as well-motivated? And how likely he is to respond to "Acme's" escalation with still further counterescalation if he is capable of so doing!

To the extent that there is a biased perception of benevolence and legitimacy, one could also expect that there will be a parallel bias in what is considered to be an equitable agreement for resolving conflict: should not differential legitimacy be differentially rewarded? The biased perceptions of what is a fair compromise makes agreement more difficult and, thus, extends conflict. Another consequence of the biased perception of benevolence and legitimacy is reflected in the asymmetries between trust and suspicion, and between cooperation and competition. Trust, when violated, is more likely to turn into suspicion than negated suspicion is to turn into trust. Similarly, it is easier to move in the direction from cooperation to competition than from competition to cooperation.

### **Other Processes Leading to Misperception**

There are, of course, other types of processes leading to misperceptions and misjudgments. In addition to the distortions arising from the pressures for self-consistency and social conformity (which are discussed below), the intensification of conflict may induce stress and tension beyond a moderate optimal level and this over-activation, in turn, often leads to an impairment of perceptual and cognitive processes in several ways: it reduces the range of perceived alternatives; it reduces the time-perspective in such a way as to cause a focus on the immediate rather than the over-all consequences of the perceived alternatives; it polarizes thought so that percepts tend to take on a simplistic cast of being "black" or "white", "for" or "against", "good" or "evil"; it leads to stereotyped responses; it increases the susceptibility to fear- or hope-inciting rumors; it increases defensiveness; it increases the pressures to social conformity. In effect, excessive tension reduces the intellectual resources available for discovering new ways of coping with a problem or new ideas for resolving a conflict. Intensification of conflict is the likely result as simplistic thinking and the polarization of thought pushes the participants to view their alternatives as being limited to "victory" or "defeat".

Paradoxically, it should also be noted that the very availability of intellectual and other resources which can be used for waging conflict may make it difficult, at the onset of conflict, to forecast the outcome of an attempt to impose one's preference upon the other. Less inventive species than man can pretty well predict the outcome of a contest by force through aggressive gesturing and other display of combat potential; thus, they rarely have to engage in combat to settle "who shall get what, when". The versatility of man's techniques for achieving domination over

other men makes it likely that combat will arise because the combatants have discordant judgments of the potential outcomes. Unlike his hairy ancestors, the "naked ape" cannot agree in advance who will win. Misjudgment of the other side's willingness and capability of fighting has sometimes turned controversy into combat as increased tension has narrowed the perceived outcomes of conflict to victory or defeat.

## Processes of Commitment

It has long been recognized that people tend to act in accord with their beliefs; more recently, Festinger has emphasized in his theory of cognitive dissonance that the converse is also often true: people tend to make their beliefs and attitudes accord with their actions. The result of this pressure for self-consistency may lead to an unwitting involvement in and intensification of conflict as one's actions have to be justified to oneself and to others. The tragic course of American involvement in the civil war in Vietnam provides an illustration.

In an unpublished paper presented over two years ago (1966) I wrote:

How did we get involved in this ridiculous and tragic situation: a situation in which American lives and resources are being expended in defense of a people who are being more grievously injured and who are becoming more bitterly antagonistic to us the more deeply we become involved in their internal conflict? How is it that we have become so obsessed with the war in South Vietnam that we are willing to jettison our plans for achieving a Great Society at home, neglect the more important problems in South America and India, and risk destroying our leadership abroad? Not so long ago, we had a different view of the importance of Vietnam. In 1954, despite urgent French pleas, President Eisenhower refused to let the American military intervene even if all of Vietnam should fall. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, at that time, vehemently opposed the use of American soldiers in this far-off land.

Now that we are massively involved in South Vietnam, we hear many different rationalizations of our involvement: Dean Rusk has cited the SEATO treaty commitment but as Richard N. Goodwin has pointed out in *The New Yorker* (April 16, 1966): "No adviser in the highest councils ever urged action on the basis of the SEATO treaty; none, as far as I know, ever mentioned the existence of such a pledge. And, in fact, there was no such commitment". Efforts to justify our involvement in terms of showing the communists that internal subversion does not pay are also not convincing: would they not have already learned from Greece, Malaya, the Philippines, the Congo and Burma, if this was the lesson that had to be taught? Similarly, how persuasive is the "domino theory" when such big dominoes as China, itself, and also such small ones as Cuba have fallen without creating any noticeable domino effect? Nor can we claim "defense

of freedom" as our justification when we consider how undemocratic the governments of South Vietnam have been—from Diem's to Ky's.

Why then are we involved in the war in South Vietnam?

### *Continued Involvement Justifies Past Involvement . . .*

The most direct statement of the reason for our continued involvement is the fact that we are involved: our continued involvement justifies our past involvement. Once involved it is exceedingly difficult to disengage and to admit, thereby, how purposeless and unwitting our past involvement has been. I am stating, in other words, that we are not involved because of any large strategic or moral purpose and that any such purposes we now impute to our involvement are *ex post facto* rationalizations.

As a nation, we stumbled into the conflict in South Vietnam under the mistaken assumption that "victory might come easily and with little pain". At every step of increasing involvement, we were led to believe that with some small additional help (economic aid, then military advisers, then the use of American helicopters, then the combat use of American soldiers, then massive air intervention by American planes, then bombing of the North, then massive intervention of American troops, and so on) we would not risk a major conflict but yet would help to build an independent, stable country that could stand on its own feet. We have over and over again acted on the tempting assumption that with just a little more investment we would prevent the whole thing from going down the drain.

This type of assumption is one with which we are familiar in connection with the psychology of gambling. We all know of the losing gambler, getting deeper and deeper into a hole, who keeps on betting with the hope that by so doing he will recover his initial losses. Not all losing gamblers submit to the gambler's temptation of course. But those whose sense of omnipotence is at stake, those who are too proud to recognize that they cannot overcome the odds against them are vulnerable to this type of disastrous temptation. Are we, as a nation, so committed to a view of ourselves as omnipotent that we cannot recognize that we are making the wrong gamble?

### *Gradual and Unwitting Commitment*

In addition to the gambler's temptation, I shall describe briefly three other processes of gradual and unwitting commitment. One is the much-discussed process of *dissonance-reduction*. As Festinger (1961) has pointed out: "rats and people come to love the things for which they have suffered". Presumably they do so in order to reduce the dissonance induced by the suffering and their method of dissonance-reduction is to enhance the attractiveness of the choice which led to their suffering: only if what one chose was really worthwhile would all of the associated suffering be tolerable. Have we not increased what we perceive to be at stake in the Vietnam conflict as it has become more and more costly for us? We are now at the point where we are told that our national honor, our influence as a world leader, our national security are in the balance in the conflict over this tragic little land.

Silvan Tomkins (Tomkins and Izard, 1965) has described a process

of *circular, incremental magnification* which also helps to explain the widening of involvement and the monopolization of thought. He suggests that it occurs if there is a sequence of events of this type: threat, successful defense, breakdown of defense and re-emergence of threat, second successful new defense, second breakdown of defense and re-emergence of threat, and so on until an expectation is generated that no matter how successful a defense against a dreaded contingency may seem, it will prove unavailing and require yet another defense. This process is circular and incremental since each new threat requires a more desperate defense and the successive breakdown of each newly improved defense generates a magnification of the nature of the threat and the concurrent affect which it evokes. The increasing and obsessive preoccupation with Vietnam may, in part, reflect just such a process: time and time again, we have assumed that a new and more powerful defense or assault against the Vietcong would do the trick only to find that a new and more powerful military commitment was required. By now, according to newspaper reports, Vietnam almost monopolizes the thinking of our national leaders and the attention given to more fundamental concerns is minimized.

### *Situational Entrapment*

Let me, finally, turn to an everyday process of unwitting involvement: *situational entrapment*. The characteristic of this process is that behavior is typically initiated under the assumption that the environment is compliant rather than reactive—that it responds as a tool for one's purposes rather than as a self-maintaining system. Well-intentioned actions sometimes produce effects opposite to those intended because the actions do not take into account the characteristics of the setting in which they take place. By now, we are all aware that an unintended consequence of some public health measures in Latin America was the population explosion. Only now, are we beginning to recognize that some consequences of the types of aid we have given to some underdeveloped countries is to hinder their economic development and to foster a need for ever-increasing aid. Similarly, one may propose that the nature of the American intervention in Vietnam has served to weaken the opposition to the Vietcong, demoralize those in Vietnam who were able and willing to rely on the Vietnamese to solve their problems without foreign control, increase the strength and resolution of the Vietcong, and otherwise produce the responses which would require an increasing involvement and commitment of American resources and men just to prevent an immediate overturn of the situation.

I have used the war in Vietnam to illustrate the process of unwitting involvement in the intensification of conflict. It could also be used to indicate the consequences of a competitive process of resolving our conflicts with Communist China, North Vietnam and the Vietcong. There has been little in the way of open and honest communication, there has been massive and mutual misperception and misunderstanding, there has been intense mutual suspicion and hostility, there has been derogation of the possibilities of agreement other than those imposed by force, there has been a widening of the scope of the issues in conflict and an escalation of the force employed, and there was an increasing attempt to polarize loyalties and allegiances about this one area of conflict.

A destructive conflict such as the one in which we have been engaged in Vietnam can be brought to a conclusion because the costs of continuing the conflict becomes so large in relation to any values that might be obtained through its continuance that its senselessness becomes compellingly apparent. The senselessness is likely to be most apparent to those who have not been the decision-makers and thus have little need to justify the conflict, and to those who bear the costs most strongly. Destructive conflict can, also, be aborted before running its full course if there is a strong enough community or strong third parties who can compel the conflicting parties to end their violence. We in the United States are in the unfortunate position that relative to our prestige and power there is neither a disinterested third party nor an international community that is powerful enough to motivate us to accept a compromise when we think our own interests may be enhanced by the outcome of a competitive struggle. Peace in Vietnam might have occurred much earlier if the UN, or even our friends, could have influenced us.

## Productive Conflict

It has been long recognized that conflict is not inherently pathological or destructive. Its very pervasiveness suggests that it has many positive functions. It prevents stagnation, it stimulates interest and curiosity, it is the medium through which problems can be aired and solutions arrived at; it is the root of personal and social change. Conflict is often part of the process of testing and assessing oneself and, as such, may be highly enjoyable as one experiences the pleasure of the full and active use of one's capacities. Conflict, in addition, demarcates groups from one another and, thus, helps to establish group and personal identities; external conflict often fosters internal cohesiveness. Moreover, as Coser (1956, 154) has indicated:

In loosely-structured groups and open societies, conflict, which aims at a resolution of tension between antagonists, is likely to have stabilizing and integrative functions for the relationship. By permitting immediate and direct expression of rival claims, such social systems are able to readjust their structures by eliminating the sources of dissatisfaction. The multiple conflicts which they experience may serve to eliminate the causes for dissociation and to re-establish unity. These systems avail themselves, through the toleration and institutionalization of conflict, of an important stabilizing mechanism.

I stress the positive functions of conflict, and I have by no means provided an exhaustive listing, because many discussions of conflict cast it in the role of the villain as though conflict *per se* were the cause of psychopathology, social disorder, war. The

question I wish to raise now is whether there are any distinguishing features in the process of resolving conflict which lead to the constructive outcomes? Do lively, productive controversies have common patterns that are distinctive from those characterizing deadly quarrels?

### **In the Literature . . .**

I must confess that as I started to work on this paper I had expected to find in the social science literature more help in answering these questions than I have found so far. The writings, for example, on personality development, unfortunately, have little to say about productive conflict; the focus is on pathological conflict. Similarly, the voluminous literature on social conflict neglects productive conflict between groups. It is true that the long standing negative view of social conflict has yielded to an outlook which stresses the social functions of conflict. Nevertheless, apart from the writings of people connected with the "non-violence" movement little attempt has been made to distinguish between conflicts that achieve social change through a process that is destructive from one that is mutually rewarding to the parties involved in the conflict. Yet change can take place either as it has at Columbia, through a process of confrontation which is costly to the conflicting groups, or it can take place through a process of problem-solving, as it has at Teachers College, which is mutually rewarding to the conflicting groups.

My own predilections have led me to the hunch that the major features of productive conflict resolution are likely to be similar, at the individual level, to the processes involved in creative thinking and, at the social level, to the processes involved in co-operative group problem-solving. Let me first turn to the process involved in creative thinking. For an incisive, critical survey of the existing literature I am indebted to Stein (1968).

### **Creative Thinking**

The creative process has been described as consisting of several overlapping phases. Although various authors differ slightly in characterizing the phases, they all suggest some sequence such as the following:

- . . . (a) An initial period which leads to the experiencing and recognition of a problem which is sufficiently arousing to motivate efforts to solve it.
- . . . (b) Second, a period of concentrated effort to solve the problem through routine, readily available, or habitual actions.



- . . . (c) Then, with the failure of customary processes to solve the problem, there is an experience of frustration, tension, and discomfort which leads to a temporary withdrawal from the problem.
- . . . (d) During this incubation period of withdrawal and distancing from the problem it is perceived from a different perspective and is reformulated in a way which permits new orientations to a solution to emerge.
- . . . (e) Next, a tentative solution appears in a moment of insight often accompanied by a sense of exhilaration.
- . . . (f) Then, the solution is elaborated and detailed and tested against reality. And
- . . . (g) finally, the solution is communicated to relevant audiences.

There are three key psychological elements in this process:

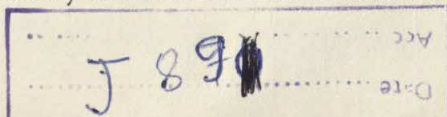
- . . . (a) the arousal of an appropriate level of motivation to solve the problem;
- . . . (b) the development of the conditions which permit the reformulation of the problem once an impasse has been reached; and
- . . . (c) the concurrent availability of diverse ideas which can be flexibly combined into novel and varied patterns.

Each of these key elements are subject to influence from social conditions and the personalities of the problem-solvers.

## The Arousal of the Optimal Level of Motivation

Consider the arousal of an optimal level of motivation, a level sufficient to sustain problem-solving efforts despite frustrations and impasses and yet not so intense that it overwhelms or that it prevents distancing from the problem. Neither undue smugness nor satisfaction with things as they are nor a sense of helplessness, terror or rage are likely to lead to an optimal motivation to recognize and face a problem or conflict. Nor will a passive readiness to acquiesce to the demands of the environment; nor will the willingness to fit oneself into the environment no matter how poorly it fits oneself. Optimal motivation, rather, presupposes an alert readiness to be dissatisfied with things as they are and a freedom to confront one's environment without excessive fear, combined with a confidence in one's capacities to persist in the face of obstacles. The intensity of motivation that is optimal will vary with the effectiveness with which it can be controlled: the more effective the controls, the more intense the motivation can be without its having disruptive consequences.

Thus, one of the creative functions of conflict resides in its ability to arouse motivation to solve a problem which might other-



wise go unattended. A scholar who exposes his theories and research to the scrutiny of his peers may be stimulated to a deeper analysis when he is confronted with conflicting data and theoretical analysis by a colleague. Similarly, individuals and groups who have authority and power and who are satisfied with the status quo may be aroused to recognize problems and be motivated to work on them as opposition from the dissatisfied makes the customary relations and arrangements unworkable and unrewarding. They may be motivated also by being helped to perceive the possibilities of more satisfying relations and arrangements. Acceptance of the necessity of a change in the status quo rather than a rigid, defensive adherence to previously existing positions is most likely, however, when the circumstances arousing new motivations suggest courses of action that contain minimal threat to the social or self-esteem of those who must change.

### *Threats Induce Defensiveness*

Thus, although acute dissatisfaction with things as they are, on the one hand, and the motivation to recognize and work at problems on the other, are necessary for creative solutions, they are not sufficient. The circumstances conducive to creativity are varied but they have in common that "they provide the individual with an environment in which he does not feel threatened and in which he does not feel under pressure. He is relaxed but alert" (Stein, 1968). Threat induces defensiveness and reduces the tolerance of ambiguity as well as openness to the new and unfamiliar; excessive tension leads to a primitivization and stereotyping of thought processes. As Rokeach (1960) has pointed out, threat and excessive tension leads to the "closed" rather than "open" mind. To entertain novel ideas which may at first seem wild and implausible, to question initial assumptions or the framework within which the problem or conflict occurs, the individual needs the freedom or courage to express himself without fear of censure. In addition, he needs to become sufficiently detached from his original viewpoints to be able to see the conflict from new perspectives.

Although an unpressured and unthreatening environment facilitates the restructuring of a problem or conflict, and, by so doing, makes it more amenable to solution, the ability to reformulate a problem and to develop solutions is, in turn, dependent upon the availability of cognitive resources. Ideas are important for the creative resolution of conflict and any factor which broadens the range of ideas and alternatives cognitively available to the participants in a conflict will be useful. Intelligence, the exposure to diverse experiences, an interest in ideas, a preference for the

novel and complex, a receptivity to metaphors and analogies, the capacity to make remote associations, independence in judgment, the ability to play with ideas are some of the personal factors which characterize creative problem-solvers. The availability of ideas is also dependent upon social conditions such as the opportunity to communicate with and be exposed to other people who may have relevant and unfamiliar ideas (i.e., experts, impartial outsiders, people with similar or analogous situations), a social atmosphere which values innovation and originality and which encourages the exchange of ideas, and a social tradition which fosters the optimistic view that, with effort and time, constructive solutions can be discovered or invented to problems which seem initially intractable.

Let me note that in my view the application of full cognitive resources to the discovery and invention of constructive solutions of conflict is relatively rare. Resources are much more available for the waging of conflict. The research and development expenditures on techniques of conflict waging or conflict suppression, as well as the actual expenditures on conflict-waging, dwarf the expenditures for peace-building. This is obviously true at the national level where military expenditures dominate our national budget. I would contend that this is also true at the interpersonal and intergroup levels. At the interpersonal level, most of us receive considerable training in waging or suppressing conflict and we have elaborate institutions for dealing with adversary relations and for custodial care of the psychological casualties of interpersonal conflict. In contrast, there is little formal training in techniques of constructive conflict resolution, and the institutional resources for helping people to resolve conflicts are meagre indeed.

## Cooperative Problem-Solving

In a cooperative context, a conflict can be viewed as a common problem in which the conflicting parties have the joint interest of reaching a mutually satisfactory solution. As I have suggested earlier in the paper, there is nothing inherent in most conflicts which makes it impossible for the resolution of conflict to take place in a cooperative context through a cooperative process. It is, of course, true that the occurrence of cooperative conflict resolution is less likely in certain circumstances and in certain types of conflict than in others. We shall consider some of the predisposing circumstances in a later section.

There are a number of reasons why a cooperative process is likely to lead to productive conflict resolution:

- . . . (a) It aids open and honest communication of relevant information between the participants. The freedom to share information enables the parties to go beneath the manifest to the underlying issues involved in the conflict and, thereby, to facilitate the meaningful and accurate definition of the problems they are confronting together. It also enables each party to benefit from the knowledge possessed by the other and, thus, to face the joint problem with greater intellectual resources. In addition, open and honest communication reduces the likelihood of the development of misunderstandings which can lead to confusion and mistrust.
- . . . (b) It encourages the recognition of the legitimacy of each other's interests and of the necessity of searching for a solution which is responsive to the needs of each side. It tends to limit rather than expand the scope of conflicting interests and, thus, minimizes the need for defensiveness. It enables the participants to approach the mutually acknowledged problem in a way which utilizes their special talents and enables them to substitute for one another in their joint work so that duplication of effort is reduced. Influence attempts tend to be limited to processes of persuasion. The enhancement of mutual resources and mutual power become objectives.
- . . . (c) It leads to a trusting, friendly attitude which increases sensitivity to similarities and common interests, while minimizing the salience of differences. However, one of the common pathologies of cooperation (Deutsch, 1962a) is expressed in premature agreement: a superficial convergence in beliefs and values before the underlying differences have been exposed.

It can be seen that a cooperative process produces many of the characteristics that are conducive to creative problem-solving—openness, lack of defensiveness, full utilization of available resources. However, in itself, cooperation does not insure that problem-solving efforts will be successful. Such other factors as the imaginativeness, experience and flexibility of the parties involved are also determinative. Nevertheless, if the cooperative relationship is a strong one it can withstand failure and temporarily deactivate or postpone conflict. Or, if it cannot be delayed, cooperative relations will help to contain destructive conflict so that the contest for supremacy occurs under agreed upon rules.

## Controlled Competitive Conflict

So far my discussion has centered on unregulated conflict. I have considered characteristics of a destructive competitive process in which the outcomes are determined by a power struggle and also those of a cooperative process in which the outcomes are determined by joint problem-solving. However, it is evident that competitive conflict, because of its destructive potential, is rarely unregulated. It is limited and controlled by institutional forms (e.g., collective bargaining, the judicial system), social roles (mediators, conciliators, referees, judges, policemen), social norms ("fairness", "justice", "equality", "nonviolence", "integrity of communication", etc.) rules for conducting negotiations (when to initiate and terminate negotiations, how to set an agenda, how to present demands, etc.) and specific procedures ("hinting" versus "explicit" communication, public versus private sessions, etc.). These societal forms may be aimed at regulating how force may be employed (as in the code of a duel of honor or in certain rules of warfare), or it may be an attempt to ascertain the basic power relations of the disputants without resort to a power struggle (as is often the case in the negotiations of collective bargaining and international relations), or it may be oriented toward removing power as the basis for determining the outcome of conflict (as is often the case in judicial processes).

With regard to regulated conflict, it is pertinent to ask what are the conditions which make it likely that the regulations will be adhered to by the parties in conflict? In a duel of honor, when would a duelist prefer to die rather than cheat? These questions, if pursued along relevant intellectual lines would lead to an examination of different forms of rule violation and social deviance, their genesis and control. Such an investigation is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it seems reasonable to assert that adherence to the rules is more likely when: (a) the rules are known, unambiguous, consistent, and unbiased; (b) the other adheres to the rules; (c) violations are quickly known by significant others; (d) there is significant social approval for adherence and significant social disapproval for violation; (e) adherence to the rules has been rewarding while uncontrolled conflict has been costly in the past; and (f) one would like to be able to employ the rules in future conflicts. Undoubtedly, the most critical influence serving to encapsulate and control competitive conflict is the existence of common membership in a community which is strong enough to evoke habitual compliance to its values and procedures and also confident enough of its strength to tolerate internal struggles.

There are several productive possibilities which inhere in regulated conflict. It provides a basis for resolving a conflict when no other basis for agreement can be reached: "first choice" goes to the winner of the contest. However, the winner is not necessarily the sole survivor as may be the case in an uncontrolled test of power. The values and procedures regulating the conflict may select the winner on some other basis than the relative combat strength of the contestants. A conflict between husband and wife or between the United States and one of its citizens may be settled by a judicial process which permits the contestant with a stronger legal claim to win even though his physical prowess may be weaker. Or, the rules may make the contest one of intellectual rather than physical power. Thus, by the regulation of conflict a society may encourage the survival of certain values and the extinction of others because the rules for conducting conflict reflect the values of the society.

Also, insofar as a framework for limiting a conflict exists it may encourage the development of the conflict sufficiently to prevent "premature cooperation". The fear of the consequences of unrestrained conflict may lead to a superficial, unsatisfying and unstable agreement before the underlying issues in the conflict have been worked through. The freedom to push deeper into a conflict because some of its potential dangers have been eliminated is, of course, one of the characteristics of creative conflict resolution. However, for the conflict to be contained as it deepens, there must be a community which is strong enough to bind the conflicting parties to the values and procedures regulating conflict. If the direct or mediated cooperative interests of the conflicting parties are weak, the control process is likely to fail or be subverted; the agreements arrived at will be challenged and undermined; conflict will escalate and take a destructive turn. Effective regulation presupposes a firm basis of confidence in the mutual allegiance to the procedures limiting conflict.

## **Conditions Which Influence the Course of Conflict Resolution**

I now turn to a consideration of the factors which tend to elicit one or the other process of conflict resolution. First, I shall consider the question: What gives rise to a destructive or constructive course of conflict? Next, I shall consider the more difficult question: What can be done to change a destructive conflict into a constructive one?

## Factors Determining the Course of Conflict

There are innumerable specific factors which may influence the course which a conflict takes. It is useful to have some simplifying outline that highlights central determinants and permits a proliferation of detail as this becomes necessary.

### *Process*

In the preceding sections, I have indicated that the characteristic strategies and tactics elicited by cooperative and competitive processes tend to be self-confirming and self-perpetuating. The strategy of power and the tactics of coercion, threat and deception result from and result in a competitive orientation. Similarly, the strategy of mutual problem-solving and the tactics of persuasion, openness and sharing elicit and are elicited by a cooperative orientation. However, cooperation which is reciprocated by competition is more likely to end up as mutual competition than mutual cooperation.

### *Prior Relationship*

The stronger and the more salient the existing cooperative as compared with the competitive bonds linking the conflicting parties, the more likely it is that a conflict will be resolved cooperatively. The total strength of the cooperative bonds is a function of their importance as well as their number. There are obviously many different types of bonds that could be enumerated: superordinate goals, mutually facilitating interests, common allegiances and values, linkages to a common community, and the like. These bonds are important to the extent that they serve significant needs successfully. Thus, experiences of successful prior cooperative relationships together enhance the likelihood of present cooperation; experiences of failure and disillusionment in attempts to cooperate make it unlikely. On the other hand, the past experience of costly competitive conflict does not necessarily enhance the probability of cooperation, although this is a possible result.

### *The Nature of the Conflict*

Here I wish to highlight several major dimensions of conflict: the size (scope, importance, centrality), rigidity and interconnectedness of the issues in conflict.

Roger Fisher (1964), in a brilliant paper entitled "Fractionating Conflict", has pointed out that "issue control" may be as important as "arms control" in the management of conflict. His thesis is the familiar one that small conflicts are easier to resolve than large ones. However, he also points out that the participants

may have a choice in defining the conflict as a large or small one. Conflict is enlarged by dealing with it as a conflict between large rather than small units (as a conflict between two individuals of different races or as a racial conflict), as a conflict over a large substantive issue rather than a small one (over "being treated fairly" or "being treated unfairly at a particular occasion"), as a conflict over a principle rather than the application of a principle, as a conflict whose solution establishes large rather than small substantive or procedural precedents. Many other determinants of conflict size could be listed. For example, an issue which bears upon self-esteem or change in power or status is likely to be more important than an issue which does not. Illegitimate threat or attempts to coerce are likely to increase the size of the conflict and thus increase the likelihood of a competitive process.

"Issue rigidity" refers to the availability of satisfactory alternatives or substitutes for the outcomes initially at stake in the conflict. Although motivational and intellectual rigidity may lead the parties in conflict to perceive issues more rigidly than reality dictates, it is also evident that certain issues are less conducive to cooperative resolution than others. "Greater power over the other", "victory over the other", "having more status than the other" are rigid definitions of conflict since it is impossible on any given issue for both parties in conflict to have outcomes which are superior to the other's.

Many conflicts do not, of course, center on only one issue. If the issues are separable or sufficiently uncorrelated, it is possible for one side to gain on one issue and the other side to find satisfaction in another issue. This possibility is enhanced if the parties do not have the same evaluations: if issue A is important to one and not the other, while the reverse is true for issue B.

### *The Characteristics of the Parties in Conflict*

Ideology, personality and position may lead to a more favorable evaluation of one process than the other. The strategy and tactics associated with competitive struggle may seem more manly or intriguing than those associated with cooperation: consider the contrasting popular images of the soldier and of the diplomat. Similarly, the characteristics of the individual parties to a conflict will help determine the size and rigidity of the issues that they perceive to be in conflict and also their skill and available resources for handling conflict one way or another.

In addition, conflict and dissension within each party may affect the course of conflict between them. Internal conflict will often either increase external belligerence as a tactic to increase internal cohesiveness or lead to external weakness and possibly

tempt the other side to obtain a competitive advantage. Internal instability also interferes with cooperative conflict resolution by making it difficult to work out a durable, dependable agreement.

### *Estimations of Success*

Many conflicts have an unplanned, expressive character in which the course of action taken is an expression both of the quality of the relationship between the participants and of the characteristics of the individual participants. Other conflicts are guided by an instrumental orientation in which courses of action are consciously evaluated and chosen in terms of how likely they are to lead to satisfying outcomes. Many factors influencing the estimations of success of the different processes of conflict resolution could be listed. Those who perceive themselves to have a clear superiority in power are likely to favor an unregulated competitive process; those who perceive themselves as having a legal superiority in "rights" are likely to favor adversary relations that are regulated by legal institutions; those who are concerned with the long-range relationships, with the ability to work together in the future are more likely to favor a cooperative process. Similarly, those who have been excluded from the cooperative process and expect the regulations to be stacked against them may think of the competitive process as the only one offering any potential of satisfaction.

### *Third Parties*

The attitudes, strength and resources of interested third parties are often crucial determinants. Thus, a conflict is more likely to be resolved cooperatively if powerful and prestigious third parties encourage such a resolution and help to provide problem-solving resources (institutions, facilities, personnel, social norms and procedures) to expedite discovery of a mutually satisfactory solution.

## **Changing the Course of Conflict**

From much that I have stated earlier, it is evident that I believe that a *mutually* cooperative orientation is likely to be the most productive orientation for resolving conflict. Yet it must be recognized that the orientations of the conflicting parties may not be mutual. One side may experience the conflict and be motivated to resolve it; the other side may be content with things as they are and not even aware of the other's dissatisfaction. Or both may recognize the conflict but one may be oriented to a win-lose solution while the other may be seeking a cooperative resolution.

We have suggested earlier that the usual tendency for such asymmetries in orientation is to produce a change toward mutual competition rather than mutual cooperation. It is, after all, possible to attack, overcome, or destroy another without his consent but to cooperate with another, he must be willing or, at least, compliant.

How can Acme induce Bolt to cooperate in resolving a conflict if Bolt is not so inclined or if Bolt perceives his interests as antagonistic to Acme's? There is, obviously, no single answer to this question. What answer is appropriate depends upon such factors as: the nature of the conflict, the relative power of Acme and Bolt, the nature and motivation of Bolt's noncooperation, the particular resources and vulnerabilities of each party, and their relationships to third parties. However, it is evident that the search for an answer must be guided by the realization that there are dangers in certain types of influence procedures. Namely, they may boomerang and increase open resistance and alienation or they may merely elicit a sham or inauthentic cooperation with underlying resistance. Inauthentic cooperation is more difficult to change than open resistance because it masks and denies the underlying alienation.

Let me offer some hypotheses about the types of influence procedures which are likely to elicit resistance and alienation:

- . . . (a) *Illegitimate techniques* which violate the values and norms governing interaction and influence that are held by the other are alienating (the grater the violation, the more important and the more numerous the values being violated, the greater will be the resistance). It is, of course, true that sometimes an adaptation level effect occurs so that frequently violated norms lose their illegitimacy (as in parking violations); at other times, the accumulation of violations tends to produce an increasingly negative reaction.
- . . . (b) *Negative sanctions* such as punishments and threats tend to elicit more resistance than positive sanctions such as promises and rewards. What is considered to be rewarding or punishing may also be influenced by one's adaptation level; the reduction of the level of rewards which are customarily received will usually be viewed as negative.
- . . . (c) Sanctions which are *inappropriate* in kind are also likely to elicit resistance. Thus, the reward of money rather than appreciation may decrease the willingness to cooperate of someone whose cooperation is engendered by affiliative rather than utilitarian motives. Similarly, a

threat or punishment is more likely to be effective if it fits the crime than if its connection with the crime is artificial. A child who breaks another child's toy is punished more appropriately if he has to give the child a toy of his own as a substitute than if he is denied permission to watch TV.

- ... (d) Influence which is *excessive* in magnitude tends to be resisted; excessive promise or reward leads to the sense of being bribed, excessive threat or punishment leads to the feeling of being coerced.

These factors summate. Illegitimate threat which is inappropriate and excessive is most likely to elicit resistance and alienation while an appropriate legitimate reward is least likely to do so. Inauthentic cooperation, with covert resistance, is most likely when resistance is high and when bribery or coercion elicits overt compliance.

### What Action Induces Cooperation?

I have, so far, outlined what one should *not* do if one wants to elicit authentic cooperative conflict resolution. Let me turn now to the question of what courses of action can be taken which are likely to induce cooperation. In so doing, I wish to focus on a particularly important kind of conflict: conflict between those groups who have considerable authority to make decisions and relatively high control over the conventional means of social and political influence and those groups who have little decision-making authority and relatively little control over the conventional means of influence.

Although there have always been conflicts between the ruler and the ruled, between parents and children, and between employers and employees, I suggest that this is the characteristic conflict of our time. It arises from the increasing demand for more power and prosperity from those who have been largely excluded from the processes of decision-making usually to their economic, social, psychological and physical disadvantage. The racial crisis in the United States, the student upheavals throughout the world, the revolutionary struggles in the underdeveloped areas, the controversies within and between nations in Eastern Europe, and the civil war in South Vietnam: all of these conflicts partly express the growing recognition at all levels of social life that social change is possible, that things do not have to remain as they are, that one can participate in the shaping of one's environment and improve one's lot.

## Role Satisfaction . . .

It is evident that those who are satisfied with their roles in and the outcomes of the decision-making process may develop both a vested interest in preserving the existing arrangements and appropriate rationales to justify their positions. These rationales generally take the form of attributing superior competence (more ability, knowledge, skill) and, or, superior moral value (greater initiative, drive, sense of responsibility, self-control) to oneself compared to those of lower status. From the point of view of those in power, lack of power and affluence is "little enough punishment" for people so incapable and so deficient in morality and maturity that they have failed to make their way in society. The rationales supporting the status quo are usually accompanied by corresponding sentiments which lead their possessors to react with disapproval and resistance to attempts to change the power relations and with apprehension and defensiveness to the possibility that these attempts will succeed. The apprehension is often a response to the expectation that the change will leave one in a powerless position under the control of those who are incompetent and irresponsible or at the mercy of those seeking revenge for past injustices.

If such rationales, sentiments and expectations have been developed, those in power are likely to employ one or more defense mechanisms in dealing with the conflict-inducing dissatisfactions of the subordinated group: *denial*, which is expressed in a blindness and insensitivity to the dissatisfactions and often results in an unexpected revolt; *repression*, which pushes the dissatisfactions underground and often eventuates in a guerrilla-type warfare; *aggression*, which may lead to a masochistic sham cooperation or escalated counter-aggression; *displacement*, which attempts to divert the responsibility for the dissatisfactions into other groups and, if successful, averts the conflict temporarily; *reaction-formation*, which allows expressions of concern and guilt to serve as substitutes for action to relieve the dissatisfaction of the underprivileged and, in so doing, may temporarily confuse and mislead those who are dissatisfied; *sublimation*, which attempts to find substitute solutions—e.g., instead of increasing the decision-making power of Harlem residents over their schools, provide more facilities for the Harlem schools.

## What Can a Less Powerful Group Do?

What can a less powerful group (Acme) do to reduce or overcome the defensiveness of a more powerful group (Bolt) and to increase the latter's readiness to share power? Suppose, in effect,

that as social scientists we were consultants to the poor and weak rather than to the rich and strong, what would we suggest? Let me note that this would be an unusual and new position for most of us. If we have given any advice at all, it has been to those in high power. The unwitting consequence of this one-sided consultant role has been that we have too often assumed that the social pathology has been in the ghetto rather than in those who have built the walls to surround it, that the "disadvantaged" are the ones who need to be changed rather than the people and the institutions who have kept the disadvantaged in a submerged position. It is not that we should detach ourselves from "Headstart", "Vista", and various other useful training and remedial programs for the disadvantaged. Rather, we should have an appropriate perspective on such programs. It is more important that the educational institutions, the economic and political systems be changed so that they will permit those groups who are now largely excluded from important positions of decision-making to share power than to try to inculcate new attitudes and skills in those who are excluded. After all, would we not expect that the educational achievements of black children would be higher than they are now if school boards had more black members and schools had more black principals? Would we not also expect that the occupational attainment of blacks would be higher (and their unemployment rate lower) if General Motors, A.T. and T., and General Electric had some black board members and company presidents as well as white ones? Again, would we not expect more civil obedience in the black community if Charles Evers rather than James Eastland were chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and if the House had barred corrupt white congressmen as well as Adam Clayton Powell? Let us not lose sight of what and who has to be changed, let us recognize where the social pathology really is!

### Attention, Comprehension, Acceptance

But given the resistance and defensiveness of those in high power, what can we recommend to those in low power as a strategy of persuasion? As Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953) have pointed out, the process of persuasion involves obtaining the other's *attention*, *comprehension* and *acceptance* of the message that one is communicating. The process of persuasion, however, starts with the communicator having a message that he wants to get across to the other. He must have an objective if he is to be able to articulate a clear and compelling message. Further, in formulating and communicating his message, it is important to recognize that it will be heard not only by the other, but also by one's own

group and by other interested audiences. The desirable effects of a message on its intended audience may be negated by its unanticipated effects on those for whom it was not intended. I suggest that the following generalized message contains the basic elements of what Acme must communicate to Bolt to change him and, in addition, it is a message which can be overheard by other audiences without harmful consequences. Admittedly, it must be communicated in a way which elicits Bolt's attention, comprehension and acceptance of its credibility rather than in the abstract, intellectualized form in which it is presented below. And, of course, the generalized objective of equality must be detailed in terms of specific relations in specific contexts.

I am dissatisfied with our relationship and the effects it has. I think it can be improved in ways which will benefit you as well as me. I am sufficiently discontent that I can no longer continue in any relationship with you in which I do not participate as an equal in making the decisions which affect me as well as you, except as a temporary measure while we move toward equality. This may upset and discomfort you but I have no alternative other than to disengage myself from all forms of inauthentic cooperation: my dignity as well as pressure from my group will no longer allow me to engage in this self-deception and self-abasement. Neither coercion nor bribery will be effective; my self-respect and my group will force me to resist them. I remain prepared to cooperate with you as an equal in working on joint problems, including the problems involved in redefining our relationship to one another. I expect that changing our relationship will not be without its initial difficulties for both of us; we will be uncertain and perhaps suspicious, we will misunderstand and disagree and regress to old habits from time to time. I am willing to face these difficulties. I invite you to join with me to work toward improving our relationship, to overcome your dissatisfactions as well as mine. I believe that we both will feel more self-fulfilled in a relationship that is not burdened by inauthenticity.

It would take too long to detail all of the elements in this message and their rationales. But essentially the message commits Acme irreversibly to his objective, self-esteem and social esteem are at stake; he will be able to live neither with himself nor his group if he accepts an inferior status. This is done not only in words but also by the style of communicating which expresses a self-confident equality and competence. It provides Bolt with the prospect of positive incentives for changing and negative ones for not changing; Acme maintains a cooperative stance throughout and develops in action the possibility of a true mutual exchange by expressing the awareness that dissatisfactions are not one-sided. It also inoculates against some of the expected difficulties involved in change. It should be noted that Acme's statements of the threats faced by Bolt if change is not forthcoming (the instrumental threat of noncooperation, the moral threat that the status

quo violates important social norms concerning human dignity and authenticity, the threat of resistance to coercion) are neither arbitrary, illegitimate, coercive nor demanding to Bolt—i.e., they are not strongly alienating.

### **Rage or Fear Handicaps . . .**

Rage or fear in the low power group often makes it impossible for them to communicate a message of the sort that I have described above. Rage leads to an emphasis on destructive, coercive techniques and precludes offers of authentic cooperation. Fear, on the other hand, weakens the commitment to the steps necessary to induce a change and lessens the credibility that compliance will be withdrawn if change does not occur. Although it is immediately destructive, rage is potentially a more useful emotion than fear since it leads to bold actions which are less damaging to the development of a sense of power and, hence, of self-esteem. And these latter are necessary for authentic cooperation. Harnessed rage or outrage can be a powerful energizer for determined action and if this action is directed toward building one's own power rather than destroying the other's power, the outrage may have a socially constructive outcome.

In any case, it is evident that when intense rage or fear are the dominant emotions the cooperative message that I have outlined is largely irrelevant. Both rage and fear are rooted in a sense of helplessness and powerlessness: they are emotions associated with a state of dependency. Those in low power can overcome these debilitating emotions by their own successful social action on matters of significance to them. In the current slang, they have got to "do their own thing", it cannot be given to them nor done for them. This is why my emphasis throughout this discussion has been on the sharing of power, and thus increasing one's power to affect one's fate, rather than on the sharing of affluence. While the sharing of affluence is desirable, it is not sufficient. In its most debilitating sense, "poverty" is a lack of power and not merely a lack of money. Money is, of course, a base for power but it is not the only one. If one chooses to be poor, as do some members of religious or pioneering groups, the psychological syndrome usually associated with imposed poverty—a mixture of dependency, apathy, small time perspective, suspicion, fear and rage—is not present.

### **Authentic Cooperation**

Thus, the ability to offer and engage in authentic cooperation presupposes an awareness that one is neither helpless nor power-

less, even though one is at a relative disadvantage. Not only independent action but also cooperative action requires a recognition and confirmation of one's capacity to "go it alone" if necessary. Unless one has the freedom to choose not to cooperate, there can be no free choice to cooperate. "Black power" is, thus, a necessity for black cooperation: of black cooperation with blacks as well as with whites. Powerlessness and the associated lack of self and group esteem are not conducive either to internal group cohesiveness or to external cooperation. "Black power" does not, however, necessarily lead to white cooperation. This is partly because, in its origin and rhetoric, "black power" may be oriented against "white power" and thus is likely to intensify the defensiveness of those with high power. When "black power" is primarily directed against "whitey" rather than for "blacks" it is, of course, to be expected that "whitey" will retaliate. The resulting course of events may provide some grim satisfaction to those despairing blacks who prefer to wield even short-lived destructive power rather than to be ineffectual and to those whites who prefer to be ruthless oppressors rather than to yield the psychic gains of pseudo-superiority.

However, even if "power" is "for" rather than "against" and provides a basis for authentic cooperation, cooperation may not occur because it is of little import to the high power group. It may be unaffected by the positive or negative incentives that the low power group control; it does not need their compliance. Universities can obtain new students; the affluent nations no longer are so dependent upon the raw materials produced in the underdeveloped nations; the white industrial society does not need many unskilled Negro workers.

### **What Can the Group Do for Itself?**

What can the low power group do in such situations? First of all, theoretically it may be possible to "opt out" more or less completely—to withdraw, to migrate, to separate so that one is no longer in the relationship. However, as the world and the societies composing it become more tightly knit, this option becomes less and less available in its extreme forms. Black communities can organize their own industries, schools, hospitals, shopping centers, consumer cooperatives and the like but only if they have resources, and these resources would be sharply curtailed if their relationship with the broader society were completely disrupted. Similarly, students can organize their own seminars, their own living communes their own bookstores, but it would be difficult for them to become proficient in many of the sciences and pro-

fessions without using the resources available in the broader academic community. Self-imposed "apartheid" is self-defeating. "Build baby build" is a more useful slogan than "out baby out" or "burn baby burn".

Through building its own institutions and developing its own resources a low power group makes itself less vulnerable to exploitation and also augments its power by providing itself with alternatives to inauthentic cooperation. In so doing, it increases the likelihood that those in high power will be responsive to a change: the positive incentives for changing and the negative incentives for not changing take on greater value. Moreover, such self-constructive action may help to reduce the fears and stereotypes which underlie much of the defensiveness of high power groups.

In addition to the strategy of developing one's own resources and building one's own institutions, there are still other strategies that can be followed by a low power group in the attempt to influence a reluctant or disinterested high power group. The various strategies are not incompatible with one another. I list several of the major ones: (a) augment its power by collecting or activating subgroups within the high power group or third parties as allies; (b) search for other kinds of connections with the high power group which, if made more salient, could increase its affective or instrumental dependence upon the low power group and thus change the power balance; (c) attempt to change the attitudes of those in high power through education and moral persuasion; (d) use existing legal procedures to bring pressures for change; and (e) use harassment techniques to increase the other's costs of adhering to the status quo.

The effectiveness of any strategy of influence is undoubtedly much determined by the particular circumstances so that no strategy can be considered to be unconditionally effective or ineffective. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that low power groups can rarely afford to be without allies. By definition, a low power group is unlikely to achieve many of its objectives unless it can find allies among significant elements within the high power group or unless it can obtain support from other ("third party") groups that can exert influence on the high power group. There is considerable reason to expect that allies are most likely to be obtained if: (a) they are sought out rather than ignored or rejected; (b) superordinate goals, common values and common interests can be identified which could serve as a basis for the formation of cooperative bonds; (c) reasonably full communication is maintained with the potential allies; (d) one's objectives and methods are readily perceived as legitimate and feasible; (e) one's tactics dramatize one's objectives and require the poten-

tial allies to choose between acting "for" or "against" these objectives and, thus, to commit themselves to taking a position; and (f) those in high power employ tactics, as a counter-response, which are widely viewed as "unfitting" and thus produce considerable sympathy for the low power group.

## Civil Disobedience

There is no time here to elaborate on procedures and tactics of building allies; this is what politics is all about. However, let me just comment about the nonviolent, civil disobedience, confrontation tactics which have been employed with considerable success by civil rights and student groups. These methods have tended, with continuing usage, to have less effect in arousing public response and sympathy for the low power groups involved. In part, this is because many of those in high power have learned that to employ coercion as a response to a nonviolent tactic of civil disobedience is self-defeating; it only serves to swing much of the hitherto uninvolved public behind the demonstrators. This is, of course, what happened in Selma and Birmingham as well as at Columbia University and Chicago when unfitting force was used. These techniques also have become less effective because repeated usage vulgarizes them; a measure which is acceptable as an unusual or emergency procedure becomes unacceptable as a routine breeder of social disruption. Let me note parenthetically that I have discussed "nonviolent, confrontation" tactics as a method for gaining allies and public support rather than as a procedure for directly changing the attitudes of those in high power who are strongly committed to their views. I have seen no evidence that would suggest it has any significant effects of the latter sort.

Finding allies and supporters is important not only because it directly augments the influence of a low power group but also because having allies enables the low power group to use each of the other change strategies more effectively. I shall not discuss the other strategies in detail but confine myself to a brief comment about each. A low power group can increase the dependence of a high power group on it by concentrating its power rather than by allowing it to be spread thinly. Thus, the political power of the Negro vote could be higher if it were able to decide the elections in a half-dozen states such as New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan than if the Negro vote was less concentrated. Similarly, their economic power would be greater if they were able to obtain control over certain key industries and key unions rather than if they were randomly dispersed.

Education, moral persuasion and the use of legal procedures

to bring about social change have lately come into disrepute because these strategies do not bring "instant change" nor do they produce as much *esprit de corps* as strategies which give rise to direct action techniques. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of beliefs, values and the sense of legitimacy in determining individual and social action. Similarly, to engage in anti-intellectualism or to ignore the significance of intellectual work in establishing true knowledge is an error. Truth threatens arbitrary power by unmasking its unreasonableness and pretensions. Anti-intellectualism is a tool of the despot in his struggle to silence or discredit truth. Also, it would be a mistake to ignore the tremendous changes in beliefs and values concerning human relationships which have occurred during the recent past. Much of the evil which now occurs is not a reflection of deliberate choice to inflict such evil but rather the lack of a deliberate choice to overcome self-perpetuating vicious cycles. Obviously, a considerable educational effort is needed to help broaden the understanding of conflict and to accelerate growth in the ability to include others in the same moral community with oneself even though they be of rather different social, economic and ethnic background.

## Harassment

Harassment may be the only effective strategy available to a low power group if it faces an indifferent or hostile high power group. Although sharp lines cannot be drawn, it is useful to distinguish "harassment", "obstruction", and "destruction" from one another. "Harassment" employs legal or semilegal techniques to inflict a loss, to interfere with, disrupt or embarrass those with high power; "obstruction" employs illegal techniques to interrupt or disrupt the activities and purposes of those in high power; "destruction" employs illegal, violent techniques to destroy or to take control over people or property. Obstructive and destructive techniques invite massive retaliation and repression which, if directed against harassment techniques, would often seem inappropriate and arouse sympathy. However, a clearly visible potential for the employment of obstructive and destructive techniques may serve to make harassment procedures both more acceptable and more effective.

There are many forms of harassment which can be employed by low power groups: consumer boycotts; work slowdowns; rent strikes; demonstrations; sit-ins; tying up phones, mail, government offices, businesses, traffic, etc. by excessive and prolonged usage; ensnarling bureaucratic systems in their own red tape by

requiring them to follow their own formally stated rules and procedures; being excessively friendly and cooperative; creating psychological nuisances by producing outlandish behavior, appearances and odors in stores, offices and other public places; encouraging contagion of the ills of the slum (rats, uncollected garbage, etc.) to surrounding communities; etc. Harassment, as is true for most procedures, is undoubtedly most effective when it is employed to obtain well-defined, specific objectives and when it is selectively focussed on key persons and key institutions rather than when it is merely a haphazard expression of individual discontent.

### In Conclusion . . .

As I review what I have written in this last section, where I have functioned as a self-appointed consultant to those in low power, I am struck by how little of what I have said is well-grounded in systematic research or theory. As social scientists we have rarely directed our attention to the defensiveness and resistance of the strong and powerful in the face of the need for social change. We have not considered what strategies and tactics are available to low power groups and which of these are likely to lead to a productive rather than destructive process of conflict resolution. We have focussed too much on the turmoil and handicaps of those in low power and not enough on the defensiveness and resistance of the powerful; the former will be overcome as the latter is overcome.

Is it not obvious that with the great disparities in power and affluence within nations and between nations that there will be continuing pressures for social change? And is it not also obvious that the processes of social change will be disorderly and destructive unless those in power are able or enabled to lower their defensiveness and resistance to a change in their relative status? Let us refocus our efforts so that we will have something useful to say to those who are seeking radical but peaceful social change. Too often in the past significant social change in the distribution of power has been achieved at the cost of peace; this is a luxury that the world is no longer able to afford.

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## Racially Separate or Together?<sup>1</sup>

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America has had an almost perpetual racial crisis for a generation. But the last third of the twentieth century has begun on a new note, a change of rhetoric and a confusion over goals. Widespread rioting is just one expression of this note. The nation hesitates; it seems to have lost its confidence that the problem can be solved; it seems unsure as to even the direction in which a solution lies. In too simple terms, yet in the style of the fashionable rhetoric, the question has become: Shall Americans of the future live racially separate or together?

This new mood is best understood when viewed within the eventful sweep of recent years. Ever since World War I, when war orders combined with the curtailment of immigration to encourage massive migration to industrial centers, Negro Americans have been undergoing rapid change as a people. The latest product of this dramatic transformation from southern peasant to northern urbanite is a second- and third-generation northern-born youth. Indeed, over half of Negro Americans alive today are below twenty-two years of age. The most significant fact about this "newest new Negro" is that he is relatively released from the principal social controls recognized by his parents and grand-

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parents, from the restraints of an extended kinship system, a conservative religion and an acceptance of the inevitability of white supremacy.

Consider the experience of the twenty-year-old Negro youth today. He was born in 1948; he was an impressionable six years old when the highest court in the land decreed against *de jure* public school segregation; he was only nine years old at the time of the Little Rock, Arkansas desegregation confrontation; he was twelve years old when the student-organized sit-ins began at segregated lunch counters throughout the South; and he was fifteen when the dramatic March-on-Washington took place and seventeen when the climactic Selma march occurred. He has literally witnessed during his short life the initial dismantling of the formal structure of white supremacy. Conventional wisdom holds that such an experience should lead to a highly satisfied generation of young Negro Americans. Newspaper headlines and social psychological theory tell us precisely the opposite is closer to the truth.

### *Relative Deprivation Theory . . .*

The past three decades of Negro American history constitute an almost classic case for relative deprivation theory (Pettigrew, 1964, 1967). Mass unrest has reoccurred throughout history after long periods of improvement followed by abrupt periods of reversal (Davies, 1962). This pattern derives from four revolt-stirring conditions triggered by long-term improvements: (a) living conditions of the dominant group typically advance faster than those of the subordinate group; (b) the aspirations of the subordinate group climb far more rapidly than actual changes; (c) status inconsistencies among subordinate group members increase sharply; and (d) a broadening of comparative reference groups occurs for the subordinate group (Pettigrew, 1967).

Each of these four conditions typifies the Negro American situation today (Geschwender, 1964; Pettigrew, 1964, 1967). (a) Though the past few decades have witnessed the most rapid gains in Negro American history, these gains have generally not kept pace with those of white America during these same prosperous years. (b) Public opinion surveys document the swiftly rising aspirations of Negro Americans, especially since 1954. Moreover, (c) status inconsistency has been increasing among Negroes, particularly among the young whose educational level typically exceeds the low status employment offered them. Finally, (d) Negro Americans have greatly expanded their relevant reference groups in recent years; affluent referents in the richest country on earth are now routinely adopted as the appropriate standard with which to judge one's condition. The second com-

ponent of unrest involving a sudden reversal has been supplied, too, by the Vietnam War. Little wonder, then, that America's racial crisis reached the combustible point in the late sixties.

The young Negro surveys the current scene and observes correctly that the benefits of recent racial advances have disproportionately accrued to the expanding middle class, leaving further behind the urban lower class. While the middle-class segment of Negro America has expanded from roughly five to twenty-five per cent of the group since 1940,<sup>2</sup> the vast majority of Negroes remain poor. Raised on the proposition that racial integration is the basic solution to racial injustice, the young Negro's doubts grow as opportunities open for the skilled while the daily lives of the unskilled go largely unaffected. Accustomed to a rapid pace of events, many Negro youth wonder if integration will ever be possible in an America where the depth of white resistance to racial change becomes painfully more evident: the equivocation of the 1964 Democratic Party Convention when faced with the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; the Selma bridge brutality; the summary rejection by the 1966 Congress of antidiscrimination legislation for housing; the repressive reaction to riots from the Chicago Mayor's advocacy of police state methods to the New Jersey Governor's suspension of the Bill of Rights in Plainfield; and, finally, the wanton assassinations within ten weeks of two leading symbols of the integration movement. These events cumulated to create understandable doubts as to whether Dr. Martin Luther King's famous dream of equality could ever be achieved.

### *Shift in Militant Stance and Rhetoric . . .*

It is tempting to project this process further, as many mass media accounts unhesitatingly have done, and suggest that all of Negro America has undergone this vast disillusionment, that Negroes now overwhelmingly reject racial integration for separatist goals. As we shall note shortly, this is emphatically not the case. Nevertheless, the militant stance and rhetoric *have* shifted, and many whites find considerable encouragement in this new Negro mood. Indeed, strictly separatist solutions for the black ghettos of urban America have been most elaborately and enthusiastically advanced not by Negroes at all but by such white

<sup>2</sup>These figures derive from three gross estimates of "middle class" status: \$6,000 or more annual family income, high school graduation or white-collar occupation. Thus, in 1961 roughly a fifth of Negro families received in excess of \$6,000 (a percentage that now must approach a fourth even in constant dollars), in 1960 22 per cent of Negroes over 24 years of age had completed high school, and in 1966 21 per cent of employed Negroes held white-collar occupations.

writers as newspaper columnist Joseph Alsop (1967a, 1967b) and W. H. Ferry (1968) of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.<sup>3</sup> Nor should we confuse "black power" ideas as such with separatism, since there are numerous variants of this developing ideology, only a few of which portray a racially-separate United States as the desirable end-state. As a presumed intervening stage, black separatism is more concerned with group pride and "local control", more a retreat from whites than an attempt to dominate them. This contrasts with the traditional attempts at racial supremacy of white segregationists. Black separatism and white separatism present the danger that they might well congeal to perpetuate a racially-separate nation; but they are otherwise somewhat different phenomena as a cursory examination of their basic assumptions readily reveals.

### Separatist Assumptions

White segregationists, North and South, base their position upon three bedrock assumptions. First, they maintain that separation benefits both races in that each feels awkward and uncomfortable in the midst of the other (Armstrong and Gregor, 1964). Whites and Negroes are happiest and most relaxed when in the company of "their own kind". We shall call this "*the comfortable assumption*".

The second assumption of white segregationists is blatantly racist. The underlying reality of the nation's racial problem, they unashamedly maintain, is that Negroes are inherently inferior to Caucasians. The findings of both social and biological science place in serious jeopardy every argument put forward for "*the racial inferiority assumption*", and an ever-decreasing minority of white Americans subscribe to it (Pettigrew, 1964). Yet it remains the essential substrata of white segregationist thinking; racial contact must be avoided, according to this reasoning, if white standards are not to be diluted. Thus, Negro attendance at a predominantly white school may benefit the Negro children, but it is deemed by segregationists as inevitably harmful to white children.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>See, too, replies to Alsop by Schwartz *et al.* (1967, 1968). Alsop eagerly calls for giving up the effort to integrate schools racially in order to put all efforts into achieving separate but improved schools in the ghetto. Ferry goes further and advocates "black colonies" be formally established in American central cities, complete with treaties enacted with the federal government. Black militants, in sharp contrast, complain of being in a colonial status now but do not endorse it as a desired state of affairs.

<sup>4</sup>Analysis specifically directed on this point shows this contention not to be true for predominantly-white classrooms as contrasted with comparable all-white classrooms (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967; Vol. I, 160).

The third assumption flows from this presumption of white racial superiority. Since contact can never be mutually beneficial, it will inevitably lead to racial conflict. The White Citizens' Councils in the deep South, for example, stoutly insist that they are opposed to violence and favor racial separation as the primary means of maintaining racial harmony. As long as Negroes "know their place", as long as white supremacy remains unchallenged, "*the racial conflict assumption*" contends strife will be at a minimum.

Coming from the opposite direction, black separatists fundamentally base their position upon three parallel assumptions. They agree with "*the comfortable assumption*" that both whites and Negroes are more at ease when separated from each other. Some of this agreement stems from the harsh fact that Negroes have borne the heavier burden of desegregation and have entered previously all-white institutions where open hostility is sometimes explicitly practiced by segregationist whites in order to discourage the process. Yet some of this agreement stems, too, from more subtle situations. The demands by a few black student organizations on interracial campuses for all-black facilities have been predicated on "*the comfortable assumption*".

A second assumption focuses directly upon white racism. Supported by the chief conclusion of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), black separatists label white racism as a central problem which so-called "white liberals" should confine their energies to eradicating. "*The white-liberals-must-eradicate-white-racism-assumption*" underlies two further contentions: namely, that "white liberals" should stay out of the ghetto save as their money and expertise are explicitly requested, and that it is no longer the job of black militants to confront and absorb the abuse of white racists.

The third assumption is the most basic of all, and is in tacit agreement with the segregationist notion that interracial contact as it now occurs makes only for conflict. Interaction between Negro and white Americans, it is held, can never be truly equal and mutually beneficial until Negroes gain personal and group autonomy, self-respect and power. "*The autonomy-before-contact assumption*" often underlies a two-step theory of how to achieve meaningful integration: the first step requires separation so that Negroes can regroup, unify and gain a positive self-image and identity; only when this is achieved can the second step of real integration take place. Ron Karenga, a black militant leader in Los Angeles, states the idea forcefully: "We're not for isolation, but interdependence. But we can't become interdependent unless we have something to offer. We can live with whites interdependently once we have black power" (Calame, 1968).

Each of these ideological assumptions deserves examination in light of social psychological theory and findings.

## Social Psychological Considerations of Separatist Assumptions

### *The Comfortable Assumption*

There can be no denying the reality of initial discomfort and ill-ease for many Negro and white Americans when they encounter each other in new situations. This reality is so vivid and generally recognized that both black and white separatists employ it as a key fact in their thinking, though they do not analyze its nature and origins.

The social science literature is replete with examples of the phenomenon. Kohn and Williams (1956), for instance, studied New York State facilities unaccustomed to Negro patronage. Negro researchers would enter a tavern, seek service and later record their experiences, while white researchers would observe the same situation and record their impressions for comparison. Typically the first reaction of waitresses and bartenders was embarrassment and discomfort; they turned to the owner or others in authority for guidance. When this was unavailable, the slightest behavioral cue from anyone in the situation was utilized as a gauge of what was expected of them. And if there were no such cues, confusion often continued until somehow the tense situation had been structured. Needless to add, the tension was at least as great for the potential Negro patron.

Other examples arise from small group and summer camp research. Irwin Katz (1964) has described the initial awkwardness in biracial task groups in the laboratory; white partners usually assumed an aggressive, imperious role, Negro partners a passive role. Similarly, Yarrow (1958) found initial tension and keen sensitivity among many Negro children in an interracial summer camp, much of which centered around fears of rejection by white campers. Not all Negroes and whites, of course, manifest this discomfort. Furthermore, such tension does not continue to pervade a truly integrated situation. Katz noted that once Negroes were cast in assertive roles behavior in his small groups became more equalitarian and this improvement generalized to new situations. Yarrow, too, observed a sharp decline in Negro anxiety and sensitivity which occurred after two weeks of successful integration at the summer camp. Similar increments in cross-racial acceptance and reductions in tension have been noted in new interracial situations in department stores (Harding and Hogrefe, 1952; Saenger and Gilbert, 1950), the merchant marine (Brothy,

1946), the armed forces (Stouffer *et al.*, 1949), public housing (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Jahoda and West, 1951; Wilner *et al.*, 1955; and Works, 1961), and even among the Philadelphia police (Kephart, 1957).

### *Contact Effects Limited to the Situation*

This is not to say that new interracial situations invariably lead to acceptance. As we shall note, the *conditions* of the interracial contact are crucial. Moreover, even under optimal conditions, the cross-racial acceptance generated by contact is typically limited to the particular situation. Thus, white steelworkers learn to work easily with Negroes as co-workers and vote for them as union officers; but this acceptance does not carry over to attitudes and action concerning interracial housing (Reitzes, 1953). A segregated society restricts the generalization effects of even truly integrated situations; and at times like the present when race assumes such overwhelming salience, the racial tension of the larger society may poison previously successful interracial settings.

Acquaintance and similarity theory helps to sort out the underlying process. Newcomb states the fundamental tenet as follows:

Insofar as persons have similar attitudes toward things of importance to both or all of them, and discover that this is so, they have shared attitudes; under most conditions the experience of sharing such attitudes is rewarding, and thus provides a basis for mutual attraction (Newcomb *et al.*, 1965)

Rokeach has applied these notions to American race relations with some surprising results. He maintains that white American rejection of Negro Americans is motivated less by racism than by assumed belief and value differences. In other words, whites generally perceive Negroes as holding contrasting beliefs, and it is this perception and not race *per se* that leads to rejection. Indeed, a variety of subjects have supported Rokeach's ideas by typically accepting in a social situation a Negro with similar beliefs to their own over a white with different beliefs (Rokeach *et al.*, 1960; Rokeach and Mezei, 1966; Smith *et al.*, 1967; Stein, 1966; and Stein *et al.*, 1965).

Additional work specifies the phenomenon more precisely. Triandis and Davis (1965) have shown that the relative importance of belief and race factors in attraction is a joint function of the interpersonal realm in question and personality. Belief similarity is most critical in more formal matters of general personal evaluation and social acceptance, where racial norms are ambiguously defined. Race is most critical in intimate matters

of marriage and neighborhood, where racial norms are explicitly defined. For interpersonal realms of intermediate intimacy, such as friendship, both belief and race considerations appear important. Moreover, there are wide individual differences in the application of belief similarity and race, especially in contact realms of intermediate intimacy.<sup>5</sup>

### *Isolation's Negative Effects*

Seen in the light of this work, racial isolation has two negative effects both of which operate to make optimal interracial contact difficult to achieve and initially tense. First, isolation prevents each group from learning of the common beliefs and values they do in fact share. Consequently, Negroes and whites kept apart come to view each other as so different that belief dissimilarity typically combines with racial considerations to cause each race to reject contact with the other. Second, isolation leads in time to the evolution of genuine differences in beliefs and values, again making interracial contact in the future less likely.

A number of pointed findings of social psychological research support this extrapolation of interpersonal attraction theory. Stein *et al.* (1965) noted that relatively racially-isolated ninth-graders in California assumed an undescribed Negro teen-ager to be similar to a Negro teen-ager who is described as being quite different from themselves. Smith *et al.* (1967) found that belief similarity relative to racial similarity was more critical in desegregated settings, less critical in segregated settings. And the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967), in its study of *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*, found that both Negro and white adults who as children had attended interracial schools were more likely today to live in an interracial neighborhood and hold more positive racial attitudes than comparable adults who had known only segregated schools. Or put negatively, those Americans of both races who experienced only segregated education are more likely to reflect separatist behavior and attitudes as adults.

Racial separatism, then, is a cumulative process. It feeds upon itself and leads its victims to prefer continued separation. In an open-choice situation in Louisville, Kentucky, Negro children were far more likely to select predominantly white high

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<sup>5</sup>This resolution of the earlier Triandis (1961) and Rokeach (1961) controversy takes on added weight when the data from studies favorable to the Rokeach position are examined carefully. That different interpersonal realms lead to varying belief-race weightings is borne out by Table 4 in Stein *et al.* (1965); that intensely prejudiced subjects, particularly in environments where racist norms even extend into less intimate realms, will act on race primarily is shown by one sample of whites in the deep South of Smith *et al.* (1967).

schools if they were currently attending predominantly white junior high schools.<sup>6</sup> From these data, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded: "The inference is strong that Negro high school students prefer biracial education only if they have experienced it before. If a Negro student has not received his formative education in biracial schools, the chances are he will not choose to enter one in his more mature school years" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1963).

Similarly, Negro adult products of segregated schools, the Civil Rights Commission (1967) finds, are more likely to believe that interracial schools "create hardships for Negro children" and less likely to send their children to desegregated schools than Negro products of biracial schools. Note that those who most fear discomfort in biracial settings are precisely those who have experienced such situations least. If desegregation actually resulted in perpetual and debilitating tension, as separatists blithely assume, it seems unlikely that children already in the situation would willingly opt for more, or that adults who have had considerable interracial contact as children would willingly submit themselves to biracial neighborhoods and their children to biracial schools.

### *A Social Cost Analysis is Needed*

A social cost analysis is needed. The question becomes: What price comfort? Racially homogeneous settings are often more comfortable for members of both races, though this seems to be especially true at the start of the contact and does not seem to be so debilitating that those in the situation typically wish to return to segregated living. Those who remain in racial isolation, both Negro and white, find themselves increasingly less equipped to compete in an interracial world. Lobotomized patients are more comfortable, too, but they are impaired for life.

There is nothing inevitable, then, about the tension that characterizes many initial interracial encounters in the United States. Rather it is the direct result of the racial separation that has traditionally characterized our society. In short, separation is the cause, not the remedy, for interracial awkwardness.

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<sup>6</sup>For twelve junior highs, the Spearman-Brown rank order correlation between the white junior high percentage and the percentage of Negroes choosing predominantly-white high schools is +.82 (corrected for ties)—significant at better than the one per cent level of confidence.

## The Assumptions of Racial Inferiority and White-Liberals-Must-Eradicate-White-Racism

The second set of separatist assumptions raises related issues. Indeed, both of these assumptions also afford classical cases of self-fulfilling prophecies. Treat a people as inferior, force them to play subservient roles,<sup>7</sup> keep them essentially separate and the products will necessarily support the initial racist notions. Likewise, assume whites are unalterably racist, curtail Negro efforts to confront racism directly, separate from whites further, and the result will surely be continued, if not heightened, racism.

The core of racist attitudes, the assumption of innate racial inferiority, has been under sharp attack from social science for over three decades.<sup>8</sup> Partly because of this work, white American attitudes have undergone massive change over these years. For example, while only two out of five white Americans regarded Negroes as their intellectual equals in 1942, almost four out of five did by 1956—including a substantial majority of white Southerners (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1956; 1964). Yet a sizable minority of white Americans, perhaps still as large as a fifth, persist in harboring racist attitudes in their most vulgar and naive form. This is an important fact in a time of polarization such as the present, for this minority becomes the vocal right anchor in the nation's social judgment process.

Racist assumptions are not only nourished by separatism but in turn rationalize separatism. Equal-status contact is avoided because of the racist stigma branded upon Negro Americans by three centuries of slavery and segregation. Yet changes are evident in social distance attitudes, too. Between 1942 and 1963, the percentage of white Americans who favored racially desegregated schools rose from 30 to 63; and those with no objections to a Negro neighbor from 35 to 63 (Hyman and Sheatsley, 1964; Sheatsley, 1965). Nor has this trend abated during the recent five years of increasing polarization—a period which the mass media misinterpreted with the vague label of "backlash".<sup>9</sup> The most dramatic shifts have occurred in the South; the proportion of white Southern parents who stated that they would not object to having their children attend classes with "a few" Negro chil-

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<sup>7</sup>For a role analysis interpretation of racial interactions in the United States, see Pettigrew (1964).

<sup>8</sup>One of the first significant efforts in this direction was the classic intelligence study by Klineberg (1935). For a summary of current scientific work relevant to racist claims in health, intelligence and crime, see Pettigrew (1964).

<sup>9</sup>The incorrect interpretation of present white animosities toward the Negro as a "backlash" is a classic case of the ecological fallacy; see Pettigrew (1966).

dren rose from only 38 per cent in 1963 to 62 per cent by 1965 (American Institute of Public Opinion, 1965). Consistently favorable shifts also characterized white opinion in the North. Here, a school with "a few" Negro children was declared objectionable by 87 per cent of white parents in 1963, by 91 per cent in 1965; a school where the student body was one-half Negro was acceptable to 56 per cent in 1963, to 65 per cent in 1965; and a school with a majority of Negro students found no objection among 31 per cent in 1963, among 37 per cent in 1965. Similar changes are evident in white attitudes in other realms and in more current surveys, though shifts in attitudes toward intimate contact have remained limited.

This slow but steady erosion of racist and separatist attitudes among white Americans has occurred during years of confrontation and change. To be sure, the process has been too slow to keep pace with the Negro's rising aspirations for full justice and complete eradication of racism. Yet this relentless trend paralleling the drive for integration should not be overlooked.

*In a Period of Confrontation . . .*

Thus, in a period of confrontation, dramatic events can stimulate surprisingly sharp shifts in a short period of time. Consider the attitudes of white Texans before and after the tragic assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., the riots that followed his murder, and the issuance of the forthright Report of the

TABLE 1  
PER CENT OF WHITE TEXANS WHO APPROVE\*

Area of Desegregation	November 1967	February 1968	May 1968	May - Nov. + Feb. 2
				Change
Same busses	65.6	66.6	75.6	+9.5
Same jobs	68.5	70.7	77.3	+7.7
Same restaurants	60.7	62.5	69.2	+7.6
Same hotels	55.2	55.4	62.5	+7.2
Same schools	57.1	60.4	64.3	+5.6
Teach your child	53.1	53.6	57.7	+4.4
Same churches	61.5	62.9	66.2	+4.0
Same social gatherings	42.1	42.4	45.3	+3.1
Live next door	34.2	36.2	36.8	+1.6
Same swimming pools	35.1	30.9	34.2	+1.2
Same house party	29.4	30.0	30.3	+0.6
College roommate of your child	21.4	21.5	21.4	-0.1

\*These results are taken from R. T. Riley and T. F. Pettigrew, "Dramatic events and racial attitude change". Unpublished paper. Harvard University, August 1968. The data are from probability samples of white Texans drawn and interviewed by Belden Associates of Dallas, Texas specifically for the U.S. Office of Education Contract No. OEC 1-6-061-774-1887 to Harvard University.

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968). Table 1 shows the data collected prior to the assassination in November 1967 and February 1968 and following the assassination in May 1968.

Observe the especially large change in the four realms of relatively formal contact—desegregation in busses, jobs, restaurants and hotels; the moderate change in realms of relatively informal contact—the desegregation of schools and churches; and the lack of significant change in realms of intimate contact—desegregation of social gatherings, housing, swimming pools, house parties and college dormitories. Despite the ceiling effect, approval increased greatest for those items already most approved. One is reminded of the Triandis and Davis (1965) breakdown of racial realms by degree of intimacy. The attitude change also varied among different types of white Texans; the young and the middle class shifted positively the most, again despite ceiling effects.<sup>10</sup> The tentative generalization growing out of these data is: In times of confrontation, dramatic events can achieve positive attitude changes among those whites and in those realms least subject to separatist norms.

### *Contact Studies . . .*

The most solid social psychological evidence of racial attitude change comes from the contact studies. Repeated research in a variety of newly desegregated situations discovered that the attitudes of both whites and Negroes toward each other markedly improved. Thus, after the hiring of Negroes as department store clerks in New York City, one investigation noted growing acceptance of the practice among the white clerks (Harding and Hogrefe, 1952) and another noted rapid acceptance among white customers (Saenger and Gilbert, 1950). And a series of studies concentrating on public housing residents found similar results (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Jahoda and West, 1951; Wilner *et al.*, 1955; and Works, 1961), as did studies on servicemen (Stouffer *et al.*, 1949; MacKenzie, 1948), the merchant marine (Brophy, 1946), government workers (MacKenzie, 1948), the police (Kephart, 1957), students (MacKenzie, 1948), and general small town populations (Williams, 1964). Some of these results can

<sup>10</sup>That the post-King murder data do not reflect merely temporary shifts is demonstrated by further data collected in Texas in August of 1968. Similar to these results was an overall shift of approximately five per cent toward favoring the racial desegregation of public schools noted among white Texans between two surveys taken immediately before and after the 1957 crisis in Little Rock. And, once again, the most positive shifts were noted among the young and the middle-class (Riley and Pettigrew, 1968).

be interpreted not as the result of contact, but as an indication that more tolerant white Americans seek contact with Negro Americans. A number of the investigations, however, restrict this self-selection factor, making the effects of the new contact itself the only explanation of the significant alterations in attitudes and behavior.

A major study by Deutsch and Collins (1951) illustrates this important literature. These investigators took ingenious advantage of a made-to-order natural experiment. In accordance with state law, two public housing projects in New York City were desegregated; in all cases, apartment assignments were made irrespective of race or personal preference. In two comparable projects in Newark, the two races were assigned to separate buildings. Striking differences were found between the attitudes toward Negroes of randomly selected white housewives in the desegregated and segregated developments. The desegregated women held their Negro neighbors in higher esteem and were considerably more in favor of interracial housing (75 per cent to 25 per cent). When asked to name the chief faults of Negroes, they mentioned such personal problems as feelings of inferiority and oversensitivity; the segregated women listed such group stereotypes as troublemaking, rowdy and dangerous.

As discussed earlier, however, improvements in social distance attitudes are often limited to the immediate contact situation itself. Yet basic racist stereotypes are often affected, too. One white housewife in an interracial development put it bluntly: "Living with them my ideas have changed altogether. They're just people . . . they're not any different". Commented another: "I've really come to like it. I see they're just as human as we are" (Deutsch and Collins, 1951). And a Negro officer on an interracial ship off Korea summed it up candidly: "After a while you start thinking of whites as people".

### *On a National Scale*

Recent surveys bear out these contact findings on a national scale. Hyman and Sheatsley (1964) found that the most extensive racial attitude changes among whites have occurred where extensive desegregation of public facilities had already taken place.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup>This is, of course, a two-way causal relationship. Not only does desegregation erode racist attitudes, but desegregation tends to come first to areas where white attitudes are least racist to begin with. The Hyman-Sheatsley (1964) finding cited, however, specifically highlights the former phenomenon: "In those parts of the South where some measure of school integration has taken place official action has *preceded* public sentiment, and public sentiment has then attempted to accommodate itself to the new situation".

And data from the Equal Educational Opportunity Survey—popularly known as “the Coleman Report”—indicate that white students who attend public schools with Negroes are the least likely to prefer all-white classrooms and all-white “close friends”; and this effect is strongest among those who began their interracial schooling in the early grades (Coleman *et al.*, 1966, 333). Recall, too, the similar findings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967) for both Negro and white adults who had attended biracial schools as children.

Not all intergroup contact, of course, leads to increased acceptance; sometimes it only makes matters worse. Gordon Allport (1954), in his intensive review of this research concluded that four characteristics of the contact situation are of the utmost importance. Prejudice is lessened when the two groups: (a) possess equal status in the situation, (b) seek common goals, (c) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, and (d) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws or custom. Reviewing the same work, Kenneth Clark (1953) came to similar conclusions, and correctly predicted one year prior to the Supreme Court ruling against *de jure* public school segregation that the process would be successful only to the extent that authorities publicly backed and rigorously enforced the new policy.

The Allport statement of contact conditions is actually an application of the broader theory of interpersonal attraction. All four of his conditions maximize the likelihood of shared values and beliefs being evinced and mutually perceived. Rokeach's belief similarity factor is apparently, then, a key agent in the effects of optimal contact. Thus, following the Triandis and Davis (1965) findings, we would anticipate the attitude alterations achieved by intergroup contact, at least initially, to be greatest for formal realms and least for intimate realms—as with the changes wrought in white Texan attitudes by the dramatic events of early spring 1968.

Accordingly, from this social psychological perspective, the black separatist assumption that “white liberals” should eliminate white racism is an impossible and quixotic hope. One can readily appreciate the militants' desire to avoid further abuse from white racists; but their model for change is woefully inadequate. White liberals can attack racist attitudes publicly, conduct research on racist assertions, set the stage for confrontation. But with all the will in the world they cannot accomplish by themselves the needed Negro push, the dramatic events, the actual interracial contact which has gnawed away at racist beliefs for a generation. A century ago the fiery and perceptive Frederick Douglass (1962; 366–367) phrased the issue pointedly:

I have found in my experience that the way to break down an unreasonable custom is to contradict it in practice. To be sure in pursuing this course I have had to contend not merely with the white race but with the black. The one has condemned me for my presumption in daring to associate with it and the other for pushing myself where it takes it for granted I am not wanted.

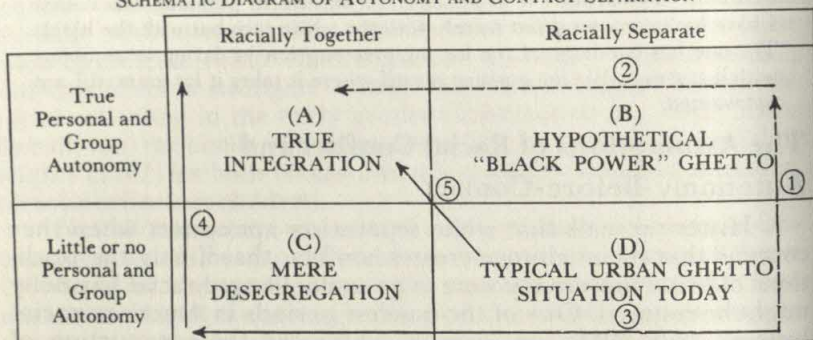
## The Assumptions of Racial Conflict and Autonomy-Before-Contact

History reveals that white separatists are correct when they contend that racial change creates conflict, that if only the traditions of white supremacy were to go unchallenged racial harmony might be restored. One of the quietest periods in American racial history, 1895-1915, for example, witnessed the construction of the massive system of institutional racism as it is known today—the nadir of Negro American history as Rayford Logan (1957) calls it. The price of those two decades of relative peace is still being paid by the nation. Even were it possible in the late twentieth century, then, to gain racial calm by inaction, America could not afford the enormous cost.

But if inaction is clearly impossible, the types of action called for are not so clear. Black separatists believe that efforts to further interracial contact should be abandoned or at least delayed until greater personal and group autonomy is achieved by Negroes. This is the other side of the same coin that leaves the struggle against attitudinal racism completely in the hands of "white liberals". And it runs a similar danger. Racism is reflected not only in attitudes but more importantly in institutionalized arrangements that operate to restrict Negro choice. Both forms of racism are fostered by segregation, and both have to be confronted directly by Negroes. Withdrawal into the ghetto, psychologically tempting as it may be for many, essentially gives up the fight to alter the racially-discriminatory operations of the nation's chief institutions.

The issues involved are highlighted in the schematic diagram shown in Figure 1. By varying contact-separation and an ideologically vague concept of "autonomy", four cells emerge that represent various possibilities under discussion. Cell "A" true integration, refers to institutionalized biracial situations where there is cross-racial friendship, racial interdependence, and a strong measure of personal autonomy (and group autonomy, too, if group is defined biracially). Such situations do exist in America today, but they are rare imbattled islands in a sea of conflict. Cell "B" represents the autonomous "black power" ghetto, relatively independent of the larger society and with a far more viable

FIGURE 1  
SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF AUTONOMY AND CONTACT-SEPARATION\*



\*The author is indebted to Professor Karl Deutsch, of Harvard University, for several stimulating discussions out of which came this diagram. Dotted lines denote hypothetical paths, solid lines actual paths.

existence than commonly the case now. This is an ideologically-derived hypothetical situation, for no such urban ghettos exist today. Cell "C" stands for merely desegregated situations. Often misnamed as "integrated", these institutionalized biracial settings include both races but little cross-racial acceptance and often patronizing legacies of white supremacy. Cell "D" represents today's typical Negro scene—the highly separate urban ghetto with little or no personal or group autonomy.

### *To Get from "D" to "A" . . .*

Save for white separatists, observers of diverse persuasions agree that the achievement of true integration (cell "A") should be the ideal and ultimate goal. But there are, broadly speaking, three contrasting ways of getting there from the typical current situation (cell "D"). The black separatist assumes only one route is possible: from the depressed ghetto today to the hypothetical ghetto of tomorrow and then, perhaps, on to true integration (lines numbered 1 and 2 on Figure 1). The desegregationist assumes precisely the opposite route: from the present-day ghetto to mere desegregation and then, hopefully, on the true integration (lines numbered 3 and 4 in Figure 1). But there is a third, more direct route right across the diagonal from the current ghetto to true integration (line 5 in Figure 1). Experience to date combines with a number of social psychological considerations to favor the last of these possibilities.

The black separatist route has a surprising appeal for an untested theory; besides those whites who welcome any alterna-

tive to integration, it seems to appeal to cultural pluralists, white and black, to militant black leaders searching for a new direction to vent the ghetto's rage and despair, and to Negroes who just wish to withdraw as far away from whites as possible. Yet on reflection, the argument involves the perverse notion that the way to bring two groups together is to separate them further. One is reminded of the detrimental consequences of isolation in economics, through "closed markets", and in genetics, through "genetic drift". In social psychology, isolation between two contiguous groups generally leads to: (a) diverse value development, (b) reduced intergroup communication, (c) uncorrected perceptual distortions of each other, and (d) the growth of vested interests within both groups for continued separation. American race relations already suffer from each of these conditions; and the proposal for further separation even if a gilded ghetto were possible, aims to exacerbate them further.

### *No Access to the Tax Base . . .*

Without pursuing the many economic and political difficulties inherent in the insulated ghetto conception, suffice it to mention the meager resources immediately available in the ghetto for the task. Recognizing this limitation, black separatists call for massive federal aid with no strings attached. But this requires a national consensus. Some separatists scoff at the direct path to integration (line 5 in Figure 1) as idealistic dreaming, then turn and casually assume the same racist society that resists integration will unhesitatingly pour a significant portion of its treasure exclusively into ghetto efforts. Put differently, "local control" without access to the necessary tax base is not control. This raises the political limitations to the black separatist route. The Irish-American model of entering the mainstream through the political system is often cited as appropriate to black separatism—but is it really? Faster than any other immigrant group save Jewish-Americans, the Irish have assimilated via the direct diagonal of Figure 1. Forced to remain in ghettos at first, the Irish did not settle for "local control" but strove to win city hall itself. Boston's legendary James Michael Curley won "Irish power" not by becoming mayor of the South Boston ghetto, but by becoming mayor of the entire city. There are serious problems with immigrant analogies for Negroes, since immigrants never suffered from slavery and legalized segregation. But to the extent an analogy is appropriate, Mayor Carl Stokes of Cleveland and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary are far closer to the Irish-American model than are black separatists.

### *Fate Control . . .*

A critical part of black separatist thinking centers on the psychological concept of "fate control"—more familiar to psychologists as Rotter's (1966) internal control of reinforcement variable. "Until we control our own destinies, our own schools and areas", goes the argument, "blacks cannot possibly achieve the vital sense of fate control". And Coleman Report (Coleman *et al.*, 1966) data are cited to show that fate control is a critical correlate of Negro school achievement. But no mention is made of the additional fact that levels of fate control among Negro children were found by Coleman to be significantly higher in interracial than in all-Negro schools. Black separatists brush this important finding aside on the grounds that all-Negro schools today are not what they envision for the future. Yet the fact remains that interracial schools appear to be facilitating the growth of fate control among Negro students now, while the ideological contention that it can be developed as well or better in unracial schools remains an untested and hypothetical assertion.

Despite the problems, black separatists feel their route (lines 1 and 2 in Figure 1) is the only way to true integration in part because they regard the indirect desegregation path (lines 3 and 4 in Figure 1) as an affront to their dignity. One need only know the blatantly hostile and subtly rejecting racial acts that typify some interracial situations to know to what this repudiation of non-autonomous desegregation refers (Cell "C" in Figure 1; Chessler, 1967). But it is conceptionally and practically useful to make a clear distinction between true integration (Cell "A" in Figure 1) and mere desegregation (Cell "C" in Figure 1). The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1967), in reanalyzing Coleman's data, found this distinction provided the tool for separating empirically between effective and ineffective biracial schools where whites form the majority. Negro student achievement, college aspirations, and sense of fate control proved to be highest in truly integrated schools when these schools are independently defined as biracial institutions characterized by no racial tension and widespread cross-racial friendship. Merely desegregated schools, defined as biracial institutions, typified by racial tension and little cross-racial friendship have scant benefits over segregated schools.

### *Allport Conditions for Optimal Contact*

This civil rights commission finding reflects the Allport (1954) conditions for optimal contact. Truly integrated institutions afford the type of equal-status, common goal, interdependent and authority-sanctioned contact that maximizes cross-racial

acceptance and Rokeach's belief similarity.<sup>12</sup> They apparently also maximize the positive and minimize the negative factors which Katz (1964, 1967) has carefully isolated as important for Negro performance in biracial task groups. And they also seem to increase the opportunity for beneficial cross-racial evaluations which may well be critical mediators of the effects of biracial schools (Pettigrew, 1967). Experimental research following up these leads is now called for to detail the precise social psychological processes operating in the truly integrated situation (Pettigrew, 1968).

The desegregation route (lines 3 and 4 in Figure 1) has been successfully navigated, though the black separatist contention that Negroes bear the principal burden for this effort is undoubtedly true. Those southern institutions that have attained integration, for example, have typically gone this indirect path. So it is not as hypothetical as the black separatist path, but it is hardly to be preferred over the direct integrationist route (line 5 in Figure 1).

### *The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy . . .*

So why not the direct route? The standard answer is that it is impossible, that demographic trends and white resistance make it out of the question in our time. The self-fulfilling prophecy threatens once more. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Wilbur Cohen, insists integration will not come in this generation—hardly a reassuring assertion from the chief of the federal department with primary responsibility for furthering the process.<sup>13</sup> The Secretary adopts the Alsop separatist argument and opts for programs exclusively within the ghetto, a position that makes extensive integration unlikely even a generation hence. One is reminded of the defenders of slavery who in the 1850's attacked

<sup>12</sup>Another white observer enthusiastic about black separatism even denies that the contact studies' conclusions are applicable to the classroom and other institutions which do not produce "continual and extensive equal-status contact under more or less enforced conditions of intimacy". Stember (1968) selectively cites the public housing and armed forces contact investigations to support his point; but he has to omit the many studies from less intimate realms which reached the same conclusions—such as those conducted in schools (Pettigrew, 1968), employment situations (Harding and Hogrefe, 1952; Kephart, 1957; and MacKenzie, 1948; and Williams, 1964), and even one involving brief clerk and customer contact (Saenger and Gilbert, 1950).

<sup>13</sup>Consistent with the thesis of this paper, a number of leading black separatists attacked the Cohen statement. For example, Bryant Rollins, separatist spokesman in Boston, called Cohen's statement "a cop-out" and described it as typical of "white bureaucratic racists who don't want to do anything" (Jordan, 1968).

the Abolitionists as unrealistic dreamers and insisted slavery was so deeply entrenched that efforts should be limited to making it into a benign institution.

If the nation acts on the speculations of Cohen, Alsop and Ferry, then, they will probably be proven correct in their pessimistic projections. For what better way to prevent racial change than to act on the presumption that it is impossible?

### *Urban Racial Demography . . .*

The belief that integration is impossible is based on some harsh facts of urban racial demography. Between 1950 and 1960, the average annual increment of Negro population in the central cities of the United States was 320,000; from 1960 to 1966 the estimated annual growth climbed to 400,000. In the suburbs, however, the average annual growth of the Negro population has declined from 60,000 between 1950 and 1960 to an estimated 33,000 between 1960 and 1966. In other words, it would require about thirteen times the present trend in suburban Negro growth just to maintain the sprawling central city ghettos at their present size. In the nation's largest metropolitan areas, then, the trend is forcefully pushing in the direction of ever-increasing separatism.

But these bleak data are not the whole picture. In the first place, they refer especially to the very largest of the metropolitan areas—to New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington, D.C. and Baltimore. Most Negro Americans, however, do not live in these places, but reside in areas where racial integration is in fact possible in the short run were a good faith attempt to be made. The Harlems and Watts, especially during this period of urban riots, have blinded some analysts into thinking of the entire Negro population as residing in such ghettos. Put differently, there are more Berkeleys and White Plainses—small enough for school integration to be effectively achieved—than there are New York Cities.

In the second place, the presumed impossibility of reversing the central city racial trends are based on anti-metropolitan assumptions. Without metropolitan cooperation, central cities—and many suburbs, too—will find their racial problems insoluble. So need we assume such cooperation impossible? Effective state and federal incentives are being proposed, and a few established, to further this cooperation. Moreover, some large Negro ghettos are already extending into the suburbs (e.g., Pittsburgh and soon in Chicago); the first tentative metropolitan schemes to aid racial integration are emerging (e.g., Boston, Hartford, and Rochester); and several major metropolitan areas have even consolidated (e.g., Miami-Dade County and Nashville-Davidson County).

Once the issue is looked at in metropolitan terms, its dimensions become more manageable. Negro Americans are found in America's metropolitan areas in almost the same ratio as white Americans; about two-thirds of each group resides in these 212 regions, so that on a metropolitan basis Negroes are not significantly more metropolitan than their one-ninth proportion in the nation as a whole.

## Policy Implications

Much of the policy confusion seems to derive from the assumption that since *complete* integration in the biggest cities will not be possible in the near future, present efforts toward opening integration opportunities for both Negro and white Americans are premature. This thinking obscures two fundamental issues. First, the democratic objective is not total racial integration and the elimination of the ghetto; the idea is simply to provide an honest choice between separation and integration. This separation side of the choice is available today; it is integration that is closed to Negroes who would choose it. The long-term goal is not a complete obliteration of cultural pluralism, of distinctive Negro ghettos, but rather the transformation of these ghettos from today's racial prisons to tomorrow's ethnic areas of choice. Life within ghettos can never be fully satisfactory as long as there are Negroes who reside within them only because discrimination requires them to.

Second, the integrationist alternative will not become a reality as long as we disparage it, as long as we abandon it to future generations. Exclusive attention to within-ghetto enrichment programs is almost certain, to use Kenneth Clark's pointed word, to "embalm" the ghetto, to seal it in even further from the rest of the nation (making line 2 in Figure 1 less likely yet). This danger explains the recent interest of conservative whites in exclusive ghetto enrichment programs. The bribe is straightforward: "Stop rioting and stop demanding integration, and we'll minimally support separatist programs within the ghetto". Even black separatists are understandably ambivalent about such offers, as they come from sources long identified with opposition to all racial change. Should the bargain be struck, however, American race relations will be dealt still another serious blow.

### *What is Possible . . .*

The outlines of the situation, then, are these: (a) widespread integration is possible everywhere in the United States save in the largest central cities; (b) it will not come unless present trends are

reversed and considerable resources are provided for the process; (c) big central cities will continue to have significant Negro concentrations even with successful metropolitan dispersal; (d) large Negro ghettos are presently in need of intensive enrichment; and (e) some ghetto enrichment programs run the clear and present danger of embalming the ghetto further.

Given this situation and the social psychological considerations of this paper, the overall strategy needed must contain the following elements:

- . . . (a) A major effort toward racial integration must be mounted in order to provide genuine choice to all Negro Americans in all realms of life. This effort should envisage by the late 1970's complete attainment of the goal in smaller communities and cities and a halting of separatist trends in major central cities with a movement toward metropolitan cooperation.
- . . . (b) A simultaneous effort is required to enrich the vast central city ghettos of the nation, to change them structurally, and to make life in them more viable. In order to avoid embalming them, however, strict criteria must be applied to proposed enrichment programs to insure that they are productive for later dispersal and integration. Restructuring the economics of the ghetto, especially the development of urban cooperatives, is a classic example of productive enrichment. The building of enormous public housing developments within the ghetto presents a good illustration of counterproductive enrichment. Some programs, such as the decentralization of huge public school systems or the encouragement of Negro business ownership, can be either productive or counterproductive depending upon how they are focused. A Bundy Decentralization Plan of many homogeneous school districts for New York City is clearly counterproductive for later integration; a Regents Plan of a relatively small number of heterogeneous school districts for New York City could well be productive. Likewise, Negro entrepreneurs encouraged to open small shops and expected to prosper with an all-Negro clientele are not only counterproductive but are probably committing economic suicide. Negro businessmen encouraged to pool resources to establish somewhat larger operations and to appeal to white as well as Negro customers on major traffic arteries in and out of the ghetto could be productive.

### *A Mixed Integration-Enrichment Strategy*

In short, a mixed integration-enrichment strategy is called for that contains safeguards that the enrichment will not impede integration. Recent survey results strongly suggest that such a mixed strategy would meet with widespread Negro approval. On the basis of their extensive 1968 survey of Negro residents in fifteen major cities, Campbell and Schuman (1968, 5) conclude:

Separatism appeals to from five to eighteen per cent of the Negro sample, depending on the question, with the largest appeal involving black ownership of stores and black administration of schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the smallest appeal the rejection of whites as friends or in other informal contacts. Even on questions having the largest appeal, however, more than three-quarters of the Negro sample indicate a clear preference for integration. Moreover, the reasons given by respondents for their choices suggest that the desire for integration is not simply a practical wish for better material facilities, but represents a commitment to principles of nondiscrimination and racial harmony.

Young men prove to be the most forthright separatists, but even here the separatist percentages for males sixteen to nineteen years of age ranged only from eleven to twenty-eight per cent. An interesting interaction between type of separatism and educational level of the respondent appears in the Campbell and Schuman (1968, 19) data. Among the twenty-to-thirty-nine-year-olds, college graduates tended to be the more separatist in those realms where their training gives them a vested interest in competition-free positions—Negro-owned stores for Negro neighborhoods and Negro teachers in mostly-Negro schools; while the poorly educated were most likely to believe that whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations and to agree that “Negroes should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it” and that “there should be a separate black nation here.”

### *Negroes Want Both Integration and Black Identity*

But if separatism draws little favorable response even in the most politicized ghettos, positive aspects of cultural pluralism attract wide interest. For example, forty-two per cent endorse the statement that “Negro school children should study an African language”. And this interest seems rather general across age, sex and education categories. Campbell and Schuman (1968, 6) regard this as evidence of a broadly-supported attempt “. . . to emphasize black consciousness *without* rejection of whites . . . A substantial number of Negroes want *both* integration and black

identity".<sup>14</sup> Or in the terms of this paper, they prefer cell "A" in Figure 1—"true integration".

The Campbell and Schuman data indicate little if any change from the pro-integration results of earlier Negro surveys (Brink and Harris, 1964; 1967). And they are consistent with the results of recent surveys in Detroit, Miami, New York City, and other cities (Meyer, 1967, 1968; and Center for Urban Education, 1968). Data from Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn are especially significant, for here separatist ideology and a full-scale enrichment program are in full view. Yet when asked if they would prefer to live on a block with people of the same race or of every race, eighty per cent of the Negro respondents chose an interracial block (Center for Urban Education, 1968). Interestingly, the largest Negro segment choosing integration—eighty-eight per cent—consisted of residents of public housing where a modest amount of interracial tenancy still prevails.

A final study from Watts links these surveys to the analysis of this paper. Ransford (1968) found that Negro willingness to use violence was closely and positively related to a sense of powerlessness, feelings of racial dissatisfaction and limited contact with whites. Respondents who indicated that they had no social contact with white people, "like going to the movies together or visiting each other's homes", were significantly more likely to feel powerless and express racial dissatisfaction as well as to report greater willingness to use violence. The personal, group and national costs of racial separatism are great.

### A Final Word . . .

Racially separate or together? Our social psychological examination of separatist assumptions leads to one imperative: the attainment of a viable, democratic America, free from personal and institutional racism, requires extensive racial integration in all realms of life. To prescribe more separation because of discomfort, racism, conflict or autonomy needs is like getting drunk again to cure a hangover. The nation's binge of *apartheid* must not be exacerbated but alleviated.

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<sup>14</sup>This is not a new position for Negro Americans, for their dominant response to Marcus Garvey's movement in the 1920's was essentially the same. Garvey stressed black beauty and pride in Africa and mounted a mass movement in the urban ghettos of the day, but his "back to Africa" separatist appeals were largely ignored.

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## The Responsibilities of the Psychologist in World Affairs\*

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About a year ago I was having lunch with a colleague from Yugoslavia. We had discussed the problem of relations between different nationality groups in his country and in this country and the conversation turned to the war in Vietnam. I expressed my sorrow and guilt over our actions there. He responded sympathetically with the words, "Don't feel badly, *you* cannot help it, it is the government's responsibility". Whereupon I was startled to hear myself rather coolly saying, "In a democracy, it is my responsibility".

Now while I must confess to being somewhat bothered by the overtones of naivety, arrogance and chauvinism in my retort, I believe it also has a certain validity. That is, to the extent our nation is a democracy—a government of the people—we as individuals are responsible for its actions and feel sorrow, shame and guilt for actions which we perceive to contradict our personal values. To the extent we do not feel this responsibility and pass it off on the government or the administration this country is not a democracy. Therefore, we—each of us as an individual—help define the extent to which this country is a democracy by deciding whether or not to accept some responsibility for this country's actions.

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Now it is apparent that our nation is by no means a complete democracy. There is a separation between the government and the people. Therefore, we cannot ask ourselves simply, "What responsibilities do I now have", but must ask, "What responsibilities must I take if I want a democracy—if I want to be responsible for the actions of my nation"? I shall return to this central question, but first I want to document for you the extent of the problem—the extent of the separation between government and people—for I have found that many persons think the separation is far greater or far less than it actually is.

### **The Separation between Government and People**

In a way the current administration's lack of leadership and credibility masks the basic problems which we face. We feel either that the whole system is completely hopeless or that everything would be all right if we had decent leaders. In fact, I believe, there are certain basic but not insurmountable problems in our system of government. I believe this can be illustrated if we go back to the years of a previous administration and see how our foreign policy was shaped (de Rivera, 1968).<sup>1</sup>

When economic pressure forced Great Britain to abandon its commitments to Greece and Turkey in 1947, the Administration faced the situation squarely and decided that it would attempt to fill Britain's shoes and give aid to those countries. The President called a group of congressional leaders to the White House to seek their support for his plan. The Secretary of State conveyed to the group the plight of the countries involved and how this would be increased by the British withdrawal. He indicated that aid should be extended out of American loyalty to these people that had resisted Hitler and out of our common humanity.

The congressional leaders who were listening to the Administration's plan believed that their constituents were more concerned about a tax reduction than the plight of Greece. These leaders were not impressed with the Secretary's concern with loyalty and humanity. Their questions ranged from, "How much will it cost"? to, "Why should we pull British chestnuts out of the fire"?

According to Joseph Jones (1955) things were going badly when the Undersecretary of State asked the Secretary if he could speak. For ten minutes he fervently advocated the aid plan. He

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<sup>1</sup>The following material is abstracted from my *Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*, 1968, 345–353.

pointed out that in the past 18 months the democracies of the world had lost strength while communism had gained power. He described Soviet pressures on Turkey, Iran and Greece. He pointed out that if the Soviet Union managed to gain control over any one of these countries she could gain control over the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East—how from there she could begin to influence Southern Asia and Africa. Europe was being lost and Great Britain was being forced to retire. Only two great powers remained and an unbridgeable ideological chasm separated them—not since the days of Rome and Carthage had there been such polarization. The United States must protect freedom from Soviet aggression. It was not a question of whether to be loyal or humanitarian; it was a question of whether to safeguard freedom. The United States must act—or lose.

When he had finished there was a long silence broken at last by the leader of the opposition party who said that he had been impressed and shaken by what he had heard. It was clear, he said, that aid to Greece and Turkey was only part of a grave situation, and he believed that this message should be given to Congress and to the people.

The administration responded to this opinion. It was clear to the administration that in order to maintain American power it would eventually have to help people all over Europe and that such an aid program would cost billions of dollars. It accepted the judgment that the majority of Americans were still isolationistic and would not support a plan to charitably give aid to all governments which were trying to meet the needs of their people. While the Soviet Union was aggressively pushing to attain a nationalistic aim of old standing—control over its entrance to the Mediterranean—it seemed necessary to overcome American isolationism by selling the aid program in terms of supporting the “free” world against communist aggression. The only way a consensus could be formed was by creating an ideological confrontation. Consequently, the administration went to Congress and to the people with speeches which were written in this vein.

Since the Administration saw it could sell its program by emphasizing the conflict with Communism, its public information program and all its speeches portrayed the world conflict between “free” and “communistic” governments. These speeches became the basic documents which were used in drafting the bill to aid Greece and Turkey and, later, in laying a base for the development of the Marshall Plan. The price of overcoming isolationism and securing a consensus became an overemphasis of the cold war.

## The Consequences of Distortion

While the needed aid program was obtained there were two unfortunate consequences which resulted from the means by which it had to be obtained. First, the somewhat distorted view of reality that was presented to the public necessarily limited the government's future freedom of action. The alarm over sweeping Communism was the ground in which McCarthyism was rooted and the exaggeration of the communist threat which was necessary to get aid for Europe was later to prevent decent relations with China. Even today, the preoccupation with Communism and American national power has encouraged public attitudes which are antithetical to cooperation between nations and to the development of world law. Our leaders cannot cooperate with revolutionary governments that are portrayed as evil, or work towards world law when the public is led to believe that we must expand national power rather than establish and abide by international law.

Second, a chance may have been missed. The United States could have defined itself as a nation genuinely interested in the welfare of other nations, it could have been the moral leader of the world. Because public opinion was not ready for this role it had to settle for defining itself as the leader of the status quo countries, and while its aid programs attempted to encourage social change this goal became secondary to that of stopping communism.

Jones (1955, 176) states that after the aid bill was introduced a study of public opinion showed that, ". . . most public support was based on the conviction that the security and well-being of the United States required resistance to Soviet or communist expansion". It must be noted, however, that it is not clear exactly what the public's initial opinion was and it may have been conducive to much more liberality than congressional opinion reflected. It is interesting that the main opposition to the aid bill was that the aid was not funneled through the United Nations. This kind of opposition took the administration by complete surprise. While Jones considers that this support for the United Nations was a sort of half-way stop on the road to taking real responsibility it may also have reflected a genuine positive feeling towards world law and the desire for constraints on power politics. Had the men in power within the Administration and in Congress been less power oriented and more oriented towards developing the United Nations they might have found a public willing to follow. While the Administration recognized that the public could be led out of apathy in order to stem the advance of Communism it *might* have been possible to have led the public

out of apathy in order to advance democracy, build world law and prevent starvation.

### The Frequency of Gaps

We have just considered the "gap" between the actual situation in 1947 and the picture presented by the Administration in order to galvanize the congressional leadership. This and other kinds of gaps are a common occurrence. In the course of decisions about Korea there was often a discrepancy between what the Administration knew and what the public knew. The Administration's decision to destroy the North Korean's power was made several weeks before the public thought officials were considering whether or not to cross the 38th parallel. Before the Korean war, there were several times when concerned congressmen asked the administration if South Korean strength was as great as North Korean strength. In spite of the fact that the CIA had information available which indicated a serious discrepancy in relative strength the inquiring congressmen and the public were told that there was no difference.

When the Korean invasion began, by Monday night it was apparent that at least a partial mobilization would be necessary. But key congressmen were not informed of this and on Friday the Secretary of Defense told the press that no mobilization was planned. On Friday, when the Administration knew that mobilization would be necessary and that at least two divisions of troops would be sent immediately to fight in Korea, the public was told, "General MacArthur has been authorized to use certain supporting ground troops". The press was told these troops would not be used in combat. It is clear that the Administration was afraid of congressional and public opinion and hesitated to use infantry as early as it should have, hence only air and naval forces—which seemed "more natural"—were called for Monday night. A presidential adviser later said, "We were scared of the Hill in this thing. If we had tried to put ground troops in at the start there would have been a great deal of trouble".

A similar gap between government and people occurred during several years of the Eisenhower Administration. The American people never realized that the idea of "massive retaliation" was not needed to stem Russian nuclear aggression, but was invented because of a restricted budget that could not pay for limited wars. The ethics of this policy was not publicly debated.

A democracy cannot endure with a large separation between government and people. A large separation leads to a government which has to manipulate the public with false images, support

programs under false fronts and conduct all social welfare from health to road building in the name of defense and without constructive debate. When this occurs, the government becomes the victim of its own propaganda because its freedom to act is limited by the image it has built up. As a consequence, in order to act effectively it must demand more powers. Under the continual stress of the "Cold war", more power continually goes to the executive. War is no longer debated in Congress. There is inadequate congressional control over the CIA. The executive can launch invasions and commit assassinations without public debate and consent. What will it be able to do in the future? This "atrophy of democratic control" (Morgenthau, 1962) is occurring because executive power seems necessary in order to keep American power and avoid a third world war. It is necessary only if the public is uneducated. To the extent that the public is aware of the facts and issues in international relations, a democracy can be preserved.

The gap between government and people is not just an information gap. There is a huge gap between what we want and what the government does. For example, I have reviewed all the available material on the group meetings which led to the decision to fight in Korea. While there was an obvious concern about risking American lives, at *no* time was there any consideration of Korean deaths. Likewise, while there was a manifest concern for public opinion, there was no discussion of international law and how it might be furthered or subverted by American action. The officials present were not callous or lawless—but it was *nobody's job* to represent the concerns of the Korean people or international law.

### The Responsibility of the Individual Psychologist

At this point you may well ask, "But what can *I* do? There is nothing *I* as one individual can do. If the institutions of this country and the general level of public opinion is such that administrations are forced to lie and to fight against communism rather than for democracy, am *I* responsible?" I would say two things: First, decide whether or not this state of affairs is what you want. *You define* whether or not this country is a democracy. If you really decide that you are a citizen of a democracy you will feel indignant at the ignoring of your values, ashamed at your lack of power and guilty at your inactivity. Second, if these emotions occur, translate them into actions aimed at transforming the nature of policy formation.

For those of us who define this nation as a democracy, I would suggest that we can best transform policy formation by joint action with one another as psychologists. There is an obvious

advantage to this. As a professional group we are a great deal stronger than isolated individuals.

Such action presupposes, however, that as a professional group we share common beliefs and values. So often one hears arguments that psychologists should not become involved in politics as psychologists because we have different opinions and values as individuals or because we have no real knowledge and might step beyond our professional role. Certainly we could not participate as a group unless we had a consensus among ourselves as to what sorts of actions the government should undertake. Let me, therefore, see if I can state some of the things that we *as psychologists* believe in. I am asserting here that these beliefs and values are not simply the results of our childhood socialization, but also stem from our professional training—that there is something about being a psychologist that goes with a commitment to these values whether one is politically a conservative or a liberal or a radical. Let me try to list some of these (cf. de Rivera, 1968, 401–430).

### **The Beliefs and Values of Psychologists Concerned with Conflict**

There are a number of psychological factors that influence conflict. Among these are the differences between individual “worlds” and the intensification of conflict caused by a lack of understanding of these differences, the fact that aggressive behavior may be perceived to be a characteristic of a person or group when actually it is influenced by the situation in which the person or group finds itself, and the fact that only certain kinds of relationships permit an openness which may lead to a creative solution of a conflict of interest. As psychologists we know about these factors and we are interested in applying this knowledge because we have a basic respect for the differences between individuals and peoples, and we value the creative solution of conflicts. Accordingly, we have developed a set of ideas about how to work with hostility, about the relationship between conflict and identity and about the management of conflict.

### **Coping with Hostility**

While a government may commit unfriendly acts because of conflicting interests, it sometimes occurs that a government is actively *hostile*. In these cases, its attacks are directed at what the other *is* rather than what it *does* or what it possesses.

Rather than viewing the hostility as a basic character trait in a government that must be destroyed, rejected or excluded, we

view the hostility as a behavior that can be changed. We believe in meeting the hostility with firmness rather than counter-hostility. We know that an attack on the other's ideology is essentially an act of counter-hostility that is performed because the government or people have seen the hostility as a character trait—caused by his ideology—rather than as a behavior which it can change. We are aware that a nation's ideology is its most sensitive area. As Wheeler (1960) points out, ideologies are important in holding a nation together and a people can tolerate having to give up national goals and behaviors more readily than abandoning the central national ideology. When Americans attack "communism" and try to change a nation's commitment to that ideology, they threaten that nation more than if they attempt to change some specific institution or behavior.

Since threatening, negative, behavior may increase the opponent's cohesiveness, justify his hostility, and decrease his perspective, we know that it is necessary to focus on the rewarding of positive behavior. Milburn (1959) has suggested that deterrence is effective only when one presents the opponent with acceptable alternative behaviors that can permit him to achieve functionally similar goals.

It should be observed that by firmly resisting negative behavior (but refusing to attack) and rewarding positive behavior (even when it increases the opponent's power), one has an effect not only on immediate decisions but also on long term policy and on who is in office. Within any nation, there are always different groups pressing for different policies, some more belligerent, some more cooperative. Which of these groups triumph depends largely on the reality of the situation confronting the nation. If a cooperative policy can meet the objective situation, it survives; otherwise, it dies out and a new policy emerges with a different set of leaders.

Since attempts to directly control the opponent's policy may be resented even if they are positive and based on rewards, we are aware that the most reliable way of changing another's behavior is by one's own behavior. If one nation is successful, it may become a model which other nations will begin to follow. Since this may not occur if the other nation's problems are substantially different, it may be necessary to work with some third nation whose problems are similar but that can be encouraged to develop into a model which others can follow.

## Conflict and Identity

We know that conflict with another nation can have beneficial effects internally. Sumner (1911) has observed that long periods without conflicts create a stagnant society with vested

interests and privileged classes that cannot be attacked; reform may only come about when it is forced by the efficiency required by a conflict. Thus, within the United States, public support of civil rights and mental and physical health programs have been helped by the need for America to be competitive. It is also true that if a nation is open to change, it may learn something from the culture that is imposing on it.

However, we are aware that unless conflict is handled properly, it may have a dangerous internal side effect; in their attempt to assert themselves, a nation and its people may lose their identity. This may occur whenever the means used to win a conflict creates internal change. The identity of the German people was severely damaged by the policy of genocide. The identity of the American people is being changed by the nature of policies such as "massive retaliation" and "pacification of the countryside". Rapoport (1964) has observed,

The basic question in the strategist's mind is this: "In a conflict how can I gain an advantage over him"? The critic cannot disregard the question, "If I gain an advantage over him, what sort of person will I become"?<sup>2</sup>

Part of the American identity is a belief in the worth of the individual. When one threatens to kill masses of civilians in a nuclear strike, this belief is weakened—even if the deaths are euphemistically called "population response".<sup>3</sup> When one begins an *offensive* against guerrilla forces in the countryside, one has to kill more civilians than guerrillas. When one destroys crops, one creates a famine that kills the young and the old rather than the fighting man. When one reports the number of enemy killed rather than territory secured, one highlights these deaths as the objective. These actions downgrade the worth of the individual and begin to change the American identity. Given democratic values, success is helping another people to become themselves without dominating them; failure is to lose one's own identity—and this may occur, without being physically dominated.

## The Management of Conflict

We have noted that conflict between nations produces internal effects that may be beneficial or destructive. It also affects other nations. The current competition between the more devel-

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<sup>2</sup>During the Cuban missile crisis, a number of decision makers argued for a surprise air strike against the missile sites. This movement was checked when a key member of the group said (in effect) "We are not that kind of country . . . sneak attack would betray our heritage and ideals" (Schlesinger, 1965).

<sup>3</sup>This delightful term was used to label the abscissa of a system's analysis graph. The ordinate was "megatonnage".

oped nations has helped the progress of many underdeveloped areas by freeing them from colonialism and stimulating foreign aid. On the other hand, it has hurt areas that have become battlegrounds for the larger conflict and areas where internal instability has been encouraged by the flow of arms and the general lack of stability in the world. Conflict itself is not a bad thing; it is a fact of life that lies behind a good deal of progress. However, when it becomes too intense or widespread, it becomes very destructive. Therefore, the challenge is not to eradicate conflict but to discover how to manage it and keep it productive.

I have time only to briefly mention three important ideas which psychologists have advanced to help control conflict. First, we know from Sherif's (1961) work that when groups cooperate in order to obtain a shared goal, intergroup conflict begins to decline. Second, we have Osgood's (1962) carefully specified conditions for the reduction of tension by the taking of unilateral actions. Third, we have a good deal of case material which proves the need to maintain communication between conflicting parties and the necessity of not using a break in communication as an aggressive response.

### A Suggestion . . .

I do not know if this brief and overly abstract presentation has convinced you that there are many things on which we all agree; I'm particularly concerned that if you haven't had the opportunity to speak with political scientists or government officials you may not realize how unique our perspective and values are and what an educational job we have to do; but I shall proceed as though we had agreement on these points. If we do have a degree of consensus then what can we do?

I would suggest that we, acting through NYSPA and SPSSI engage in two activities. (a) The support of a full time lobbyist in Washington, and (b) The support of an educator based here in New York. I do not have in mind a lobbyist who would apply pressure and money in order to get votes but someone who could effectively present our views to key persons in the Congress and in the Administration. I wish I had the time to document for you how powerful a good rational argument can be in influencing policy. We tend to think so much in terms of political power that we ignore the equal power of a rational argument. I would hope that our lobbyist—by working with newsmen and lobbying activities such as the Council for a Livable World—would also serve the function of writing reports back to us to keep us informed as to the discrepancy between what was actually happening and what would implement our views.

Whereas our lobbyist would be attempting to change the way our government makes foreign policy I would see our educator as focusing on changing public attitude. There are many groups which are set up to do this sort of thing—the World Law Group, Education for World Affairs, Americans for the U.N., etc., but we have a unique input to make to these groups, and I would see our educator as working with these groups so that our values will influence what the public is being taught. There are other jobs here too, for example, stimulating the college teaching of psychology courses which handle the type of problems we are concerned with here.

At this point I am sure practical considerations occur to you—how much money would we need, how could we raise it, etc. These problems seem quite solvable to me. I would guess \$40,000 a year would be an ample sum. I would guess there are at least 4,000 psychologists in NYSPA or SPSSI who would be interested. If half of these were willing to back this, a contribution of \$20 a year would raise the necessary money. I can imagine you groaning at the thought of another \$20! So at this point let me offer an added inducement. I have restricted myself to foreign policy because that is a special competence I have—but the beliefs and values I have enumerated hold equally well for domestic problems. That is, I believe we have a consistent outlook on how problems ought to be tackled whether they are problems with another country, or with delinquency, or poverty or assertive students. Because of this I believe our lobbyist and educator might be able to represent our values on many social issues. I know there are many problems involved here—whom to get, how to start, etc. but I would like to begin, so I will close by asking you to help me to remove some of the naivety from my outburst, “In a democracy it is my responsibility”.

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## War Toys and the Peace Movement\*

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In the literature on collective behavior, relationships between buying crazes and social movements have been obscure. Analyses of communication patterns seem, in the case of both phenomena, to be necessary but not sufficient for locating significant etiological and developmental factors. A more sophisticated understanding of the relationships between the collective behavior of people within economic systems and their collective behavior within other parts of the social system awaits the accumulation of many multifaceted accounts of particular phenomena which are susceptible to analysis via natural history techniques.<sup>1</sup>

The recent war toy craze provides an especially interesting case for such analysis, as it has involved large numbers of people

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<sup>1</sup>A recent review of the literature by Couch (1968) points out that collective behavior is no longer considered to be pathological and is therefore amenable to the usual techniques of social analysis. While this may be true, patterns of interaction become focussed both in time and space when collective phenomena occur, and this makes possible a study of processes as opposed to structures. Since the failure to study processes in ongoing societies has brought criticism from social scientists who are interested in social change, the investigation of collective phenomena that are telescoped in space and time can help to correct this situation.

For more general statements of current theory, see Smelser, 1963, Lang and Lang, 1961; Blumer, 1957; and Turner and Killian, 1957.

in networks of communication originating from widely divergent sources, and it has culminated in protests which already appear to be undergoing re-institutionalization within the larger peace movement.

Over a period of four years, I have been collecting information pertaining to the creation of the craze and to the effects in the United States of the protest movement which it generated. This article is a report on some of my findings.<sup>2</sup>

## Dimensions of the War Toy Craze

In documenting the nature of the craze itself, I found the *Toys and Novelties* trade magazine a useful source of information. Figure 1 gives a graphic picture of the findings from a quantitative survey of advertisements in this magazine from 1961 through 1967. Percentages are based on total N's for each year which averaged 412. Since advertisements included products such as Christmas decorations, children's furniture and swimming pools, as well as those more clearly definable as "toys", the percentages are somewhat lower than would have been the case had I attempted to eliminate such marginal items from the analysis.

As can be seen from studying the graph, the percentage of items in the general category of "toys of violence" more than doubles between 1961 and 1964-1966, and the single category of "modern war toys" more than triples between 1961 and 1964-1965. In 1966, the Batman craze accounted for an increase in the "detective" category, while the "modern war" category took a plunge.

Interviews with buyers and jobbers provided similar estimates of the extent of the craze. While certain manufacturers had specialized exclusively in war toys, and some of the biggest toy companies put up to 70% of their investment in this category at one time, the overall percentage of retail sales that could be placed in the war toy category was estimated by most buyers and jobbers at approximately 15% during the height of the craze; they felt that the general category had been staple earlier at about 5%. These estimates are somewhat deceptive, however, in that retailers placed the percentage of toys sold for boys in the age range from five to twelve years at well over 50% during the height of the craze. Also, a number of items which first entered the market

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<sup>2</sup>Not included in this report are observations of the Americanization of play activities abroad. Requests for assistance in anti-war-toy campaigns came principally from Australia, New Zealand, Japan, England, Canada and Mexico.

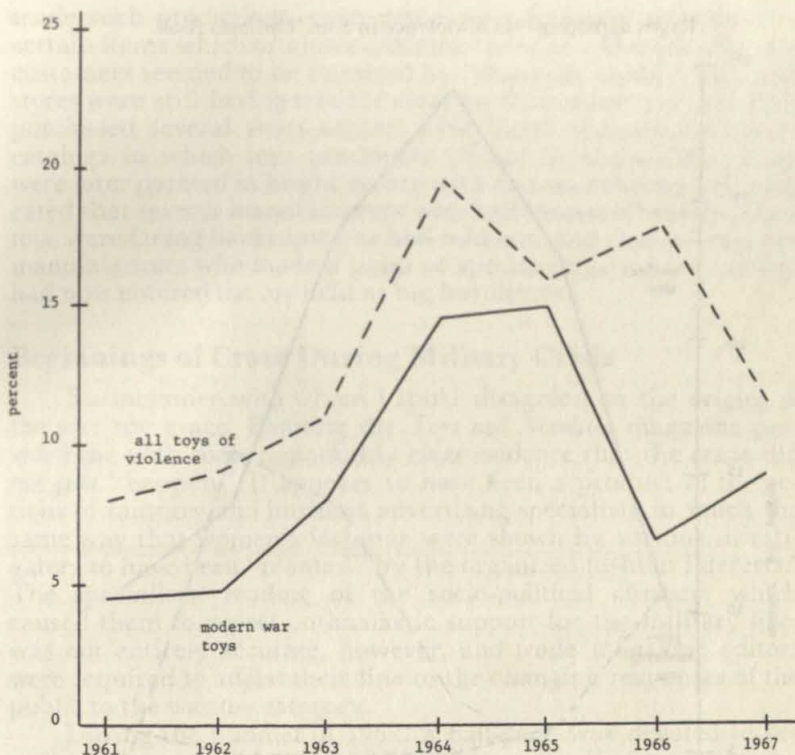


FIGURE 1  
Advertisements for products in *Toys and Novelties* magazine

during the war toy craze were later considered staple items by the buyers.

### A Year-By-Year Comparison . . .

A quantitative year-by-year comparison of items in these categories was also made of the *Sears Christmas Book*. The findings were similar to the data obtained above, as can be seen in the second graph (Figure 2). Spot checks of *Wards* catalogs and of *Playthings* magazine also confirmed the trends shown in these graphs.

A lowered total in the entire category of toys of violence in the 1967 *Sears* catalog (which serves customers through the

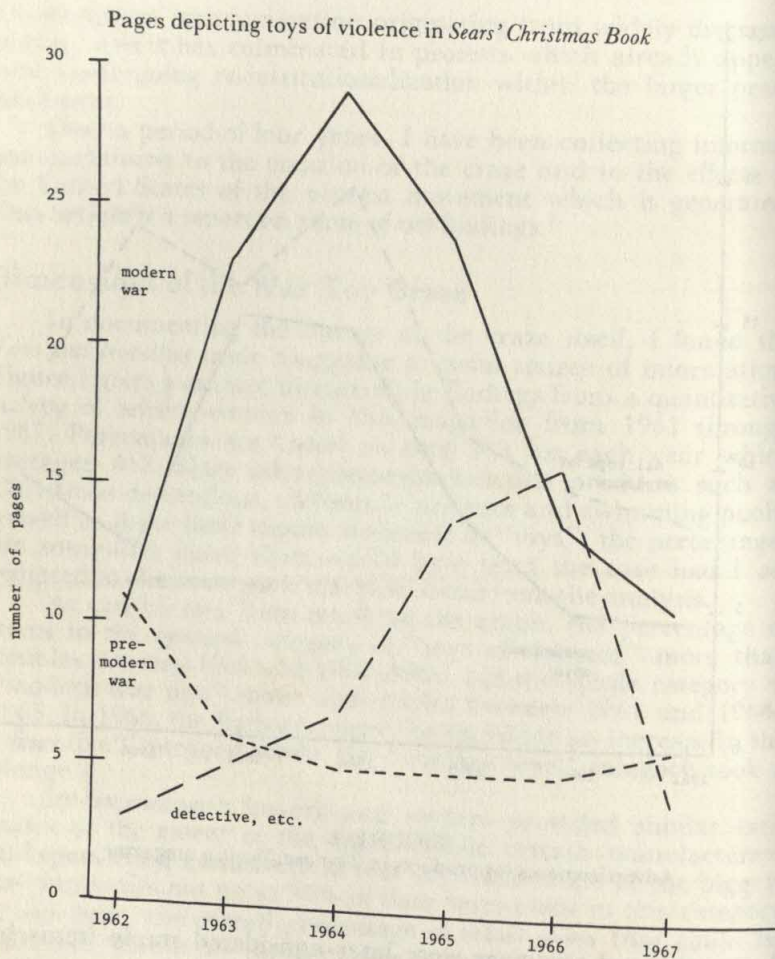


FIGURE 2  
Pages depicting toys of violence in *Sears' Christmas catalog*

following August), may indicate a return to pre-craze levels.<sup>3</sup> Buyers and jobbers who were interviewed since December, 1967,

<sup>3</sup>This study was completed before the appointment of a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, which followed the assassination of several public figures. Rather than update the material systematically to include public response to the events of 1968, I am confining remarks on the present situation to the following: (a) A number of nationwide chain stores, including *Sears*, have announced discontinuation of the sale of toy weapons. (b) Schools, churches, and other organizations sponsoring kill-toy turn-in days

made such predictions, even given the continued acceptance of certain items which originated during the craze. Buyers said most customers seemed to be repulsed by "anything khaki", and some stores were still having trouble clearing their shelves of war items purchased several years earlier. One buyer showed me several catalogs in which toys previously offered in camouflage colors were later painted in bright colors with non-war themes. He indicated that several manufacturers who had invested heavily in war toys were facing bankruptcy or had sold out, and that several new manufacturers who made a point of specializing in non-war toys had now entered the toy field as big businesses.

### Beginnings of Craze During Military Crisis

Businessmen with whom I spoke disagreed on the origins of the war toy craze. Reading the *Toys and Novelties* magazine provided me with some remarkably clear evidence that the craze did not just "happen". It appears to have been a product of the actions of military and business advertising specialists in much the same way that women's fashions were shown by various investigators to have been "planted" by the organized fashion interests.<sup>4</sup> The specialists' reading of the socio-political climate, which caused them to expect enthusiastic support for the military line, was not entirely accurate, however, and trade magazine editors were required to adjust their line to the changing responses of the public to the war toy category.

During the summer of 1962, a half-page was devoted to describing the expected "long and lucrative future" of a couple who had capitalized on interest in the Civil War centennial by promoting items related to the war. In September, guns and submarines were predicted to be "big sellers", although no explanation was given for the predictions. By the spring of '63, after a winter of war fever in the United States following the Cuban missile crisis, buyers were quoted as saying regarding military items, "It *better* be good because I'm buying it big". From the Southwest came the observation, "War talk and war-oriented

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and consumer boycotts have been featured on nationwide television newscasts. (c) California Senator John Burton plans reintroduction in 1969 of legislation to require warning labels on toys depicting war or violence. (d) No War Toy organizer Richard Register was critically wounded by a stabbing which took place during an invasion of a No War Toy fund raising party. (e) Leadership in current efforts to reduce the stimulating effects of violence in the cultural environment of children appears to come from many groups which were not directly involved in earlier efforts. These observations and events can be seen as confirming the trends suggested by the study.

<sup>4</sup>See Lang and Lang (1961, 466-467).

television programs notwithstanding, one Dallas wholesaler said he believed the upsurge in hand grenades, bazookas, tanks and related items was mainly the result of a merchandising cycle that is bringing military toys back into favor".

Remarking on the general retail situation, one buyer was quoted as saying, "This business has always been feast or famine, and I'm not too upset about this year's slump. But I sure am hungry". On the same page, the Tradewinds reporter declared, "The big noise in nearly every southwestern toy outlet was still coming from the war department. Bazookas, soldiers, tanks, models, the whole works . . . you name it, and the public is buying". The same issue contained a full-page editorial titled "Woe betide the tastemakers", which decried retailers who hesitate to offer their customers certain items simply because they have qualms about their value. "It is the prerogative of every storekeeper to forego offering his customers what they want, and to restrict their purchasing only to what he wants to sell them. If he takes the latter road, let him do it without making speeches about saving the customers from the evils of their own bad taste. He will have plenty of time to vilify that after he's out of business, for that is how he probably will wind up".

### More Predictions . . .

In July, 1963, reports from the East stated: "business is sluggish . . . but here and there an item shows some speed . . . action from the Monkey Division and Guerrilla Gun is the tip-off that military might just live up to its billing . . . there are indications that across-the-board movement in military could be *about to start*". [italics mine] July ads by Ideal read: "Perfectly timed for this year's combat toy landslide. All that plus nationwide TV. So be ready . . ." Tranogram packaging ads read: "This year the toy business has donned khaki . . . and we're always 1-A when it comes to marching ahead . . . Right now our intelligence tells us to dig in with Combat Kits. We're seeing action already". A two-page article featured "Comeback of the year? Remco Rolls Again", and read in part, "Military goods, slated to be big in the industry this year, have been big at Remco for a long time . . . With the Monkey Division, Remco is out to build itself a trade name in military toys. A few individual items will get the big promotional blast, with anticipation that it will rub off on the entire line".

More predictions in August read, "Military is good *and due to get better* [italics mine]". "There were no reports of hot items, but trends were in the wind. Army stuff was very good . . ." Six full pages were devoted to promoting military toys, headlined

"Fall in: military's on the march" and subtitled "With army goods strong and growing, here's how they got that way, why they figure to stay hot, how to take full advantage of the big ka-boom". The article states that "television seems to be at the bottom of it all" and goes on to relate the content of several combat shows and to point out that even if these go off the air they are likely to be syndicated for local showings in various cities. "If one of them is yours, you're lucky". An example of the kinds of effects anticipated: "The storyline of *The Lieutenant* will deal with the peacetime Marines. Toywise, the sales influence of a show in which no shots will be fired in anger remains to be seen". The article gives timely suggestions, with illustrations, for displays featuring army goods. It credits graphic news coverage of the "contained but colorful conflicts" which have broken out in many areas of the world, current war movies and TV resurrection of old movies with "further stimulating kids' passion for army goods". And it repeats the theme: "They said it at Toy Fair: this would be a military year".

### Military Men from Washington . . .

A Detroit buyer informed me in the spring of 1964 that military men from Washington attended the toy fairs to help promote military items and to offer their consultant services to those who wished to produce or display authentic military toys. Authors and programmers who are interested in producing films or stories with military themes are also eligible for defense department aid. Articles appeared in *Toys and Novelties* pointing out that these services were available as part of the Defense department's mandate "to promote wide public understanding of its objectives and accomplishments", and a Times Square Armed Forces Day display of mock battles, using war toys and prominently crediting their manufacturers, was pictured in the magazine. Other news items noted that the defense department regularly purchases military toys for use in training, and that at least one leading toy manufacturer (Mattel) was expanding its line to include real weapons, under contract with the United States government. Contacts with manufacturers elicited remarks such as the following from Hassenfeld Brothers, Inc., makers of the G.I. Joe "action figure" and an official licensee of the television show, "Combat".

Let me say that the United States government is extremely cooperative at all levels of its military structure, in helping any organization in any manner that it can. We ourselves have been working in close contact for a number of years with local officials in our own National Guard and Reserves, as well as military officials up through, and including, the Pentagon.

The Daisy Manufacturing Company, which makes both toy and real guns, was featured in the toy trade magazine in the fall of 1963 when it launched a nationwide shooting education program in conjunction with the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. The program was sanctioned by the National Rifle Association, which shares Daisy's avid interest in the "rights of the people to keep and bear arms", and which reported already at that time that guns could be found in over 75% of American homes.

### Responses to Criticism

The President of Remco Industries answered early critics of its emphasis on military themes by pointing out to them that the United States has become a military society, and that toy manufacturers should hardly be held responsible for capitalizing on the trend toward militarism. Other manufacturers were less honest. One indicated in response to communications which pointed that our cold war adversaries were purposively rejecting war toys for their children, that perhaps if the people of Russia and Eastern Europe knew more about the "individual effects of war" by *having played with war toys* they would not be so willing to follow their present leaders. Another made an unsupported and highly inaccurate statement that Hitler had banned war toys in Germany.

*Toys and Novelties* editors took note of a mixed response to the military line, even among manufacturers who were being bombarded with letters from the public and chided in editorials, cartoons and magazine articles across the nation. They began to anticipate trouble from the military build-up, and after Christmas, 1963, they offered a lame apology to their readers: "It was possible that some of the buyers' optimism for military was based on the fact that they saw no other category shaping up to come on with a rush and take over the lead in '64".

### More Advertising . . .

But the manufacturers could not afford to relax their advertising efforts at this point. Most had introduced new military lines. Tonka, for instance, was already featuring "enough military vehicles to stock a motor pool". Hassenfeld introduced G.I. Joe and rated an editorial comment in *Toys and Novelties*: "If the line goes big, the entire army goods category could be suddenly revitalized into a replay of its sterling performance of '63. It could happen". TV advertising was stepped up to unprecedented levels and the makers of military toys boasted of great prospects. Tele-

vision advertising was thought to be peculiarly effective in illustrating the "action potential" of kill toys. A gun manufacturer's ad tempted buyers with: "Multiple will help you make a killing".

The Tradewind reporters' comments reflected the fears and hopes of businessmen: "We have this nagging doubt about military", says a midwestern buyer. "We keep asking ourselves whether its going to hold up . . ." *"Our business is to give the people what they want"*, said the head toy buyer for a several-hundred-unit variety chain, *"and they'll want TV toys. It's as simple as that"*. [italics mine] Reporting on high sales for Topper's Johnny Seven OMA rifle: "It's TV that's bringing the customers running . . . no doubt about it"; on G.I. Joe's reception at the Toy Fair: "Some retailers were reported overly cautious in buying the fighting man". The Ad Forum offered advice to manufacturers: "You must follow through on your TV . . . supplement it with dealer mailings, in-store demonstrations, retail-detailing, newspaper and radio support, give-aways, theatre promotions, personal appearances at stores, local tie-ins of all types".

### "Swing Back at Misguided Mothers . . ."

The military lingo spilled over into many *Toys and Novelties* articles in 1964. Writers advocated a "rifle approach" to salesmanship, a "zeroing-in on specific customers, complementing the 'shot-gun' or general-image mission of public relations and advertising". A G.I. Joe commercial won the International Film and Television Festival of New York award for the "Best Sales Message". TV saturation was promised for all major military items throughout the Christmas buying season. And in January an editorial earnestly implored toy manufacturers to swing back at the "vocal little groups of earnest but misguided mothers who clamor so unrealistically against the production and sale of military goods as the 'teaching tools of violence'" and at the "consumer magazine articles, exquisitely timed to coincide with the toy industry's peak season, accusing manufacturers of invoking some obscure but tremendously potent black magic to TV-brainwash kids . . ." "How great it would be next October when, the anti-toy bully-boys begin to close in, to hear someone holler, 'Don't stand there . . . swing back!' and to watch and listen while TMUSA [Toy Manufacturers of the United States of America] did just that by stating the case for the toy industry with dignity, authority, conviction . . . Television doesn't 'force' inferior and actually unwanted toys on children through powerless parents. Military merchandise doesn't sear kids with psychic wounds, doesn't invest them with bloodlust. We know it . . . they don't. Let's tell 'em. How many times? Just as many as it takes".

## "Sane Toys for Healthy Kids"

Not all of the manufacturers were willing to risk the ire of the anti-war-toy people, however. Lionel disposed of its new missile line and declared: "our theme [Sane Toys for Healthy Kids] is aimed squarely at parents. We know from surveys, Toy Fair picketing and recent comments by eminent child psychologists, that parents are quite concerned over the effects on their children of lurid books, movies, TV programs and kill toys. We believe parents will not knuckle under this year to saturation TV exposure for the monster and boom-boom toys, but will turn to quality items that stress fun and learning . . . Our line of trains, raceways, science and space toys and phonographs fill the bill admirably".

The 1965 Toy Fair was the scene of a confrontation between war toy manufacturers, supported by the TMUSA President (who continued to quote Dr. Benjamin Spock as an expert who was not alarmed by war toys long after Dr. Spock had publicly reversed his position), and those manufacturers and protesters who insisted on making a public issue of war toys. Manufacturers hired psychologists to defend their military products on television panels, and then backed out of the spotlight and failed to appear. Military personnel pointedly ducked the Fair in 1965. Before the '65 Fair, an article in *Toys and Novelties*, reporting on the sale of American toys overseas, stated that military toys have a limited market internationally and are virtually unwanted in neutral countries such as Sweden. And finally, after some feeble attempts to prop up the war toy merchandisers by headlining "War Toys Victorious in Canadian Survey" (reporting on a poll showing that less than half of those polled thought that war toys were positively harmful to children) and "Quakers seek 'Toy Disarmament' in Uncoordinated National Drive" (an article reporting that manufacturers of military goods reported no decline in sales traceable to consumer movements of this type), *Toys and Novelties* printed, in April, 1966, an editorial titled "A matter of values and good taste" which was obviously an attempt to meet the war toy critics half-way:

The marching mothers were at Toy Fair again this year and a number of toy manufacturing firms adopted or continued campaigns against billigerent-type toys. In toto, this activity doesn't add up to a great deal. Viewed in the context of a growing, thriving industry it is easy to dismiss, and unfortunately is often dismissed, as the actions of a lunatic fringe or of publicity grabbers.

I think, however, a real and vital issue is raised here, one that we would do ourselves a great disservice to ignore. And it is not simply a question of "war" toys. I believe that anyone who maintains that giving a

little boy a toy pistol is going to turn him into a war-lover is disregarding well-known facts of human development, of environmental conditioning and of the vital influences of parental attitudes.

No, the issue is a basic one of values and taste and goes far beyond toy guns; it touches on every item the industry produces. I believe far too little thought is given by most toy men to values and taste.

Profit is, of course, the businessman's legitimate major concern . . . but it must not be his only concern. We often hear: "If they wouldn't buy it I wouldn't make it". Does this also mean: "I'll make *anything* that will sell", or are there other considerations?

What, after all, do toys really stand for? Diversion and entertainment for the child, to be sure, but much more importantly they indicate what skills we, society, think he should develop, what activities of life he should be concerned with, what vocations, or attitudes or heroes he should glamorize. No one, I think, would give a child a game based on the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, for example, although this is certainly a very real part of life; or how about a miniature Nazi concentration camp complete with crematoriums for turning tiny figures of Jews into soap. No one would make items like that because they so obviously go far beyond the bounds of good taste . . . no matter how well they might sell.

It is my personal opinion that there are toy items currently being produced which transgress just as far, but it is neither my intention, nor any of my business, to get into a discussion here of which items are good and which are bad. It is my intention to suggest to toy manufacturers and retailers, individually and collectively, that what is required is that much deeper and much more searching consideration be given to the values inherent in the toys they produce and sell.

These values may well differ from those of the marching mothers. But the underlying concern these mothers have for their children should be the toy industry's, too.

## The Critics Relax

One might have thought the issue to be dead and buried after this admission. Indeed, the number of critical newspaper and magazine articles, cartoons and letters to editors fell sharply in 1966 as compared with 1965, and in the winter of 1966-67 both the *Peace Education Bulletin* and *The Toy* newspaper were discontinued. The first was an effort of Women Strike for Peace (membership approximately 100,000), which had begun in the fall of 1963 to collect and disseminate monthly the opinions and activities of groups and individuals who were active in the anti-war-toy movement, and the second was a publication by a Los Angeles sculptor which came out "whenever possible" . . . five lively issues in all between September, 1965, and February, 1967, featuring writings, songs, drawings and kudos from a long list of notables including Jules Feiffer, Shel Silverstein, Erich Fromm, Margaret

Mead, Tom Paxton, Joan Baez, Bertolt Brecht, Justice William O. Douglas, J. Edgar Hoover and Jerome D. Frank.

By the fall of 1966, major department stores in every city where local anti-war-toy organizations existed had been persuaded to refrain from advertising the war toys they were still carrying, and many agreed to re-order particular toys only at a customer's request. Discount houses handled the war toy surpluses accumulated by wholesalers. Television, radio and press representatives were *soliciting* feature news from no-war-toy activists.

Columnist Arthur Hoppe may have expressed the feelings of many when he wrote an apologetic note to activist Julia Rosenthal in November, 1966, explaining that he had intended to write an anti-war-toy column during the Christmas season but had already used up all his ideas on the subject.

One of the last major efforts to dramatize the concerns of no-war-toy activists was the collection, in San Francisco, of barrels of used war toys, which were to be dropped on the Pentagon from a helicopter by members of a satire group called The Committee, in response to an announcement by the President that toys would be dropped over North Vietnam by friendly American planes. (The toy guns had to be delivered to Washington less spectacularly by bus, and the President's plans were never mentioned again.)

## Re-institutionalization and Transformation of Protest Movement

Many activists were by this time deeply involved in anti-Vietnam-war protests, and the anti-war-toy campaign could be seen as a useful project which followed their efforts to ban nuclear testing and was superseded by the more pressing demands of the anti-war movement.

For some, however, the concern with war toys and with the generalized "Culture of Violence" which surrounds both children and adults in contemporary America became the focus of a broader vocational interest in child development, in teacher education or in the relationship between play and creativity in a society where leisure consumes more and more of men's time.

## The Toy

Richard Register, the Los Angeles sculptor who published *The Toy* and who sponsored week-long sand-castle-building excursions on the beaches of Southern California and spawned a worldwide organization to oppose war toys, supplying decorated shirts,

bumper-stickers, posters, buttons and balloons to members, is now opening a toy factory of his own, is planning the publication of an adult magazine called *Play*, and is experimenting with the manufacture of "Prefotems" which induce creative impulses through the sense of touch.

Members of the still-active California Toy Committee are engaged in conducting meetings with parent and teacher groups and in working with nursery schools to explore new techniques for stimulating growth in creativity. They are distributing a Toy Resource Kit, which is mainly a collection of ideas for promoting constructive play and for conducting anti-war-toy campaigns. A similar collection in the form of a booklet "Let's Train Them for Peace" was prepared by a Minnesota branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which had been involved in the area of childhood education for peace through constructive play long before the recent war toy craze. A number of organizations are compiling lists of references in the area of play and violence; the World Without War Council maintains a file of clippings and reprints of articles, both popular and scholarly, which are related to childhood education and violence. Professional journal articles and books are appearing with increasing frequency.<sup>5</sup>

Psychiatrist Fredric Wertham, whose concern with the Culture of Violence dates back to the 1940's when his writings forced comic book publishers to modify their emphasis on sadism, has completed a book titled *A Sign for Cain* (1966), which includes a chapter on disarmament in the nursery. Recent laboratory studies by psychologists, especially Bandura and Berkowitz and their associates (1961, 1962, 1963a, 1963b, 1963c, 1964), which demonstrated that viewing television violence is not "cathartic" for children, but produces instead an appetite and justification for violence, have increased the credibility of Wertham's long-held views. A study by Mallick and McCandless (1966) produced similar results following play with toy guns.<sup>6</sup>

### A California Legislator . . .

John Burton, a California legislator who is sympathetic with the movement to oppose war toys, and who took note of successful

<sup>5</sup>A recent and authoritative sourcebook, with bibliography, is *Violence and the Mass Media* (Larsen, 1968).

<sup>6</sup>The author is presently conducting a survey of stereotyping and belief in the efficacy of solutions to social problems as related to children's leisure-time activities.

efforts in Querétaro State, Mexico, to prohibit the sale of kill toys, introduced a bill in his state to require labeling of toy weapons and military toys: "Toy depicting war or violence; may be harmful to children". He has been actively supported by Isidore Ziferstein, a well-known Los Angeles psychoanalyst who appears on television panels and radio talk shows to berate old-fashioned ideals of "masculinity" which require even small boys in our society to manifest aggressiveness and rapaciousness. (The bill, which was heard in the summer of 1967, attracted much attention but did not gain many votes.)

In all of the communications of those who oppose kill toys one finds a sense of urgency inspired by an awareness of the nature of modern war and the threat that it poses to human survival. As stated by Senator Burton:

To make war, death, and violence attractive and appealing to youngsters can only have an adverse effect on the sense of values that these children will acquire. Toys of violence help to indoctrinate children in methods of brutality and progressively desensitize them to the spectacle of human death and violence.

The purpose of military weapons are to kill people. The same is true of other instruments of violence. To have our children using this type of thing as toys is a harmful thing to a growing child. The question is whether we want to bring up a race of youngsters who are preconditioned to regard the taking of human life as just one of those things, and to accept force as a solution to any frustration.

People will say children have always played war and that is true; but modern-day war is not a hand-to-hand combat, but a mechanized mass form of killing and destruction. We must not encourage children to make a game of this. Today's modern war toys go so far as to teach children the techniques of 'civilized' torture and killing. If we are to achieve a lasting peace in this troubled world, we have to educate our children in new ways.

World-wide cooperation is now a condition of survival for us all. Can we expect war toys to equip the coming generation for the difficult task of building a secure world?

## **Evaluation of Cultural Effects**

It is hard to estimate what lasting effects the war toy craze and the movement to oppose it may have on American society. The movement has been less effectively coordinated in the United States than in Canada, where the Voice of Women conducted broadly-based campaigns in public schools. Hundreds of thousands of children in the United States belong to the G.I. Joe Club and re-enact daily the "adventures" described in the club "comics". Young boys who play at war today, however, are more likely to be those whose parents are fully supportive of the values such play represents. Many people have become aware of the

issues involved, and few decline to offer an opinion on the values or effects of war toys.

At the height of the craze, in the fall of 1964, I made a small survey study in Detroit for the Jane Addams Peace Foundation, and titled the study "Use of an attitude questionnaire as a propaganda device: a pilot study in the field of anti-war-toy propaganda". In addition to providing some advice to those engaged in leading discussion groups with parents (for which the questionnaire was originally designed), the study, which was conducted by sending questionnaires home to the parents of third and fourth grade boys, suggested that communications aimed directly at children may be more important than communications directed to adults. Several children discarded their war toys after reading the questionnaire.

The most significant finding from the study was that all adults who responded that their parents had disapproved of war toys and games were also discouraging their own children from such play. There were no cases of rebellion against parental attitudes in this area.

The study showed slight differences in responses associated with socio-economic status and sex (females and those of higher socio-economic status being somewhat more opposed to war toys). In general, the findings revealed that a majority of parents felt helpless, accepting, or apathetic about a recognized high level of military influence in the toy selections available to them, and were uneasy when confronted with the issues involved. A second questionnaire sent several weeks later did not reveal that any new sense of urgency or activism had been stimulated by the first questionnaire.

In the spring of 1967, I decided to send the original questionnaire to parents of third and fourth grade boys attending the same schools which had participated in the earlier study. The results are encouraging to those who would like to think that something other than a "normal business cycle" is involved in the recent rejection of war toys as reported by retailers all over the country.

The same proportion of parents in 1964 and in 1967 reported that their own parents had discouraged them in war play, and all except one of these reported their own disapproval of war play. The proportion of those who reported that they disapproved of their own children playing war games increased by 20% (from 37% to 57%).

On all of the fourteen dimensions measured, a "dovish" trend was evident, with no parents approving of the use of tax money to assist war toy manufacturers in 1967 (as compared with 16% approving of such expenditures in 1964) and with 32% of parents reporting that they had not bought war toys in 1967 (as

compared with 15% who reported that they had not bought them in 1964). In 1964, 21% of the parents who responded rated war games high on a preference scale, while in 1967, none rated war games high.

Over half of the questionnaires were returned in the 1964 survey (55 out of 95) and less than half were returned in 1967 (38 out of 90). The numbers involved in the survey are too small for the results to be statistically reliable when generalized to large populations, and the sample was focussed, but the fact that the changes from 1964 to 1967 are all in the same direction is certainly an indication that a real change has occurred.

### Strong Evidence . . .

The evidence is strong that the experiences of retailers and manufacturers in noting a lack of enthusiasm for "military" is a reflection of something other than a search for new novelties, and something other than a reflection that the oversupply of such goods in earlier years surfeited the demand, as suggested by a *Playthings* writer.

Few of the businessmen I interviewed were willing to credit anti-war-toy protesters with having influenced their situations markedly. (Much more directly effective, they say, have been the efforts of the John Birch Society to "expose" retailers who buy from communist countries by surreptitiously placing labels on display merchandise.) Some were more willing to say that the unpopularity of the war in Vietnam has been an important factor in the reduced appeal of "military" (which, they say, is usually a good category in wartime). All agreed that neither manufacturers nor buyers were likely to invest heavily in military lines again because of the public reaction they experienced.

In any case, those who have participated in the struggle for the disarmament of their children know that many parents and educators have confronted militarism as a serious issue for the first time because they became concerned about the corruption of their children. And for those who opted out of "military", confrontation on this level may produce long-term consequences that could hardly have been foreseen by the public relations men in the Department of Defense.

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## **The Visibility of Evil**

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### **Good People and Dirty Work**

Some years ago, Everett C. Hughes (1962), in a seminal paper entitled "Good People and Dirty Work", was moved to ask why it was that so many "good people" in Germany denied after the war that they had been cognizant of the evil deeds of the Nazis. There were, of course, many who denied any guilty knowledge for purely expedient reasons. They knew very well but found it to their advantage to deny this knowledge later on. These people, though they may have been in the majority, pose no particular problem. Much more worthy of note and concern, however, are the people who, though they had a somewhat vague knowledge of the fact that some horrible things were done in the concentration camps and elsewhere, nevertheless managed to hide this knowledge from themselves. They knew and yet they didn't know. They saw themselves and were seen by others as 'good people'—they would never have done any dirty work themselves—and yet they were dimly aware of some dirty work done by others and even in one way or another condoned it as "necessary". They are so perturbing just because they seem in some relevant respect so much like most of us.

Any society, it would seem, requires for its operation the performance of certain roles whose existence its members can admit only with difficulty. Though 'good people' may be convinced that these roles are "necessary", they will nevertheless, in the ordinary course of events, try to shield themselves from de-

tailed knowledge about them, they will attempt to push knowledge about them into the background of their consciousness. "At the same time", as Philip Slater (1967) has argued, "there are roles that no individual can admit he is able to perform". If people, in other words, can think of roles and deeds so distasteful and horrible that they could never perform themselves and yet are convinced that such roles need to be performed, there arises a moral disjunction in which morally distasteful acts are yet condoned provided they are engaged in by others specifically assigned to do the dirty work deemed necessary. This led Hughes to "raise the whole problem of the extent to which those pariahs who do the dirty work of society are really acting as agents for the rest of us".

Hughes suggests that we give a kind of unconscious mandate to people who are assigned to do our dirty work "to go beyond anything we ourselves would care to do or even to acknowledge . . . The higher and more expert functionaries who act in our behalf represent something of a distillation of what we may consider our public wishes, while some of the others show a sort of concentrate of those impulses of which we are or wish to be less aware".

### Denial of Visibility

The dissociation of moral sensibility that is implied here requires, at least in modern societies, certain structural conditions in order to be effective, among which relative lack of visibility is perhaps the most important one. The performance of some roles requires that they be conducted in secret. Were they performed in broad daylight, they would make it impossible for the "good people" to engage in the strategy of denial through which they maintain their precarious moral equilibrium. The usefulness of those doing the "dirty work" may well come to an end when they are constrained to perform in full view of "good people".<sup>1</sup>

The solid middle-class citizens of Nazi Germany seem, by and large, to have been unconcerned with what was being done to the Jews in the early years of the Nazi regime; even the public degradation of Jews in full visibility in city streets seems to have left them largely unaffected. But the Nazi regime showed very good judgment indeed in carefully hiding and camouflaging its later murderous methods. One may doubt that the death camps could have been operated except in secret. In the United States, solid middle-class citizens in both North and South must have been

<sup>1</sup>This applies, however, only to modern, and not to pre-modern, societies. Cf. for example, Gerald D. Robin (1964) and Finn Hornum (1968).

somewhat aware of the extralegal uses of violence habitually resorted to by Southern sheriffs and police against Negroes. Yet as long as such knowledge did not directly intrude on their perceptual field, the public remained unconcerned. Matters changed drastically when in recent years these inhuman methods were fully exposed to the public at large; when visibility could no longer be denied.

### **Arousal from Lethargy and Trained Incapacity**

Publicity, powerfully aided by the recent communication revolution, brought the evidence of illegitimate violence into every living room and thus made previous denial mechanisms inoperative. The dirty work of Southern law enforcement officers now led to the arousal of a previously lethargic and acquiescent community and to the emergence of a sense of indignation and revulsion. Had these Southern officials become aware of the changed circumstances under which they were now forced to operate, they might well have abandoned these methods in favor of more subtle means of intimidation. As it turned out, they were subject to the "trained incapacity" upon which Veblen and Kenneth Burke have commented. They adopted measures in keeping with their past training—and the very soundness of this training led them to adopt measures no longer in tune with novel requirements. Their past training led them to misjudge their present situation (Burke, 1936; Coser, 1965, 1967). The very exercise of illegitimate violence which had been productive of "order" in the past and had hence been condoned by solid citizens now produced a wave of public indignation among these very citizens which undermined the practice.

### **Public Sanctioned Seeing**

I do not wish to imply that those Southern or Northern "good people" who previously failed to "see" violence acted out of cynical self-interest and calculation. In a sense it would be reassuring if this were in fact the case. What seems to have been involved is that for individuals to "see" certain things that were not normatively sanctioned appeared to the general run of men as simply quixotic. They "saw" only when visibility became publicly sanctioned. What is so perturbing then is not that these men acted out of self-interest, but rather that they, as to some extent all of us, genuinely failed to become aware of and to reflect upon the brutality of "their" police as long as such awareness was not sanctioned through widespread public exposure.

Quite similar mechanisms seem to have been at work in regard to police brutality against Northern Negro slum dwellers. Here again "good people" seem to have been only peripherally aware of the indignity heaped upon the inhabitants of the ghetto. Here again, most of them remained unconcerned as long as they could deny a knowledge that did not directly intrude in their perceptual field. The ghetto poor lacked social visibility. They were wittingly or unwittingly kept out of the sight of "good people" whose moral sensibility would have been offended had they been visible. What is at issue here is not only physical segregation into special areas and districts that right-minded people would not normally care to visit and that are typically not shown to tourists, but also a kind of moral invisibility. John K. Galbraith (1959) remarked upon this a few years ago when he wrote: "In the United States, the survival of poverty is remarkable. We ignore it because we share with all societies at all times the capacity for not seeing what we do not wish to see. Anciently this has enabled the nobleman to enjoy his dinner while remaining oblivious to the beggars around his door. In our own day it enables us to travel in comfort throughout South Chicago and the South". Only the determined efforts of disinterested reformers and of interested spokesmen of the ghetto communities have made it impossible in recent years for the "good people" of the suburbs to continue to ignore the moral and physical plight of ghetto dwellers. And it may well be that among the unanticipated consequences of the recent urban riots is the fact that police brutality has become so clearly visible that its existence can no longer be denied by "good people".

The sociology of social perception, a sociology elucidating why people sometimes look and why they sometimes look away, still is to be written. But a few pointers as to what must be considered in this connection may be offered here.

### Restrictions on the Span of Sympathy

It may be helpful to consider a notion I have labelled the "span of sympathy". It is a familiar fact that even persons of liberal and humanitarian sentiment tend to be less affected by catastrophic events or by human suffering occurring far away than by those nearer home. Protestations of pan-human sympathies notwithstanding, I take it to be a common phenomenon that Americans are less affected by news of a flood in India than they are by similar news from Ohio. And it is probably true that to the Easterner a disaster in California is less "visible" and less "felt" than would be a similar disaster in New York. Distance,

both geographical and cultural, affects the sense of sympathy and identification. Hence, one is more likely to make sacrifices for an afflicted neighbor than for a faceless victim in a far-off land. (An opposite tendency can, however, also be observed: we all know of certain persons who are emotionally involved with injustice far away, with, say, the indignities heaped upon South African Negroes, while remaining comparatively unmoved by indignities nearer to home. In such cases identification with the victims of far away injustice seems to protect the person from guilt about his lack of involvement at home.)

In general, the perception of the humanness of the "other" decreases with the increase in distance between perceiver and perceived. The great fourteenth century North African historian Ibn Khaldun harbored many prejudices against all Negroes. But it is most interesting to note that he reserved his most pejorative comments for those black men of whom he had no direct knowledge. He writes: "To the South of the Nile [Niger] there is a Negro people called Lamlam. They are unbelievers. They brand themselves on the face and temples. The people of Ghana and Takrur invade their country, capture them, and sell them to merchants who transport them to the Maghrib. There, they constitute the ordinary mass of slaves. Beyond them to the south, there is no civilization in the proper sense. There are only humans who are closer to dumb animals than to rational beings. They live in thickets and caves and eat herbs and unprepared grain. They frequently eat each other. They cannot be considered human beings" (Brown, 1967). As this and countless other examples show, distant human beings not only fail to be reached by our span of sympathy, they may also fall prey to the propensity to deny their essential humanity. I have focused in the above on geographical distance, but it should be understood that social or cultural distance may perform the same functions.

### **Emotional Cathexis and Social Perception**

What seems to be involved here is a close interconnection between emotional cathexis and social perception. Men have only a limited amount of libidinal energy available to them. In the normal course of events, this energy is spent in the main upon those that are most intimately involved with the person; his family, his friends, his neighbors. Progressively less emotional energy is available as one moves from the world of one's intimate associates to the wider public world. Yet this wider world always intrudes, makes its insistent claims on our attention, and tends to arouse our sense of guilt. We are bombarded daily, so to speak, by

evidence of cruelty, inhumanity and horror, and all of these situations make claims on our sympathy and empathic involvement. When torn between conflicting commitment to the small world of our private lives and the larger world which demands our attention, men evolve a defense mechanism that involves the denial of knowledge. An evil unperceived cannot threaten us, it cannot upset the complacency of our quotidian lives.

This defense mechanism becomes especially important, or so it would seem to me, when "good people" obscurely feel not only that too close a look at the evils of the world at large might endanger their primary allegiance to their small private world, but when they come to feel that the very maintenance of that private world depends on the continued operation of some public evil. The continuance of the stability of the private world of the Southern white may depend to some extent on his ignoring the police brutality against Negroes, and it can function only as long as Negroes are "kept in their place". The peace of mind of the suburban dweller can be maintained only to the extent that he does not "see" the indignities of a ghetto which exists in a kind of symbiotic relationship with the suburb and ensures its orderly functioning.

As Hughes suggested, the private world of the "good people" in Germany could best be maintained unperturbed as long as they refused to see and acknowledge the horror perpetrated by the Nazi regime. The Nazis thus rendered a kind of strange service to the "good people" by so hiding their evil practices that it would have required a major effort to come to a full realization of their extent and depth. To be sure, as I argued earlier, the Nazi regime might not have survived a full disclosure of its horrible deeds, but it is also true that its policy of secrecy protected not only itself but also the stability of the private world of its "good people".

When American society piles its rejects into the backyards of hospitals, into its prisons and its mental hospitals where they become invisible, it protects itself from revolutionary claims for large-scale social reconstruction; but it also protects us "good people" from being diverted from our daily routines and from the claims of our private worlds. Thus, in the ordinary course of events, we remain only subliminally aware of the "dirty work" of prison wardens or police officials or attendants in state mental hospitals. They maintain the routine operation of that larger world upon which the continued functions of our private world is premised.

The revolution in the communication system of the last few decades has made the operation of the mechanisms of denial ordinarily relied upon by "good people" much more difficult.

I have mentioned the effect of the showing of Southern police brutality on the television screens and in the mass media magazines. Similarly, I think it likely that the much greater public indignation about the horrors of the war in Vietnam as compared, say, to the reaction to the Korean war, may at least in part be accounted for by the fact that we watch these horrors right in our living room. Evils which from time immemorial were kept from the populace and were known only by relatively small numbers of practitioners of dirty work are now much less easy to hide from the glare of publicity. Under these conditions some "good people" resort to what might be thought of as another line of resistance: They deny that the persons against whom these horrors are being perpetuated share to a full extent the essential humanity of "good people". In Buber's (1958) terms, they see people become an It rather than a Thou.

### Denial of Common Humanity

When limitations on the span of sympathy can no longer be defended in terms of lack of knowledge of evils and indignities, these are rationalized away by claiming that, in some sense, those exposed to them are "really" not like us and thus do not merit the same share of sympathy which we extend to "our kind". (In some cases, of course, both mechanisms seem to operate at one and the same time. One recalls in this connection reports of conversations with German "good people" in which they argued, "The stories about concentration camps are invented by the Allies—Besides I had my own family to worry about—The Jews must have done *something* to deserve such treatment".)

The dreary catalogue of dehumanizing perceptions of the "other" are too familiar to readers of this Journal to require much elaboration. A few examples must suffice. The evil Communist enemies of our anti-Communist crusaders are said to lack certain essential human characteristics and they can hence be treated like vermin that is to be exterminated. Negroes in the South both then and now are depicted as childlike and impulsive creatures who can be kept in line only by main force.

A few years ago a Norwegian social scientist interviewed a number of concentration camp and prison guards who had brutally murdered Jewish, Ukrainian and other prisoners during the war, and were now imprisoned in their turn.<sup>2</sup> He claims that they showed no evidence of guilt or remorse for their deeds and main-

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<sup>2</sup>Personal communication to the author.

tained staunchly that they had been justified in acting as they did because their victims were not "people like you and me . . ." These concentration camp guards, though they lived in the same physical environments as their victims, nevertheless managed to build so immense a social distance between "them" and "us" that they perceive their victims as not belonging to the same human race.

If I am right in my contention that the increased visibility brought about by the communication revolution decreases the effectiveness of the denial of knowledge by "good people", and forces reliance upon a second line of defense; the denial of common humanity, then an increasing brutalization of public life is much to be feared.

In some sense the denial of knowledge of the plight of German Jews or American Negroes comes under the rubric of hypocrisy, and, as the French moralists knew, hypocrisy is the tribute vice pays to virtue. But now one begins to witness a much more frightening process: One meets, for example, some "good people" who are perfectly willing to admit that the conditions of ghetto living are horrible, but who argue that "they had it coming to them". The man who refused to "see" the plight of the poor or the Negroes or the Jews still had human sensitivity that might be aroused; the man who denies the common humanity of the "other" has a calloused sensitivity which can no longer be penetrated at all short of a major reconstruction of personality.

If this condition were to become widespread, evil could be made visible without deleterious effects upon citizens and polity alike. It could be depicted on TV screens and brought into the living room, provided viewer and producer alike shared the conviction that what happens to "them" cannot happen to *us* since *we*, the "good people", have nothing in common with *them*, those alien others upon which we cannot and dare not lavish any sympathy.

If this comes to pass, we might enter a new brutalizing age in which the "good people", far from trying to protect themselves from the impact of dirty work would condone it with a good conscience. And when the conscience of "good people" rather than being protected by more or less hypocritical maneuvers, atrophies for good, then God help us all.

## A Transvaluation of Values

But then again, an alternative and more hopeful outcome might also be envisaged: the new visibility that certain forms of evil have attained in our days may induce intellectuals, those

"antennae of the race", and in their wake educated strata, the young and others who have relatively marginal stakes in the society, to question some of the value premises on which the society is based. That is, they may question the legitimacy of a social order which rests, or so it would seem to them, upon condoning or tolerating manifest social evils. In this case the revulsion against manifest horrors may set into operation a process of reexamination of societal values which could, in the long run, lead to a transvaluation of basic values and to a restructuring of the fundamental assumptions upon which the society rests. Which of these two alternatives will come to prevail may well determine the future course of civilization.

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## For a Sociology of Evil\*

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Certainly in some, probably in most, very likely in all of his activities *as a social scientist*, the social scientist by what he does inevitably intervenes in, interferes with, meddles in the social process.

If this "social science is social action theorem" (Seeley, 1963, 56) is true, it follows that social-science neglect, too, makes itself felt in society. Such neglect exists in regard to evil: to my knowledge, no social scientist, as a social scientist, has asked what evil is.

"What is evil"? is a question that has rather been raised (both in the West and in the East) by philosophers and theologians, as well as by uncounted, unclassified, unrecorded people since time immemorial. Here, most social scientists, however, will not feel negligent but virtuous and self-evidently so: "Of course", they might put it, "the exploration of the nature or essence or meaning of evil *obviously* is not our concern; it is a concern for the

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philosopher and the theologian! All we do and legitimately *can* do is ascertain (as well as possible) what men, what certain men *consider* evil. We study beliefs about evil, conceptions of it, attitudes toward it, the moral code of a given society or other group, and so on; in short, we explore what is *called* evil; but as social scientists, we do not and cannot commit *ourselves* to a conception of evil, because if we did, we would *by definition* no longer be social scientists but, precisely, become philosophers or theologians". Or, as they might *not* put it, in their nominalism and the practice attendant on it, social scientists commit themselves to a science which claims *not* to know what evil is, *not* to be responsible for knowing it or seeking to know it, and which, they are convinced, would indeed lose its character of science if it founded its investigations of evil on its own conception of it.

### Social Science Neglects to Raise This and Other Questions

This social science is characterized not only by the neglect to raise the question at issue—as well as many other questions which it considers equally non-scientific—but also by certain related, typically unacknowledged, theoretical consequences of conceptions of truth, particularly scientific truth, and of the relations between student and subject matter, Is and Ought, theory and practice, knowledge and its application, and science and history, society, politics and ethics. This is not the place to enter into any of the problems connected with this<sup>1</sup>—for they affect the treatment or nontreatment of many topics—evil is only one of them.

Even more conspicuous than studies of people's conceptions of evil are two other relations between social science, especially sociology, and the investigation of evil. On the one hand, there is the "classical tradition" which puts sociology at the service of improving the society studied, whether we think of Marx, Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Max Weber, or others among its representatives. On the other hand, there is the plethora of research into "social problems", that is, into evils, which are, however, conceived as such characteristically not by specified groups, but by some sort of anonymous "middle-of-the-road" (American) society, with which their student, probably in contradiction to the conception of sociology he would profess if he were pressed, might well agree. (For an attempt at specification, cf. Mills, 1963.)

<sup>1</sup>For an analysis of some of them, see an earlier version of this paper (Wolff, 1967, esp. 197–205).

The representatives of the "classical tradition", no matter how different from one another, share a more or less explicit conception of history. Both features, but particularly the latter, are absent from the "social pathologists". The one characteristic that the two groups have in common is a desire to ameliorate extant society—though the former consciously and more or less as an admitted task of their activity, the latter blushingly, given their vaunted "freedom from value judgments". The latter, and sociologists typically, in this country probably more than elsewhere, do not judge what they study, or judge it unwittingly—but if they do at all, it is more likely to be on the basis of their private views which, according to their conception of social science, ought not to "contaminate" it. They do not tell us, or do not tell us frankly, what they consider evil or, for that matter, evils: their conception of social science cannot tell *them*. Instead of having a conception of evil, they take over the conceptions of others and make their studies of evils (among other things) in accord with these conceptions, if not by contract or on order. Their position, role and professional type approach those of the "organization man".

### Evil: the Western Tradition and Today

Why is this so? Perhaps we can try for an answer by glimpsing at the history of the Western conception of evil and at contemporary society.

This conception is marked, above all, by the Judaeo-Christian tradition, particularly its Christian component, whether Original Sin or Glad Tidings be considered the core of Christianity. The Western conception of evil would thus have dissipated with the dissipation of that tradition, especially of Christianity itself. Owing perhaps to the personal and particular loyalties that characterize it—to Jesus, to saints and priests, to the Protestant's individual conscience—owing to this "particularism", Christianity seems difficult to reconcile with the "universalism" (both terms in Talcott Parsons' sense) that characterizes industrial, technological, bureaucratic society, whether capitalist or socialist (despite the fact that there is a line connecting certain features of "universalism" with certain features of Protestantism). This difficulty obviously accounts for much of the controversy and movement that has for some time agitated many churches—the Catholic Church notably since John XXIII. The heritage of the Christian conception of evil, at any rate, even though modified, diluted, deformed, is rooted in us, and the combination of this heritage with the historical development that is hard to reconcile

with it goes some way toward accounting for the incapacity of presumably a great many individuals today to form a viable conception of evil, one for which they—we—could truly answer.

## God Has Been Replaced by Other Absolutes

To put it differently: God has been replaced by other absolutes—State, Race, the Future of a given People, if not of Mankind, to which the present generation must be sacrificed (cf. Camus, 1958, esp. 282). Millions of men have been victimized by these absolutes and in their name have victimized others. The bad conscience or unease hovering about this remains to be ascertained. When infidels or witches were persecuted and killed, bad conscience and unease are likely to have been covered up by the conviction of acting in the name of God—although the persecuted died as irrevocably as if they had fallen prey to Hitler, Stalin, a traffic crash or napalm. Recognition of mishandling the name of God played, however, its role in the Reformation, which, among other things, was a secularization of Catholicism in the sense that it questioned previously unquestioned aspects of God and their abusive institutionalization on earth.

Yet the suffering inflicted in the name of more recent absolutes is much less limited than that perpetrated in the name of God: the numbers and the categories of people that punishment, misery and death can attain have grown enormously with democratization and with technology, especially that of communication, transportation and destruction. Modern social control thus is far more total and cruel, as well as efficient, than ever before, when "crimes against mankind" had not yet begun to be recognized as such. They were first named and punished at Nuremberg but have also been perpetuated for years in Vietnam by American "fire power", "especially air power (Harvey estimates . . . [its preponderance over the Vietnamese] at about 1000 to 1)": "crimes against mankind" have not yet entered the consciousness and conscience of mankind, so that "American Huey troops at Vinh Long" (soldiers hovering in a Huey Hog, "a converted transport helicopter which has been remade into a floating firing platoon with the fire power of a World War II infantry battalion crammed aboard")

didn't hurl impersonal thunderbolts from the heights in supersonic jets. They came muttering down to the paddies and hootch lines ["rows of houses along a road or canal"], fired at close range and saw their opponents disintegrate to bloody rags 40 feet away (Harvey, 1967, quoted by Crichton, 1968).

If ever these men conceive of their actions as evil, they don't act in accord with their conception. Thus: if "no poetry after Auschwitz", what social science in the face of such bestiality? Will there be a Nuremberg for the American military and their Washington directors, or will it be impossible to distinguish the Eichmanns among all of us? Yet to

be silent about that which we cannot grasp is the only adequate mode of being; the only adequate mode of being before that which we cannot grasp is *not* to be silent about it. Between these contradictory truths lies our dilemma, for we can neither be silent nor speak; we must speak, but we cannot speak (Wolff, 1961, 14).

### The Paralyzing Suspension . . .

This dilemma has taken historical body in our paralyzing suspension between two impossible worlds: one in which we can no longer believe, a world ordered by religious directives and moderations; and one which we cannot bear, a world without these directives and moderations. We are alienated from both of them, which nevertheless alone seem the worlds at our disposal. This, perhaps, is the reason why we have not succeeded in articulating a conception of evil that would be adequate to the secularized world in which we in fact live, but which has left evil itself, in contrast to space, cancer, the Greeland Icecap, and innumerable other phenomena and problems, comparatively unexplored, ominously sacred and threatening. Evil is no longer committed in the name of God, is less than ever "legitimated" by religious or even moral motives, and is covered over by political, economic and technological reasons, and on a larger scale than ever—but the cover can also be seen through, and is seen through, by more people than ever. And there is evil, such as the suffering and death caused by famine and epidemics, that the technology and economy we have developed could eliminate if we applied them to this end, instead of submitting to other orders we also have developed, notably the relations and the distribution of power, and the distribution and, especially, nondistribution of economic products.

### Max Weber's Diagnosis

The decisive difference between the two worlds is that the first is done with, while the second is there for us to work on so it may become one we can affirm. Here Max Weber's work (Marcuse, 1968) can be of much help, not only in its analytic power but also in its symptomatic character. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, in particular, has a significance at once more vast and specific than tends to be recognized. For it deals not only

with the two phenomena indicated in its title but conjures up, for Weber as well as for us, a much larger complex, which profoundly troubled Weber himself, and which is made up, beyond the remnants of ascetic Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism, by the associated elements of bureaucracy, functional (technical, instrumental) rationality, secularization, impersonality and control. In other words, it represents the second of the two worlds mentioned, modern industrialized society. It is this complex and those and related elements that make us feel frustrated, alienated, powerless, vicarious, anonymous, etc., as we so often say. Beyond analyses, discussions, laments, however, there also are more active and practical responses, suffering, and political action. Max Weber's intent was to account for the rise of the spirit of capitalism; but what this account can mean for us was probably as unintended by him as was, from the point of view of Calvinism, capitalism itself.<sup>2</sup>

Let us recall these features of the Protestant-capitalist complex: labor, work, making, producing, discipline, asceticism, control, specialization, bureaucracy, profit. Being parts of a whole, they are related, as are our responses to them. In terms of this list, capitalism and the reaction to it, socialism, which has become the other variant of modern industrialized society, are much more alike than unlike.

This society goes back far beyond the present generation, and so does its critique—it is enough to recall Marx himself, Kierkegaard and Nietzsche, utopian communities, communist and socialist movements; and there are many other indications in the arts, philosophy and theology. What is new is the extraordinarily accelerated development of this society during the last decades. Some of its results are Stalinism, Nazism, and fascism, more generally, the A- and H-bomb, electronics, the exploration of space. Perhaps the most general reaction to them is a feeling of puzzlement, foreboding and ignorance and, more recently, the

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<sup>2</sup>Capitalism as what Robert K. Merton might call "an unintended consequence of purposeful social action" is suggested by Talcott Parsons: "One cannot say that the Calvinistic ethic or any of its legitimate derivatives ever approved money-making for its own sake or as a means to self-indulgence, which was, indeed, one of the cardinal sins. What it did approve was rational, systematic labor in a useful calling which could be interpreted as acceptable to God. Money was, certainly in the beginning, regarded as a by-product and one by no means without its dangers. The attitude was, that is, an ascetic one. But even this served capitalistic interests since, on the one hand, work in economic callings would serve to increase earnings but, on the other, the fear of self-indulgence would prevent their full expenditure for consumption" (Parsons, 1937, 526-527). Thus it looks like a double surprise: first, capitalism, then the meaning for us of Weber's analysis of it.

protest against such particular features as the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the war in Vietnam. But there are many more indirect reactions, that nevertheless are equally, if not more instructive in regard to the society in which we live: the widespread feeling of alienation and the widespread concern with alienation; the resistance against control and manipulation on the part of ever younger people, particularly students; the distrust of their elders; the civil-rights struggle; the ecumenical movement; the formation of various groups who protest or withdraw, from Beats to Hippies and Diggers; developments in art—pop-art, happenings, art in the service of politics; certain governmental programs, especially the anti-poverty program; certain developments in the social sciences, for instance, action anthropology (Wolff, 1958, 1959, 1964). A few words about some of these will show their relevance in our context.

## **Alienation**

Alienation places a distance not only between the individual and his society but also within himself, between him and whatever he might believe reality to be (Keniston, 1967). Much of what the alienated encounters, including himself, is unreal, and he longs for the real. He may try to find it in psychic states induced by drugs; he may be tired of the centuries-old sermon on deferred, indefinitely deferred gratification, and seek it now; he may "turn on" (but notice the mechanical metaphor) by, for instance, letting music, in turn turned on full-blast, invade him. He may be less pervasively alienated and instead reject more definable and particular aspects of his society, notably persons, especially his parents and his elders generally, whom he believes to suffer from this world as he does but whom he may also hold responsible for its horror. Or he may rebel against certain of these features that he resents as particularly objectionable, such as control and manipulation—despite the official veneration of science, as if science were nothing but the highest expression of this control.<sup>3</sup> Or he may do more than rebel, joining others in trying to leave this society physically, socially, emotionally, perhaps founding a community. This may be no more than withdrawal or, as in the case of the Diggers, may also entail action on concern and kindness.

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<sup>3</sup>Despite this veneration, its more spontaneous distrust is shown, e.g., in science fiction in the decreasing confidence in the scientist as the human type who solves "social problems"—which are rather left to the native of other planets, suggesting that the faith in the magic of science had resurrected the older magic of the *deus ex machine* (Hirsch, 1962, 267).

## Fight

Others react to this society by attempting to improve it, working, for instance, for civil rights or in the ecumenical movement. A few try to understand how certain children and adults risk their lives doing what strikes them in particular as right—how *they* fight evil (Coles, 1967); or they attempt—as the late C. Wright Mills, or Herbert Marcuse, Barrington Moore, or Kenneth Keniston—to understand this society historically and critically; or they engage in political actions of many kinds.

Concerning our society, various forms of art, most obviously caricature and cartoon, but also certain mime and pantomime plays, use irony and sarcasm; in other forms expectations are broken—from the *trompe-l'oeuil* to the happening (“it isn’t as you think it is”), which may, like the social “no”, pass into a “yes”, into the effort to “feel real” to “have an experience”, if only to be shocked out of numbness. This consideration points to antecedent developments in art—surrealism, dadaism, expressionism, and in literature, from the contemporary “new novel”, in which the object replaces or does for the subject, to Kafka, Joyce, Henry James, imagism, stream-of-consciousness writing. Marshall McLuhan too, finds his place here, with his insistence on overcoming controlled unilinearity and the eye’s monopoly in favor of the appeal to all the senses or, in Norman O. Brown’s words, polymorphism.

## International Relations

The most obvious problem of modern industrial society lies in international relations, though less, despite its magnitude, in the precarious relation between the two variants of this society, capitalist and communist, than between both and those that are neither, the “developing nations”, the “third world”. The truth of Marx’s adage that the root is not society, but man, shows itself when man comes to the fore and fights—most dramatically as a guerrilla—against the whole “military-industrial complex”. The political outcome surely is uncertain; thus in Vietnam, an increasing number even of observers who are members of that complex admit that our machinery is not equal to guerrilla warfare; in Latin America, the success of the guerrillas appears to have been set back by Che Guevara’s assassination; in the United States itself, the future seems impenetrable—but of more importance than almost anywhere else.

## Max Weber's Diagnosis Today

Max Weber's methodological tenets, notably his misleading and widely misread insistence on a value-free social science, but also his dangerously elliptic formulation of the ethics of responsibility and of principle, suggest his position at the end of a period during which men took it for granted that the nation was the largest unit of social organization. Characteristic of Weber's position was that he felt urged to diagnose his society and his time but that he insisted on doing so outside sociology. "No one knows"—to recall a famous passage at the end of *The Protestant Ethic*—"who will live in this cage of the future" (the "iron cage" that the "light cloak" of the Puritans' "care for external goods" had become)

or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideals, or if neither, mechanized petrification, embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved". But with this [Weber checks himself], we get into the field of value judgments and judgments of faith, with which this purely historical presentation shall not be burdened (Weber, 1958, 182; author's translation of the last sentence).

If we take Weber, the whole man, and not only that part of his that he himself admitted into his sociology, then by bringing his diagnosis to bear on ourselves, we are acting on his intent. We placed Protestantism and capitalism into the complex of which they are a part and from which Weber had isolated them for scientific analysis, and we are trying to understand the whole of this complex today. The reactions to it we have sketched, to which many could be added, suggest that we are closer to the end of Weber's period than he was, or are already into the beginning of a new one, of which we know as little as Marx could know about the reign of freedom that was to follow the reign of necessity.

On the basis of the diagnosis suggested, the task of the sociologist is to analyze and interpret responses to our society such as have been illustrated. To vary Marx's formula of the change from necessity to freedom, we can adopt Marcuse's (*Eros and Civilization*) of the change from life under the performance principle, which we all know, to life under the pleasure principle, of which we have only the most fleeting notions: under the guidance and compulsion of the former, we have produced so many things and so much knowledge that we can afford the most radical change in man's history: to a society that would be acceptable to an unprecedented majority of men because they would consider it

good on unprecedentedly mature reflection. Not only this change, but also its outcome is almost impossible to imagine. Still, it is quite possible, if it is not likely, that in the short run we shall be dead, but that the prospects for those who come after us, if we ourselves attend to this change with everything at our command, are unimaginably better than is the world in which we live.

## For a Sociology of Evil

This suggests what one sociologist, at least, might argue as good: a necessary utopian society, whose seed he recognizes in ours. *Evil*, therefore, would be the failure to recognize and fight all that would choke this seed: injustice, misery, sham and the institutional arrangements that favor and facilitate these. An historically adequate conception of evil cannot locate it in the individual, as evil deed, sin or vice (which, of course, exist), nor in myth, religion or philosophy (not that its mythical, religious and philosophical dimensions are not relevant today, too), but must locate it in society and in the individual's relations to society.

Hence, the tasks of a *sociology of evil*: to study the various reactions to our society that have been mentioned, or other, similar ones, in an effort to specify the corresponding characteristics of this society, thus this society itself, and what of it needs change, and how.

It may be objected that such an undertaking is possible without reference to evil, in another perspective or, indeed, without an explicitly formulated one. It may also be objected that the undertaking, in whatever perspective, is superfluous because we know enough already, and what is needed is not study but action. Both objections, if they are counter-suggestions, are nothing but welcome. What recommends the proposal submitted here is this: (a) The proposal acknowledges and acts on sociology as morality and praxis which has been neglected, thus helping to reconnect sociology with its historical task and thereby to reestablish, at least in one area of our intellectual concerns, a believable, affirmable continuity. (b) It reestablishes a continuity also with the universal human preoccupation with good and evil. This continuity is expressed and denied—expressed, e.g., in nightmares, neuroses, psychoses, anxiety, aggression, violence; denied, e.g., in the widely observable reluctance to use the word “evil” and to prefer, instead, less “haunting” words. The enterprise proposed thus has a therapeutic function for those who would act on it, as well as for persons who would in any way come in contact with it. (c) The neglect to study evil intervenes, and its study will intervene—if we recall Seeley's “social science is social action theorem”—“in the social process”. On the most modest scale, those

engaged in the study will find it meaningful, hence feel less alienated for it; and this may also apply to some readers of their findings. Less modestly, the study may contribute to changing the definition of the situation of contemporary society, and thus perhaps to changing this situation and this society themselves.

### A Few Examples

I conclude with a few examples of study complexes that may serve to make the proposal more concrete by conveying its open and comprehensive character.

#### *First, an Example of One of the Investigations Envisaged by the General Diagnosis That Has Been Suggested:*

... In probably all countries, there are people who recognize certain aspects of our historical situation and act accordingly: resisting, protesting, rebelling, fighting, destroying, killing, building, planning, constructing, helping, writing, marching, analyzing, proclaiming, preaching. It is always a "No" to aspects they have recognized and a "Yes" to others whose seeds they discover and want to grow, whether it is in a peasant revolt or a civil-rights struggle, whether the actors are colonials, ex-colonials or students. Is a new conception of evil—less Christian or religious in general, more secularized and more in line with our virtually One world—in the process of developing? One could try to find out by studying both the leaders of many of these types of activities and participants at all levels; one would probably arrive at a number of conceptions of evil. What are the social sources of these conceptions, and what are their social and political effects? Which are their common traits? Is it possible to ascertain a rather limited number of types of conceptions of evil, or perhaps even one, which would be diffused everywhere? What aims might such studies serve, how could their utilization for these aims be justified, how could they be used, what could be the consequences of their use?

#### *An Example of Research into Sociology Itself that is Suggested by the Sociology of Evil Proposed:*

... The type of individual and sociologist who argues this sociology of evil is himself somebody who acts in accordance with his recognition of certain aspects of the world in which he lives. His own conception of evil finds expression, e.g., in his insistence that evil be recognized as a topic of social-

scientific, especially sociological, research. Which type of sociologist is concerned with evil as a scientific topic; which type is not? What has happened in the world that would account for the change from the second to the first? Is there, in addition to the precarious role of Christianity in a society that has been partly described, partly predicted by George Orwell twenty years ago in *1984*, also the precarious situation of the white man and of Western domination that has been predicted fifty years ago by Oswald Spengler in *The Decline of the West*? The social psychologist who studies socialization, aggression, resentment, prejudice; the psychiatrist who studies neuroses and psychoses; the cultural anthropologist who studies the variety of cultures, including the variety of moral codes; the sociologist who studies slums, crimes, vice are probably more sensitive than others to the problematic and dangerous aspects of our world. But many of them separate their profession from their life, hold on to a "value-free" social science, and try to practice it. What is the origin, beyond Max Weber, of this social science? (Recall the change from the Hegelian conception to positivism: Marcuse, 1960.) Its practitioners have probably spread not only their knowledge but also their personal sensitivity to social phenomena far beyond the social sciences themselves. Is this, however, comparable to knowledge diffused by the mass media in having contributed less to the enlightenment than to the disorientation of the general social consciousness and to its increased disturbance?

*A Few Examples of Sociological Analyses of Materials  
Not Originally Found in Sociology but Relevant to the Inquiry:*

- . . . From sin to complex. Origin and development of the psychological interpretation of the infraction of moral norms, including changes in attitude toward such infractions, especially the shift from judgment and condemnation to understanding and explanation. Development of efforts to correct and improve the behavior of those who breach norms. Changes in the significance attributed to the thought of infraction as against the act of infraction. All these aspects to be investigated in relation to social situations and structures and their changes. One of the lessons of the research could be the answer to the question that both the author and his readers might ask: what is a justifiable attitude toward his or their own behavior and that of others—critical or understanding, moral or psychological?

### *Mythology and Practice of Ordeals*

- . . . What conceptions of evil can be deduced from ordeals described in myths; what conceptions of evil, from ordeals that have in fact been practiced? What can we infer about the nature of ordeals and corresponding conceptions of evil from an analysis of the mythical as against the practical context (circumstances, explanations, frequency, consequences) of ordeals? What does the study of ordeals suggest if we compare them with investigations that suspected persons undergo in our own society (examinations and cross-examinations, lie-detector, brainwashing, punishments and humiliations to discover the truth or obtain a statement, etc.)? To what extent can such studies change our own attitudes toward such measures?

### *Evil in Dreams*

- . . . Dreams about particular evils, their imagery of evil, inferences as to the dreamer's conception of evil, comparison of this conception with that of the awake person. Special attention should be paid to relations between evil and anxiety, fear, and the mechanisms by which what is feared becomes an evil or evil. The importance of these mechanisms for our understanding of the relations between anxiety, fear and mythical figures and symbols of evil, of the phenomenon of the scapegoat and, more generally, prejudice—including the importance for our understanding of these phenomena in ourselves.

### *When Does Who Think About Evil?*

- . . . One could begin by studying socialization, in the course of which people acquire their ideas of evil. What ideas of evil are taught during socialization, what importance for the individual is given them? For which manifestations of evil, which the researcher knows from other sources, does (a given case of) socialization not, or inadequately, prepare the (given) individual? A comparison of what the student knows about conceptions of evil acquired in the course of socialization and what he knows about evil(s) that exist in the world can furnish him with hypotheses concerning evil(s) for which socialization does not prepare, or insufficiently prepares, the individual. These hypotheses can then be examined by studies of cases where the individual thinks about evil or otherwise encounters it. Or one could begin with such cases, wherever one finds them—in scientific literature, in novels or short stories or by direct investigation

—in order to try to find an answer to the question of this inquiry.

*What Does the History of Censorship Teach Us About the History of Conceptions of Evil?*

. . . The inquiry which tries to ascertain it should be accompanied, as far as available sources allow, by an inquiry into the diffusion of censored writings and of their readers. Censorship, diffusion of censored books and types of readers show perhaps more or less marked changes according to the various contents of the writings. Thus, the history of "pornographic" books is possibly less variable, despite the variations in the criteria of pornography, than the history of books censored for theological or political reasons. In any case, what can we learn from such studies about the nature of evil that expresses itself in this fashion in its more or less variable relations with social institutions and human traits—particularly in contemporary society?

## The One Question

Obviously, these examples could be multiplied enormously. In addition to conceptions of evil and their differences and convergences; the examination of sociology and sociologists in regard to notions of evil and attitudes toward these; interpretations of breaches of moral norms; ordeals; evil in dreams; occasions on which types of persons think about evil, and censorship—what about (for instance) studies in the etymology and semantics of "evil" and cognate and contrasting words, in one language and comparatively; inquiries into the place of evil in the history of philosophy: into ideas of evil as counter-concepts to ideas of the good society in works of sociologists and other thinkers; into the antecedents, if such there are, of evil in pre-human animals; or into the vast relations between evil and technology (of various kinds) or between evil and law—among many, many others? No matter how heterogeneous these areas of research may appear, drawing as they do on the literatures of sociology, social, child, depth psychology and psychoanalysis, ethics and theology, cultural anthropology, law, linguistics, philosophy, history of ideas, social, economic, and intellectual history, animal sociology, ethology, and genetics, the histories of science and technology, literature and the other arts, and journalism—what makes them contributions to one central problem is the question that inspires them: the question concerning the seeds, in our society, of a better

one than ours. Is there a more urgent and a more important task for sociology?

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## **Is There a Racial Tipping Point in Changing Schools?\***

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**Baltimore City School System**

In this paper we want to explore the pattern of growth (or occasionally decline) of the proportion Negro in schools in Baltimore in the light of two basic types of theories of prejudice. School enrollment statistics by race are available for Baltimore for the years since the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. These statistics are essentially reflections of the net migration patterns by neighborhoods in the city for each of the races, more or less overlaid by the pattern of parochial school segregation. That is, if the percentage of Negroes in a school increases, this in fact means either that there has been a net migration of white parents from the neighborhood or that there has been an increase in private or parochial school attendance by whites in the neighborhood, or both.

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Net migration away from a neighborhood (or any other territory) can be conceived of as a measure of the unfavorableness of the environment of the neighborhood compared with that of other neighborhoods. The proportion of Negroes in a neighborhood is a continuous variable which measures the degree to which that neighborhood might be thought of as unfavorable to a prejudiced person. Consequently, in theory, we should be able to evaluate different conceptions of how prejudice operates to produce behavior by studying the relationships between proportions of Negroes in neighborhoods (schools) and net migration of whites.

As a practical matter, there are forces involved in net migration other than prejudice, such as the size and rate of expansion of available housing, the rates of natural increase and household formation of different social groups, the exclusion of Negroes from the suburbs. We will discuss some of these alternative forces in the conclusions.

### Is Prejudice a "Threshold" or a "Continuous" Phenomenon?

The question we can address with the data is whether prejudice is a "threshold" or a "continuous" phenomenon. The continuous notion dominates social distance studies, both of the kind that have respondents rank ethnic groups according to a set of criteria, and of the kind that ask for responses to progressively closer and more intimate associations with a given ethnic group. In these studies prejudice is conceived of as a continuous variable, a matter of degree. For a given person, different ethnic stimuli have different degrees of noxiousness; for a given ethnic stimulus, different people have different degrees of finding it noxious; for a given degree of noxiousness of an ethnic stimulus, there is a corresponding degree of social closeness in behavior and perception which is compatible, or balanced, with that degree of prejudice.

A slightly different explanation is the notion that people tolerate stimuli up to a particular point, but that once this threshold point of tolerance has been passed then a reaction or response to the stimulus is evoked. Once a person is beyond this threshold of tolerance, it matters very little about the increased strength of the stimulus. What is actually being looked at in such cases is a response which can be divided into categories of action or not action. Our attention would then be focused on the question of what is the strength of prejudice required in order to evoke this action. This idea has given rise to the popular notion that

there might be some "tipping point" at which a reaction to a changing neighborhood or to a desegregated school or some such social aggregate is evoked. It would be at this point that a person moves out of the aggregate. Behind every proposal of a quota system as a means of achieving a stable desegregated unit, there is the underlying idea that there does exist such a point of tolerance or "tipping point". If there is such a tipping point at which whites rapidly leave an apartment building or stop using a municipal swimming pool or withdraw from a social club, and this point could be found, then, of course, one solution to desegregation would be an agreed-upon quota immediately below this tipping point, for at that point a racially mixed unit could be stably maintained.

For both theoretical and practical reasons, then, it is of interest to pursue these ideas of prejudice. The theoretical interest will be satisfied if we gain insight into how prejudice operates; the practical interest will be satisfied if we are better equipped to solve desegregation problems. In order to study the problem, we will use information on the Baltimore City School System. If we look at data beginning with the time that the change started, the school year of 1955, we can use these historical data as a point of departure in our analysis. Our analysis uses the 210 Baltimore City Public Schools from 1955 through 1965. For each school within the system, we have the yearly enrollment of Negro and white students from 1955 through 1965. We will look at what happened in schools having different proportions of Negroes. The threshold and continuous notions of prejudice produce two contrasting expectations about the pattern: (a) the threshold notion corresponds to a "tipping point" phenomenon, (b) a continuously increasing abandonment of the school by whites as the proportion of Negroes rises corresponds to a continuous, or social distance, notion of prejudice.

In order to check the idea of a "tipping point", we will look at schools with varying proportions of Negroes at the beginning of a particular school year and then see how whites react in those schools. Using this approach we can answer the following question: for all schools with approximately the same percentage of Negroes during one year what was their *average increase* in proportion in the following year? If we find a point or a proportion at which there is an exaggerated increase the following year in the proportion of Negroes, then we will have found a "tipping point", or a point of acceleration in the resegregation process. If we find continuous acceleration of the decrease of whites, we will have supported the social distance notion.

## Method of Calculation

The basic idea used in the analysis of tipping points is that of the *moving average*. This technique is frequently used in the economic analysis of time series.

Suppose we want to estimate the percentage increase of Negroes during a year in those schools that start at 5 per cent Negro. Looking at the Baltimore City data for the eleven years, we find that there are only 17 schools which, during any year, started with between 4 and 5 per cent Negro. This is quite an unstable basis for estimating what happens in schools having 5 per cent Negro students. (It becomes even more unstable at other percentages. There was only one school, for instance, during any one year which had between 52 and 53 per cent Negro.)

In order to get a more stable estimate of what goes on in the *general region* of 5 per cent Negro, we can take an average of all schools *near* 5 per cent Negro. In this analysis, we have chosen to consider all schools falling 5 per cent on either side of a given percentage of Negroes as being *near* that percentage.

Hence what we have done is locate all schools which in 1955 fell between 0 and 10 per cent Negro. Then we go on to the next year and locate all schools falling in the interval between 0 and 10 per cent. (Some of them will, of course, be the same schools.) We continue this for all the years for which we have data. For all these "school years" (reported in the last column of Table 1) which began with from 0 to 10 per cent Negro, we calculate the *percentage change* in Negro enrollment from that year to the next. Then we compute the average of all these percentage changes. This is the number reported in column 2 of the table. Referring to the first row of Table 1, we find that these schools which started any of the eleven years (1955-1965) with from 0 to 10 per cent Negroes (5% midpoint) had, on the average, an increase of 1.62% Negro students the following year. This average is based on 616 "school years".

## How Many Whites Left so that Negroes Could Come?

A second question which we can ask, using this same approach, is: What was the average proportion of whites of the previous year who must have left for this increase in Negroes to have taken place? The procedure used here allows only an estimation of the percentage of white leavers.

In order to estimate approximately the net percentage of all whites who had to leave for the school to increase as much as it did in percentage of Negroes, we assume that the number of students did not increase during the year. (Undoubtedly some

TABLE 1  
CHANGE IN SCHOOL COMPOSITION, BY INITIAL COMPOSITION  
FOR BALTIMORE CITY, 1955-1965

Per Cent Negro (Midpoint of Interval)*	Average Increase in Per Cent Negro Per Year	Average Net Per Cent of Whites Leaving Per Year (Approximate)	Number of School Years*
5	1.62	1.71	(616)
10	4.57	5.08	(164)
15	4.93	5.80	(125)
20	5.27	6.59	( 93)
25	7.99	10.65	( 72)
30	9.61	13.73	( 53)
35	9.40	14.46	( 49)
40	7.26	12.10	( 52)
45	7.77	14.13	( 42)
50	8.48	16.96	( 31)
55	7.01	15.58	( 42)
60	5.63	14.08	( 40)
65	7.18	20.51	( 33)
70	7.71	25.70	( 38)
75	7.15	28.60	( 37)
80	6.70	33.50	( 35)
85	5.52	36.80	( 33)
90	2.72	27.20	( 45)
95	.01	**	(742)

\*See "Method of Calculation" for an exact explanation.

\*\*By the estimating procedure, this gives a meaningless figure (equivalent to division by zero). See "Method of Calculation" section.

schools do become more crowded as the proportion of Negroes increases, but this is not reflected in our calculations.) With this assumption, we can estimate "F" the net percentage of whites leaving per year by the ratio

$$F \approx \frac{\text{Estimated Percentage Whites Leaving}}{\text{Estimated Percentage Whites at Beginning}}$$

By making this assumption that the number of students did not increase, we can use the increase in percentage of Negroes as an estimate of the whites leaving and the percentage of whites at midpoint of the interval as an estimate of the whites in the school at the beginning of the year. Therefore

$$F \approx \frac{\text{Percentage increase in Negroes}}{\text{Percentage white (midpoint) at beginning}}$$

When the percentage of whites at the beginning is very small (less than 10 per cent), this estimate is essentially the same as dividing by zero. In order to estimate the percentage of whites who leave from predominantly Negro schools, we would have to

use a different form of calculation. Since there are so few of them<sup>1</sup> and since they have little effect on overall segregation patterns, we have not estimated these figures.

## Results: Baltimore City School System

The results of the analysis are reported in Table 1. First, let us examine the second column. If there were a "tipping point", we should find a place where the numbers in this column suddenly become much larger, indicating that at that point the whites begin to abandon the public school system. Instead what we find is a very different pattern. There is a low average rate of increase in percentage of Negroes in the predominantly white school: 1.62 per cent per year. In desegregated schools, starting with the ten per cent Negro school, there is an average increase yearly of from roughly 5 to 10 per cent in the proportion of Negroes. This fluctuates slightly, but there is no discernible pattern. For instance, the highest figure is for the 30 per cent Negro school, which, on the average, can be expected to be a 40 per cent Negro school the following year (an increase of 9.61 per year in percentage of Negroes). One of the lower figures is for the 60 per cent Negro school, which can be expected to be a 66 per cent Negro school the following year (an increase in the second column of 5.63). It is highly implausible to think of whites fleeing a 30 per cent Negro school more than they flee a 60 per cent Negro school. Yet the larger increase in Negro students is in the 30 per cent school. Thus, the observed fluctuations appear to be random.

On the average then, once a school is desegregated it increases about 7 per cent per year in proportion Negro, until it gets to be 90 per cent or more Negro. Then, of course, there is no more room left for it to add more Negroes.

Because of the particular method used in this paper to calculate column 3 of Table 1, the percentage of white emigrants reported is not an independent calculation.

However, this dependence is in fact a reflection of the process of accommodation for increased numbers of students in a particular school. Accommodation to increases is restricted by the fixed size of school facilities. Of course, some schools do serve a larger student clientele through using mobile classrooms, half-day schedules, or other adjustments. The maximum possible adjustments of these kinds still occur within a rather restricted range.

<sup>1</sup>In an analysis of the process of desegregating schools—not reported here—it was found that almost all desegregation has taken the form of introducing Negroes into previously all-white schools. See Stinchcombe, McDill and Walker (1968).

Thus our assumption that we can estimate the number of students who leave a school by looking at the number of new students entering it is not an unreasonable one, for given the fixed size of facilities a relatively fixed size of student body is maintained.

However, it seems worthwhile to estimate and report separately the net per cent of whites leaving per year. As an inspection of the table shows, a 7 per cent increase in Negro enrollment has a differential impact on the percentage of whites leaving a school dependent upon whether the 7 per cent Negro increase is in a 25 per cent Negro school or in a 75 per cent Negro school. While these figures are dependent, they quickly and clearly show that a somewhat small and steady percentage increase per year (less than 10 per cent) in Negro enrollment implies an increasing percentage of white leavers.

Secondly, column 3 enables us to focus on the response made by whites to the stimulus of an increase in the proportion Negro in school.

The third column estimates the net percentage of whites who were in a school in a given year but who moved out without being replaced the following year. This shows a steady increase up to the 30 per cent Negro school. After that, it remains near 14 per cent net loss of whites each year until we get to the 60 per cent Negro school. Above 60 per cent Negro, there is a steady increase in the net percentage of whites leaving each year, reaching about a third each year in the 80 per cent Negro school and continuing at that rate.

The overall pattern, in spite of the flat space in the middle, is that the more Negroes there are in the school, the larger the *proportion* of whites who leave without being replaced. Apparently, the psychology of whites runs along the line that "some Negroes in a school is bad; more is worse".

## Elementary Schools

We know that there are many differences between elementary and secondary schools. For instance, we found a much greater influx of Negro students at the elementary level in the Baltimore City System. We know also that there are more desegregated secondary schools than elementary schools. Given these differences and the fact that a full "school life cycle" has not been covered since effort began in desegregating schools, it is possible that there are differing patterns at the elementary level than those reported for the school system as a whole.

Because there are considerably fewer secondary schools than elementary schools, we do not present data for the secondary

TABLE 2  
CHANGE IN SCHOOL COMPOSITION, BY INITIAL COMPOSITION,  
FOR BALTIMORE CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1955-1965

Per Cent Negro (Midpoint of Interval)*	Average Increase in Per Cent Negro Per Year	Average Net Per Cent of Whites Leaving Per Year (Approximate)	Number of School Years**
10	1.77	1.97	(562)
20	6.56	8.21	(112)
30	9.23	13.18	( 64)
40	8.86	14.76	( 60)
50	7.69	15.39	( 52)
60	8.05	20.12	( 48)
70	7.50	25.00	( 51)
80	6.51	32.56	( 53)
90	0.30	**	(612)

\*See "Method of Calculation" for an exact explanation.

\*\*By the estimating procedure, this gives a meaningless figure (equivalent to division by zero). See "Method of Calculation" section.

schools. Estimates based on such small numbers would be very unreliable. Table 2 does present data for the 155 elementary schools in Baltimore City. What we have done in order to help stabilize the averages is to lengthen the percentage interval (column 1) to 20 per cent rather than the 10 per cent interval used in Table 1 for the entire school system.

The pattern for elementary schools is consistent with that presented above for the entire school system. The average increase in percentage of Negro students may be slightly higher, around  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per year.

## In Conclusion . . .

The overall result is that *there is no "tipping point"*. Or rather, the "tipping point" is zero. If there are no Negroes in a school, then whites do not, on a net balance, leave very fast. Once a school is desegregated in Baltimore, the proportion Negro is likely to go up each year in a steady fashion, at about 7 per cent per year.

From a practical point of view, this means that a policy of setting quotas for a certain percentage of Negroes in desegregated schools is not a rational policy. Wherever the quota point is set, it will tend to be undermined by other causal forces. The only way that a quota system would work would be if it would make other forces non-operative. One way, for example, would be a redefining of the social unit in such a way that most redistribution of the population occurs within the unit rather than across the unit. In large urban areas this would mean setting a quota for a *metropoli-*

*tan* school system rather than for a city school system and for a county system separately. The effect this would have would be that wherever a white student enrolled in public school, suburban or city, the same percentage of Negro students would be encountered. Thus, there would be no such thing as avoiding Negro students by retreating to the suburbs.

### **A Monotonic Relationship . . .**

The observed data show that there is a monotonic relationship between the proportion Negro enrollment increments in a school and the movement of whites out of the school. Generally, the higher the proportion of Negro students, the more quickly the whites leave, although there might be a plateau between 30 and 60 per cent where we observed about one out of seven whites leave the system each year. These findings are consistent with the idea that the intervening variable of prejudice should be thought of as a causal force of continuously varying strength. It seems that an increased proportion of Negroes evokes an increased amount of prejudice which in turn accounts for a greater amount of movement out of the system. It is not the case in the Baltimore school system that enough prejudice is aroused by any one particular proportion of Negroes in a school to cause most white students to make a dramatic exit at that point.

It is, however, useful to look at the data from a different point of view. We can say, overall, that there is enough net increase in the Negro student population in Baltimore each year to fill up seven per cent more places in all the desegregated schools of the City. These Negro students have to be accommodated in some school. From the point of view of our analysis here, they now go, on net balance, into the desegregated schools of the system. There are only two other places for them to go: into predominantly white schools or into new predominantly Negro schools. The combination of demographic pressures and past school policy in Baltimore City is such that there are practically no predominantly white schools to put Negroes into (only about a sixth of all City schools are more than 90 per cent white). Consequently, if they are to go into predominantly white schools, they will have to go either into the parochial, private or suburban schools. However, central city school systems have faced the problem of a "threshold" phenomenon being manifest in other school systems, for which evidently any Negro at all is too many.

Recently Eleanor P. Wolf (1963) reported an assessment of the "tipping point" of neighborhoods by using percentage of dwellings occupied by Negroes and by whites over time. The data

presented in the article are limited to percentages for 1955, 1957, 1959, 1961, for one neighborhood. Despite this limitation of sparse data, her discussion is relevant for our school findings. For the neighborhood studied, she concluded that there was no "tipping point". One influence on the decision to move into a desegregated neighborhood, which she discusses, is the supply and demand of housing. Whites have more alternatives than do Negroes. This intensifies the need for Negro housing and suggests that any potential Negro or white housing is more apt to be filled with Negroes than with whites.

The coupling of this study with ours focuses attention on a heretofore neglected point. Past prejudice might have created such intense needs in housing, school places, etc. for Negroes that once boundaries have become penetrable, resegregation in an area might well be due as much to these needs as to racial prejudice. Future research needs to explore this possibility.

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## **School Racial Integration: Tumult and Shame\***

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There have been a variety of recent controversies, both (a) over the issue of bussing school children to obtain quality education for black children in integrated schools and (b) over the results of attempts to evaluate the effects of bussing as a means to school integration and quality education. Often the two issues are not unrelated. Moreover, the motivations of the politicians, educators, social scientists, school board members and others with vested interests who are engaged in these controversies, while often quite clear, are at other times concealed behind a jungle of rationalizations.

We shall discuss, in a general way, some of the issues and controversies pertaining to school integration. In addition, we shall focus on the bussing program in Boston, Massachusetts, known as Operation Exodus. We shall describe how a number of

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the controversies have been experienced in Boston, largely as a result of Operation Exodus. Finally, we shall summarize issues inherent in evaluation research on bussing programs.

### **The Supreme Court Decision of 1954**

Modern day supporters and opponents of school integration point to the Supreme Court Decision of 1954 as the crucial *historic* and triggering event in developments leading to the present controversy over the rightness or wrongness of integration. Both sides do the Supreme Court a disservice. It makes far more sense to consider—as far as the United States is concerned—the full history of racism in the country as the background of the present controversy. Although we will not delve into this history in the present paper, no one can fully understand the present issues without a real knowledge of the experiences which black Americans have had in the United States. All we wish to state here is that slavery in America was unique in that it came to be rationalized and justified by whites on grounds of race, i.e., that Africans were barbaric, heathen, child-like and of inferior mental ability because they were black. The rationalizations became certified as truth through a conspiracy (in fact, if not in motivation) involving the major institutions of government, religion, finance and education. The conspiracy has ruled from the earliest colonial days to the present and is only now beginning to alter its character. What this conspiracy has done is to erect American faith in white supremacy, a faith which was re-affirmed after the Civil War by the Plessy-Ferguson Supreme Court Decision holding to the doctrine of “separate but equal”. The failure of American whites to see, or, if seen, to acknowledge, that the decision was an assertion of white supremacy is itself the essence of racism.

The Supreme Court Decision of 1954 was only one of a series of decisions intended to begin to correct some of the immense historical and contemporary wrongs perpetuated against blacks in the name of Christianity and democracy. Since the 1954 decision, however, massive resistance has appeared in this country against school integration and it has assumed many forms, both in the North and in the South.

The issues, then, which are considered in this paper, should be viewed against this background of the complicity of many American institutions and citizens in the attitude and expression of racism.

## **ISSUE I: Should Children be Bussed as a Means of Achieving School Integration?**

The first general issue, stated in our opening paragraph, is that of bussing to achieve school integration. Obviously, if neighborhoods were integrated—north and south—and if communities adhered generally to a policy of sending children to neighborhood schools, there would be no need to bus children in order to achieve school integration. However, a host of factors have operated over time to ensure racial separation in housing. The collusion of real estate dealers, politicians and citizens has resulted in the central sections of cities becoming blacker and the suburban areas becoming whiter. Thus, many black parents and civil rights leaders reasoned that school bussing as a means of school integration was the most direct route to having their children receive the quality education needed for competing in a predominantly white society.

For several years, beginning around 1964, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks of Boston was the acknowledged leader of many who were opposed to bussing as a means of integrating schools. Indeed, Mrs. Hicks, running on a "Save the Neighborhood School" platform, almost became the mayor of Boston. It was soon obvious to black parents in Boston that the Boston School Committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Hicks, was not going to further school racial integration in spite of the by then widely-held position that school segregation was harmful to black children.

Since 1965, parents and educators in New York, Cleveland, Oakland, Chicago, and other cities have bitterly opposed school bussing as a means for achieving school integration. In these cities, attempts at neighborhood integration through fair housing legislation or voluntary, non-discriminatory sales of homes have been even more bitterly resisted. Consequently, the need for bussing some children, if school integration was to take place, had seemed evident.

### **The Opposition of Some Powerful White Leaders . . .**

Although the federal government—especially through the U.S. Office of Education—has, at times, strongly sought to promote school integration, the long battle has had a sobering effect on black people who have witnessed the apparent failure of the U.S. government to make a lasting impression on local politicians and school administrators. Moreover, in recent months, powerful leaders like Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and President Richard Nixon, while Republican candidate for President, have retreated from an advocacy of school

integration. With so many white officials and white parents implicitly or explicitly opposed to school integration, is it any wonder that blacks would begin to question the advisability of school integration? Indeed, without even considering the issue of the effects of integration on black children, black people have to wonder if integration is worth the struggle and if it can benefit their children when so many whites oppose it.

The more specific controversies that have arisen over school integration include the following:

- . . . That quality education can only occur in integrated schools; black children must attend schools with white children in order to learn.
- . . . That it was unfair to place black children in situations where they might encounter prejudice.
- . . . That it might be proper to bus older children but not younger children (from the first 3 or 4 grades).

### **Some Findings Relating to the General Issue of School Integration: Boston's Operation Exodus**

In this section, we present some findings relevant to the controversies over school integration. The data comes from interviews with black ghetto parents sending their children to predominantly white schools in Boston under Boston's passive means (where the city does nothing) of integration—open enrollment. These black parents formed the association known as Operation Exodus and send their children on busses paid for by the parents themselves.

Operation Exodus was formed in early September 1965 and began its bussing program at that time. A research project, under the direction of the senior author, was initiated in 1965 and is still continuing. Children in grades kindergarten through eight were participating in the program. Interviews were held during the 1965–1966 year with mothers of children in grades 1–6. There were 126 families with children in one of the first six grades and 82 per cent or 103 of the mothers were interviewed. During the second year (1966–1967) of the project, children from 92 new families were added to the program and, of these 92 families, 85 per cent (78) of the new mothers were interviewed. In addition, a random selection of approximately 25 per cent of the mothers interviewed during the first year were re-interviewed during the second year. (Funds did not permit a re-interview with all first year enrollees during the second year.) Because of the uniqueness and continuity of Operation Exodus and because of its importance as a service to the black community, it is a valuable focus for

longitudinal research. Thus, data will also be collected during the fourth year (1968-1969) of the program, now in progress. For a fuller description of the background to the program and of the research going on see Teele, Jackson, and Mayo (1967) and Teele (1967).

### **In the First Year of the Study . . .**

During the first year of the study, the researchers were interested in documenting the motivations which the parents had for bussing their children. We wondered—in view of the controversy over bussing, within both the black and white communities—how they managed to gain the courage to send their young children on busses to schools in largely white neighborhoods of Boston. The argument offered by many parents of both races and by a majority of Boston School Committee members in 1965 was that it was not fair to send young black children to strange schools in strange neighborhoods. Our informal discussions with leaders of Operation Exodus and with other black community leaders of 1965 revealed that many of them too were concerned about the potential dangers in bussing the black children to white neighborhoods. However, the parent's concern and consternation over the inferior and destructive educational experiences that their children were receiving in the ghetto schools along with the refusal of school authorities to do anything about the situation overrode the fear of bussing young children. This group of concerned parents decided to bus their children to schools outside of the ghetto.

### **Quality Education and/or Integrated Education?**

During the conduct of our systematic structured interviews, we asked the mothers of first enrollees, in both the 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 school years, the open-ended question: "Why did you bus your child(ren)"? We reported in an earlier publication that an overwhelming majority of first year respondents (86 per cent) indicated that they were motivated only by the desire for a better educational opportunity for their children. A similar proportion of the second year first enrollees indicated that the same reasoning was also responsible for their participation in the bussing program. The frequency distribution of responses to this question is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY FIRST ENROLLEES TO THE QUESTION:  
"WHY ARE YOU BUSSING YOUR CHILD"? (OPEN-ENDED)

Response Categories	1965 First Enrollees		1966 First Enrollees	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
To obtain a quality education only	89	86.0	70	89.0
To obtain a quality education and to attend an integrated school	7	7.0	2	3.0
To attend an integrated school only	—	—	—	—
No response	7	7.0	6	8.0
Total . . . . .	103	100.0	78	100.0

### In the Second Year of the Study . . .

During the second year, we added a new and related question to clarify the thinking underlying this motivation. We asked respondents: "To what extent (not at all, a little, some, or a lot) did the following reasons enter into your decision to bus your child(ren) in Exodus:

(a) I wanted my child(ren) to attend an integrated school;

(b) I wanted my child(ren) to obtain the best education".

Responses to this question for first enrollees in 1966-1967 are presented in Table 2.

It is evident from the questions asked and from the responses given, that the parents show an extremely strong and nearly unanimous motivation: the desire for their children to obtain a quality education. In Table 1, the responses to the open-ended question show that none of the parents volunteered the idea that they were bussing their children solely in order that they might attend an integrated school, and only 7% in 1965 and 3% of first

TABLE 2  
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY FIRST ENROLLEES IN 1966-1967 TO THE QUESTION  
OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH EDUCATIONAL AND  
INTEGRATION AIMS INFLUENCED PARTICIPATION:

Aims	Extent of Influence										Total N
	Not at All		A Little		Some		A Lot		No Response		
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	
Integration	15	19.2	12	15.4	13	16.7	24	30.8	14	17.9	78
Quality education	—	—	—	—	—	—	75	96.2	3	3.8	78

enrollees in 1966 mentioned this motive at all. When we presented the respondents with a structured question (during the 1966-1967 year) designed to ascertain *how much* the desire for a quality education influenced the decision to send the child to a predominantly white school, *all* of the parents who responded stated that they were influenced "a lot", as is indicated in Table 2. Thus, first enrollees in each year, regardless of the format of the question indicate that they are primarily seeking a quality education for their children. A similar distribution (as in Tables 1 and 2) was found for our sample of 27 second year Exodus parents, although no tables are presented for them.

Table 2 also shows the distribution of responses (for 1966-1967 first enrollees) to the structured question of *how much* the desire to send the child to an integrated school influenced the decision to participate. The responses to this question show the importance of the structured question in probing the issue of motivation to bus children. If the responses to the question of motivation shown in line 2 of Table 2 confirm the fact that the parents agree that they are primarily interested in a quality education for their children, the distribution shown on line 1 of Table 2 suggests that the parents are not at all in agreement as to the desirability of sending their children to predominantly white schools. Indeed, while only 31% of the parents said they were influenced "a lot" by the desire to send their child to an integrated school, still fewer (19%) indicated that they were "not at all" influenced by this consideration. Still, the distribution of responses to this issue of integration suggested that a majority of the first enrollees were not too interested in school integration per se. Since we had entertained the notion that this might be the case, we had also asked the following question of all 1966-1967 respondents: "If the School Board could build a quality school in Roxbury, would you prefer your child to go to it"? Responses to this question are presented in Table 3 both for the old and the first enrollees of the 1966-1967 school year.

TABLE 3

"YES" AND "NO" RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: IF THE SCHOOL BOARD COULD BUILD A QUALITY SCHOOL IN ROXBURY WOULD YOU PREFER YOUR CHILD TO GO TO IT?

Responses	1966-1967 Old Enrollees		1966-1967 First Enrollees	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Yes	23	85.2	52	66.7
No	3	11.1	24	30.8
No Response	1	3.7	2	2.5
Total . . . . .	27	100.0	78	100.0

## The Response of First Enrollees . . .

The response of the 1966-1967 first enrollees to this question show a quite strong consistency with the responses of first enrollees to the question on integration which were shown in Table 2. More specifically, while 30.8 per cent of first enrollees indicated that they were influenced "a lot" by the desire to enroll their children in integrated schools (Table 2), 30.8 per cent of the first enrollees also said that they would not prefer to send their child to a quality school in Roxbury (Table 3). The most important thing about Table 3, however, is that it suggests a possible shift by Roxbury Afro-American parents *away* from an interest in school integration after having had their children in integrated schools for one year. Thus, whereas 67% of the first year parents expressed a preference for sending their children to a quality school in their own neighborhood, a larger proportion (85%) of the parents returning for a second year in the Operation Exodus Bussing Program expressed a preference in sending their child to a quality school in the neighborhood. How do we explain the data in Table 3? We suggest that parental disillusionment with the Boston school system, as it is presently operated, is responsible for the apparently increasing interest by black parents in having their children attend quality schools in Roxbury. It is, perhaps, a reaction to a year of unduly strong sacrifice which did not succeed in moving the Boston school system one iota from its position of uncompromising resistance to the goal of a fair school racial balance. Or, perhaps, it is a reaction to a year of repeated frustration in attempting to find a Boston school which offered their children a quality educational opportunity.

## Quality Education and Voice in School Administration

Whatever the interpretation of the apparent shift, it is quite clear from the data that a large majority of the new parents in Operation Exodus never wanted to send their children to schools outside of the neighborhood in the first place, but did so because they were looking for educational opportunities for them. Perhaps as they began to see what problems the predominantly white schools presented to their children, those black parents who were supporters of integrated schools began to yearn also for a quality education for their children *within* the black community.

Thus, although the Exodus parents have kept their children in attendance at predominantly white schools, many of them are also strongly involved in coordinated efforts to gain some voice in the administration of the schools in the black community. When and if the black people in Roxbury gain a measure of con-

trol over their schools, many of them will probably remove their children from nearly all-white schools outside of Roxbury since few of them have ever believed that black children had to attend schools with white children in order to learn. What they are saying is that black children can learn in schools situated in climates conducive to learning and appropriate to the needs of the children. We shall have more to say about school climates later on in this paper.

Another indication of the growing interest of the Exodus parents in the education of their children, and in the control of their neighborhood schools is possible from other data bearing on these matters. For all first enrollees in each of the first two years of the program we asked whether they would be willing to participate in any of the following activities on behalf of Operation Exodus: fundraising, organizing youth recreation programs, making speeches, organizing a Roxbury community school and assisting in the Exodus tutorial program. The proportions of respondents willing to participate in these activities are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4  
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN  
OPERATION EXODUS ACTIVITIES\*

Activities	1965-1966 First Enrollees Per Cent of Respondents	1966-1967 First Enrollees Per Cent of Respondents
Fund raising	45.7	66.7
Youth recreation	19.1	39.7
Speakers Bureau	6.7	14.1
Community school	23.8	34.6
Tutorial program	9.5	41.0

\*Percentages do not add up to 100.0 as N of responses is greater than N of respondents. (N of respondents in 1965-1966 = 103; N of respondents in 1966-1967 = 78.)

The data show that, for each activity, there is a substantially greater willingness to participate by the first enrollees from the second year. This reflects in part, we think, an increasing sensitivity by the community's residents to the educational needs of its children. We also think these data are consistent with the earlier data, presented in this paper, which show quite high interest in a quality education. Finally, it would seem that the data presented so far, support the notion, apparent from news media accounts, that black people are rejecting anything that smacks of paternalism.

## Prejudice Encountered by Black Children in Integrated Schools

The second controversy has to do with whether or not black children should be placed in situations where they might encounter prejudice. White and black alike have apparently worried over this issue. In our earlier publication (for 1965-1966 first enrollees) we presented data showing that "only" 24 per cent of the mothers felt that their children in Exodus had encountered either "some" or "a lot" of prejudice at the integrated school while the rest indicated that their children had encountered "little" or "none".

### A Slight Decrease in Prejudice Encountered

Data collected during the second year of the Exodus program are somewhat consistent with findings from the first year, and indeed, show a slight decrease in the amount of "some" or "a lot" of prejudice encountered by new or returning black students. Still, among the sample of 27 returning parents, about one-fifth of them indicate that their child reported to them that he faces "some" or "a lot" of prejudice or discrimination at the new school. Among the new enrollees in 1966-1967 about one-sixth of the parents said their children made such a report.

Measured against 100 per cent, 20 per cent seems rather small. But measured against the ideal of zero per cent, it seems large indeed. Thus, it is not possible to say that the problems of prejudice and discrimination faced by Exodus children are small, especially since, in 1966-1967, we ascertained neither the specific nature of the expressed prejudice or discrimination nor whether it involved students, teachers, or principals. If the prejudice or discrimination were continuing and serious, and if enough of the mothers of children who encountered prejudice passed this information along to other parents in Exodus, this could indeed be influential in shifting the group more strongly to a position which espouses community control of schools *instead* of integration, as opposed to a stance which permits both efforts to be made. Indeed, our data, collected in each of the two years, argues for this interpretation, since in spite of finding an inverse relationship between the amount of prejudice reported by the child and the parent's interest in school integration, we also found a decrease in the proportion of children reporting facing prejudice and an increasingly positive attitude toward sending one's child to a quality school in the black community. It would seem that black parents are deeply affected by reports of prejudice against black

children and that the positive self-image which black people are building for themselves will not permit them to pursue quality education in integrated schools at the price of their children's well-being. In the days to come, it is apparent that whites with an interest in school integration will have to work to reduce the danger of future acts of prejudice and discrimination against black children in their schools if school integration is to succeed.

### **Bussing of Children in First Three Grades**

As mentioned earlier, one of the issues of paramount concern to Exodus leaders and parents, as well as to state educational leaders, had to do with the advisability of bussing the first three graders. This issue presumes, of course, that discussants or parties to it agree that some form of bussing is appropriate. For our earlier report, we analyzed the relationship between prejudice reported and the grade level of the children. We found a substantial and direct relationship between reports of prejudice encountered and grade level; that is, the higher the grade, the more prejudice the children reported facing. Moreover, James Coleman and his associates (1966) found that the earlier the grade at which black children began attending predominantly white classes, the higher they scored on reading and mathematical achievement tests. Thus it was ironic, later on, to hear leading politicians of Boston recently take a strong stand against bussing the children who apparently encountered the least difficulty in school integration settings: the first four graders. The political leaders, then, are apparently opposed to bussing young children while the relevant research suggests that it is precisely the young who should be the first to be sent to integrated schools. Moreover, when first enrollee parents in both 1965-1966 and 1966-1967 were asked "How do you feel about bussing children in the first three grades"? 91 per cent and 90 per cent, respectively, reported that they were in favor of bussing the first three graders. Why, then, do the political leaders oppose sending the young to integrated schools when the results of research suggest that the young should attend integrated schools? Refusal to bus the younger children assures that the racial stereotyping and feelings of racial superiority, which most white children learn in their early years, will, by not being challenged during the early years, become second nature to white children and withstand later challenges.

The political position, moreover, which rejects bussing of the young, is likely also to be one which refuses to include a fair representation of black history in its curriculum. Thus, in spite of their initiation of a school racial integration program, the black parents

in Operation Exodus are aware of the various resistances encountered in their desire to obtain a quality education for their children, an education which includes a fair amount of black history. Therefore, it should be no surprise to anyone that the conclusion to be drawn from data presented here is that the black community is becoming more eager to control the schools in its neighborhood.

## ISSUE II: What are the Effects of School Integration?

Social scientists involved in the important Brown decision (1954 Supreme Court case) which held "racially separate schools to be inherently unequal" have made a strong case charging that school segregation damages the black child's heart and mind. A long unquestioned corollary, of course, is that school integration per se would be helpful to black children. It is not surprising then, that an achievement-oriented nation should expect to see improved school performance among black children as a result of school integration. What is surprising is that it would expect—even demand—to see improved academic performance within one or two years after black children have started attending integrated schools. Without really a second thought, many whites have generally assumed that all one needed to do to "improve" the black child's academic performance was to send him to an integrated school. Other more knowledgeable whites have generally held that family and neighborhood "background" characteristics were largely responsible for the slower learning of black children. Other factors which affect learning have scarcely been considered by more than a handful of educators and social scientists. Thus, with strong support from most educators and social scientists, the American people have slipped easily into the position—apparent to blacks, but not to whites—of placing under great stress those few black children attending integrated schools by *demanding quick positive results* in academic performance and achievement. In the last two years, for example, a number of social scientists have "evaluated" or commented on the educational effects of school integration programs which in no case had been in operation more than three years at the time of "evaluation". New York (Fox, 1967), White Plains (White Plains Board of Education, 1967), Boston (Archibald, 1967) and Hartford (Mahan, 1967) have some of the better known school integration programs which have received wide comment with respect to their outcomes. In each case, the commentaries or reports focused primarily on changes (or lack of changes) in achievement test scores. The massive Coleman Report—a nationwide survey—has probably

encouraged also such evaluation. Exceptions to this emphasis on achievement tests are found for Syracuse (Willie and Beker, 1967) and for Boston (Teele, Jackson and Mayo, 1967).

## The Factors of Quality Education and Integration

As we have attempted to show in the data presented on Operation Exodus, the factors of quality education and integrated education are both operating. Evaluation studies which merely juxtapose a black child's attendance in a white school with his achievement test scores tell us woefully little about how any changes found might have come about. When the researcher confines himself to measuring academic changes from a bussing program, he leaves many factors uncontrolled and cannot specify the process by which the program accomplishes or fails to accomplish its goals. With respect to the criterion variable to be used in a fair evaluation of school integration, it can and should be argued that achievement test scores are inadequate as the sole criterion of the success or failure of bussing programs. Changes in the attitudes of black and white parents, teachers and children would seem to be at least as worthy of study as achievement score changes. This is especially true for those researchers who are primarily interested in the integration aspect of the bussing programs. For those who view bussing primarily as a means to quality education, the effects on the child's learning are likely to be preeminent as a criterion. The use of an achievement criterion is the practice in virtually all known evaluations to the authors. As long as the variables of quality education and integrated education are inseparable in bussing programs, it behooves the effective evaluation researcher to direct himself broadly and with minimal bias to the identification of the mediating variables that intervene between the mere fact of bussing and changes in achievement scores.

An honest effort at evaluation should include at least some of the following, too often unexamined factors:

- ... Family characteristics (socioeconomic status, attitudes toward education, aspirations for the children, education of parents, attitude toward control of environment, etc.).
- ... The children's attitudes (toward education, toward control of environment, toward self, toward children of different racial groups, etc.).
- ... The test situation (nature of the tests used, the race of the tester, the context of the testing, etc.).
- ... The climate of the school (the attitude of principals and teachers toward members of the black community and toward the learning ability of black children).

- . . . Curriculum content (whether strong efforts have been made to provide in the curriculum an adequate and frank account of black history and of black achievements).
- . . . The political climate (i.e., whether or not politicians and school board leaders engaged in school integration voluntarily).
- . . . Local community influence in the educational process.

A more detailed discussion of some of these factors shows what researchers need to take into account when they evaluate achievement test scores of black children who are bussed to predominantly white schools, a necessarily limited test of school integration since white students are rarely bussed to predominantly black schools. This one-sided nature of bussing programs is yet another reflection of the commingling of quality and integrated education that a history of racism has perpetuated into the present.

### **Family Characteristics and Children's Attitudes**

Coleman and his associates (1966) found that family background was strongly related to achievement test scores. They found that 14 and 16 per cent of the variance in verbal achievement for sixth grade black students and white students, respectively, were accounted for by family background factors. Indeed, they found the influence of this variable to be exceeded only by the student's own attitudes toward their life chances.

Katz (1968), Wylie and Hutchins (1967) and McClelland (1961) also have conducted research on or theorized about the relationship between family background and academic achievement. McClelland suggests that early mastery training promotes high need for achievement, but only when it does not signify generalized restrictiveness, authoritarianism or rejection. Thus, if a boy is encouraged to make decisions for himself, this could indicate either that the parents are helping him to become self-reliant or that they are allowing him to fend for himself. If it is the latter and the child has to fend for himself, the result is likely to be low mastery motives and low need for achievement. Katz, on the basis of his study of achievement motivation and academic ability among segregated black students, suggests that a history of high parental levels of aspiration but low reinforcement for instrumental achievement behavior and negative reinforcement for failure is characteristic of lower class, low achieving children. However, Wylie and Hutchins, with IQ controlled, reported positive correlations between socioeconomic status and self-estimates of ability, school achievement, scholastic and career

aspirations, and perceived parental and peer encouragement for academic achievement. Their extensive questionnaire study of 4,245 seven- to twelve-year-olds suggests that black children, regardless of academic ability, have aspirations equal to or greater than those of white children, and perceive themselves as having as much or more encouragement to pursue them from parents and peers. Obviously, Katz and Wylie and Hutchins are in some disagreement and more needs to be known about the effect of family background factors on academic performance.

### **The Coleman Findings . . .**

It is in the light of these findings and hunches that one of Coleman's most striking findings should be considered. This was the finding that the child's sense of control over his own fate was directly and strongly related to his achievement scores. The sense of fate control accounted for about three times as much variance in the test scores of blacks as of whites and for blacks was the most important of all the attitudes studied. Coleman clearly states that this relationship does not imply the causal sequence and, in fact, that it may be two-directional. Still, Coleman and his associates did make an attempt to explain their findings. They included the fact that achievement by white students, in contrast to the case for blacks, was more closely related to self-concept than to control of environment. In the words of the Coleman report, "For children from advantaged groups, achievement or lack of it appears closely related to their self-concept: what they believe about themselves. For children from disadvantaged groups, achievement or lack of achievement appears closely related to whether they believe the environment will respond to reasonable efforts, or whether they believe it is instead merely random or immovable". Clearly, then, both parental characteristics and children's attitudes should be taken into account by those conducting studies of the academic effects of school integration.

### **The Test Situation**

Achievement tests are often treated as though they all measured the same thing, an assumption unwarranted in evaluating the success of a school bussing program. In the Coleman study (1966), a measure of verbal ability was used as the sole achievement criterion and it is with respect to this criterion that the reported correlations must be considered. In contrast to the Coleman report, a study by Shaycroft (cited in Dyer, 1968) used criteria more closely tied to curriculum content and found sizable

differences among schools in their effects on achievement. The further a criterion measure departs from what is purportedly taught in the classroom, the more factors outside the school can be expected to affect scores and the more it is a black child's total life experience rather than his presence in a predominantly white school that is being evaluated. It may indeed be that such global effects are expected of a bussing program but this expectation should be explicit in the selection of a criterion test.

### **The Race of the Tester . . .**

There is little doubt that the race of the tester affects test performance. In evaluation studies based on tests routinely administered in the classroom, not only will most black children have been tested by white teachers since virtually all schools to which they have been bussed (and most schools from which they came) are staffed by white teachers but the testing will have occurred against the history of the particular teacher's relationship with the black children in her class. When a white researcher comes to the classroom to conduct special testing, there are other effects of the tester's race. Katz (1964) found that the performance of black college students was impaired in the presence of whites, a finding he attributed to a discrepancy between the desire for success and the likelihood of achieving it in white settings. In a more recent experimental study of black college students Katz (1967) found that when the probability of success was low, better performance was obtained by the black tester. For students with a record of successful academic performance, scores were higher with the white tester. With younger children, the testing context might be expected to have more powerful effects since they would have less experience on which to base a positive self-evaluation. The research cited in the next section is relevant to this point.

### **The Climate of the School**

One of the most controversial findings of the Coleman survey was the conclusion that school characteristics had less effect on pupil achievement than did factors external to the schools. In a re-analysis of the school correlates of achievement, Dyer (1968) noted that school characteristics are apparently more salient for some minority groups than others and that the recurring correlates reflect the characteristics of people rather than physical or administrative aspects of schools. In light of considerable evidence on the teacher's power to affect children's behavior (reviewed by Glidewell *et al.*, 1966), the Coleman finding that teacher characteristics do not strongly correlate with pupil achievement, black

or white, is puzzling indeed. It is particularly difficult to reconcile this finding with recent experimental work on the power of teacher expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). This study clearly demonstrated that teachers' favorable expectations have a salutary effect on IQ scores obtained in a standard classroom testing. All children in a lower-class, city elementary school were tested on a non-verbal test of intelligence (note the nature of the test), represented to teachers as one that could predict a child's "academic spurt" occurring in the near future. By random selection, about 20 per cent of the children were identified to their teachers as children who would show intellectual growth in the year ahead. This labeling of certain children, presumably creating a favorable expectation in the teacher's mind, was the only experimental intervention undertaken. All children were retested on the same IQ test after one and two years. The results were dramatic: the children for whom a favorable expectation had been created showed greater gains in IQ scores than did the control group children. Indeed, almost half of the favorable group gained 20 or more IQ points. Two further aspects of this study are especially relevant to outcomes of bussing programs. First, the minority group effect itself. The school population tested included a group of Mexican children. The "labeled" Mexican children showed greater IQ gains than the non-Mexican but with the small sample of "labeled" children who were Mexican, this effect was not statistically significant. In a subsidiary study, however, photographs of the Mexican children were rated for the degree of Mexican or American appearance. When these ratings were correlated with the IQ gains produced by favorable expectations, the most "Mexican-appearing" children were found to have gained the most. The authors speculate that this may reflect the fact that for those dark children, the teachers' expectations were lowest to begin with. The second point of importance for bussing programs is the fact that the effects of manipulated teacher expectations on pupil performance were greater in the lowest grades.

Teachers' expectations and the attitudes that undergird them become all the more important as it becomes clear that teachers, more often than not, get from pupils just about what they expect. (HARYOU, 1964; Clark, 1965).

## Curriculum Content

Although a number of school systems have begun to respond favorably to the massive demand by blacks for an honest representation of the contribution and the history of black people, many school systems have either discouraged their teachers from

this course or have refused to seriously undertake the necessary curriculum revisions. Boston is one of the cities which, until quite recently, had taken the latter course. This fact has been amply documented by Schrag (1967) and Kozol (1967). Kozol, drawing on his experiences as a teacher in Boston has emphasized the inadequacy of the curriculum content for black children in Boston schools. He presents, in his book, evidence that a segment of the geography material used by teachers at the school in which he taught presents a negative picture of black people in Africa and a positive picture of white people in Europe. He also indicates the exclusion from the curriculum of Negro contributors in science, art, music and so forth. When Kozol attempted to correct some of this injustice in his own classroom by reading a poem written by black poet Langston Hughes, he was fired from the Boston school system.

The curriculum content is likely, as Kozol suggests, to be bound up with teacher attitudes toward children and, undoubtedly, both are related to children's performance on achievement tests, a matter we referred to earlier. Those conducting research on or commenting on the academic effects of school integration should also take this into account.

## **The Political Climate and Community Control of Schools**

Another factor which should be taken into account in the evaluation of school integration programs is the political climate in which integration takes place. When school integration is voluntarily undertaken by the city school board as in White Plains, it suggests that a more constructive atmosphere exists than when the school authorities do not work for integrated schools, as was the case for Boston. (It is notable, however, that a number of Boston suburban communities—such as Newton, Brookline, Lincoln, Arlington and others—did voluntarily undertake school integration, forming an alliance known as the Metropolitan Council for Educational Opportunity, popularly called METCO.) Since the decisions of school boards probably are viewed by blacks as being influenced by the attitudes of the white residents of the community, it seems appropriate to characterize the type and manner of the school board's judgment as one with strong political overtones. It would be a serious omission, then, if the political climate—as perceived by black residents—were not taken into consideration in the assessment of the academic performance of the students.

## Parental Attitudes in Operation Exodus . . .

The attitudes of the parents in Operation Exodus must be viewed in the light of the factors mentioned here. Although the parents are indeed interested in the academic performance of their children, they show a high and uncompromising sensitivity to the effects of the political climate, of the curriculum and of the attitudes which teachers hold on the academic performance of their children. They are trying school integration but they are aware of the great pressures being placed on black children in numerous school integration programs by those who are looking for almost immediate changes in achievement test scores without taking the context and the nature of the specific school integration program into account. Consequently, black parents, with a growing awareness of the intransigence of the educational system and of its failings, are moving steadily to gain substantial influence or control of the schools in their neighborhoods. Thus, in Operation Exodus, an organization dedicated to obtaining quality education for black children and now engaged in a bussing program, there is an apparently growing feeling that school integration is not the only answer. Parents in Exodus, in fact, have always been leery of bussing their children to white schools. They have always indicated that their primary motive was to help their children obtain a quality education. But the long fight with school officials combined with the chorus of suspect claims that black children were culturally deprived and that the school facilities and teachers—in the words of the Coleman report—were relatively unimportant to the academic performance of children have convinced a number of black parents that the welfare of their children lies in community control of community schools. These parents feel that only in this way can they assure that their children will have administrators and teachers with attitudes conducive to learning and that the children will be exposed to an honest presentation of the history of Africa and of blacks in America.

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## Racial Preference and Social Comparison Processes

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A number of studies have demonstrated that children negatively evaluate Negroes and positively evaluate whites. The original work by Clark and Clark (1947) found that Negro children preferred a white doll and rejected a black doll when asked to choose which was nice, which looked bad, which they would like to play with and which was the nice color.

This basic result has been found repeatedly in studies using a variety of testing materials, and within various geographical and social settings. The findings holds for Northern Negro children (Clark and Clark, 1947; Goodman, 1952; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Helgerson, 1943; Radke *et al.*, 1950; Radke and Trager, 1950) as well as for Southern (Clark and Clark, 1947; Morland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958), and for integrated as well as segregated children (Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

Studies of white children have their similar consistency demonstrated the same pattern of white preference and black rejection (Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Horowitz, 1936; Helgerson, 1943; Morland, 1962; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

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As with Negro children, the same basic finding of white preference has been repeatedly noted over a range of materials, locations and settings.

Despite this rather sizable literature on racial preference, important variables have been neglected, and unfortunately no well-controlled direct comparisons have been made with the original Clark and Clark (1947) data. The present study was a partial replication and extension of the Clarks' work. Previously neglected social class and sex variables as well as age were investigated. Both white and Negro children were studied to assess the relative amount of preference and to determine whether variables influenced both groups in a similar fashion. Present data on Negro children's responses were compared with Clark and Clark's data to determine whether the past three decades of change in status has resulted in a change in skin color preference.<sup>1</sup>

In addition, past studies have given little attention to theoretical issues. Rather than making direct predictions the present study tests two competing theoretical models. One model posits that social and economic progress, as success experiences and extensions of control over the environment, create enhanced feelings of competence and racial pride. This view follows from the thinking of White (1959), Erikson (1950), and others. It can be seen as a fundamental assumption of the poverty program. Coleman, *et al.* (1966) have recently articulated a similar view regarding the effects of integration. Specifically, this model predicts that Negro children today will show more black color preference than children tested earlier by the Clarks, and furthermore, that middle-class Negroes will respond more favorably to their own race than lower-class Negroes.

Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) offers opposite predictions. Economic progress and social mobility should lead to more frequent comparison with whites (Pettigrew, 1967). The result of such comparisons would be greater feelings of inferiority, since whites still are generally more advantaged. This model predicts, then, that white preference will be greater among Negro children today. It also predicts that lower-class Negro children will respond more favorably to their own race than middle-class Negro children.

Social class differences in white children's preferences are not predicted, since the extent to which whites of different classes engage in social comparison with Negroes is unknown. Intuitively, it seems reasonable to believe that both middle- and lower-class whites use middle-class whites as a comparison group. It could

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<sup>1</sup>The Clark and Clark (1947) data were collected in 1939-40.

be argued, however, that the lower-class whites' closer social position and more frequent contact with Negro people will make for greater comparison with them. Given this ambiguity, straightforward predictions about white children's responses do not follow. Thus the two competing models discussed above are relevant only to data of Negro children.

## Method Used . . .

### *Subjects*

A total of 341 white and Negro children from Newark, New Jersey and surrounding areas were tested. Of this number 186 were Negro and 155 were white. Children ranged in age from three to eight and were divided into middle and lower class according to parents' occupation (Strodtbeck, 1958). Falling into the middle-class category were 167 children; lower-class children totaled 174. Children were grouped into age categories of 3-4, 5-6, 7-8 to maximize number of Ss per cell.

### *Materials*

Three pairs of puppets, manufactured by Creative Play Things, were used to match as closely as possible the sex and age of the subject. Within each pair, puppets were identical except for skin and hair color. The "Negro" puppet had medium brown facial color and black hair; the "white" puppet had light skin and light hair. Puppets were chosen rather than dolls so that the testing situation would be appropriate to both girls and boys.

### *Procedure*

Children were tested in fifteen different settings which included private nursery schools, neighborhood centers, pre-school programs, play streets run by the city, and nurseries receiving support through the poverty program. The majority of settings were de facto segregated by virtue of neighborhood, costs of the program or social class criteria for selection. Only one setting was completely segregated, and only two were fairly well-integrated. Most settings, then, had an overwhelming number of children from either one race or the other.

Two puppets, one brown and one white, were placed in a prone position before each child. Younger children (ages three, four, and five) were shown the baby puppets (two boys of about two years old). Older children (ages six, seven, and eight) were shown puppets which were the same sex of the subject (these puppets appear to be about eleven years old). Each child was tested individually in a room apart from the other children.

Two experimenters, one Negro and one white, were employed to control for race. Each experimenter tested children of his own race. Both were male and within one year of age of each other. In this way response bias due to effects of the experimenter's race, age and sex were minimized.

After asking the child his name and generally helping the child to feel comfortable, the experimenter asked the following questions adapted from Clark and Clark (1947):

- (a) Which puppet is the nice puppet?
- (b) Which puppet would you like to play with?
- (c) Which puppet looks bad?
- (d) Which puppet is the nice color?

Questions were asked randomly to prevent any possible order effect. Children responded by pointing to one of the two puppets. Following the child's response, he and the experimenter briefly played with the puppets and the child was returned to the general play area.

## Overall Preferences

Presented in Table 1 are overall preferences of Negro and white children. Included in the table are the response categories

TABLE 1  
RACIAL PREFERENCES OF NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN (PER CENT)

Item	Negro Children (N = 186)		$\chi^2$	p
	White Puppet	Brown Puppet		
Nice Puppet	76	23	26.0	<.001
Plays With	69	30	14.5	<.001
Looks Bad	24	73	22.8	<.001
Nice Color	69	29	15.5	<.001

Item	White Children (N = 155)		$\chi^2$	p
	White Puppet	Brown Puppet		
Nice Puppet	76	20	24.9	<.001
Play With	75	22	22.4	<.001
Looks Bad	18	77	28.1	<.001
Nice Color	74	20	24.1	<.001

"brown puppet" and "white puppet".<sup>2</sup> It is clear from Table 1 that the large majority of both Negro and white children preferred the white puppet and rejected the brown puppet. All of these percentages were significant at the .001 level by chi-square tests. Furthermore, Negro and white children did not significantly

<sup>2</sup>The small number of "no preference" responses were excluded from the analysis, which accounts for the failure of some percentages to sum to 100%.

differ in their preference for the white puppet and rejection of the brown puppet. Only on "nice color" was there a large Negro-white discrepancy in response ( $\chi^2 = 2.72$ ,  $p < .10$ ). In general, then, there was remarkable consistency between Negro and white children in their preference for the white puppet and rejection of the brown puppet.

### Social Class Differences

Social class did not produce a substantial difference on any item for Negro children; however, on all four questions middle-class children responded with a slight higher proportion of white puppet preference. This tendency was strongest on the item "nice puppet", with 82 per cent of the middle-class Negro children choosing the white puppet and 71 per cent of the lower-class Negro children giving this response. Class difference on the items "play with", "looks bad", and "nice color" was less sharp, but on each there was somewhat greater white preference by the middle class (average of about 8 per cent).

For white children, there was little meaningful social class difference in racial preference. On three of the items lower-class whites more frequently chose the white puppet, while on one of the items ("play with") direction of results were reversed. All of the differences were small and did not approach significance.

Social class data were analyzed another way. Children were categorized according to whether they consistently preferred the white puppet across the four items, consistently favored the brown puppet, or were inconsistent in their preference. Results showed a strong tendency for middle-class Negro children consistently to prefer the white puppet, while lower-class children showed inconsistent responses ( $\chi^2 = 6.30$ ,  $p < .05$ ). White children showed no difference in consistency of response across items as a function of social class.

### Sex Differences

Table 2 presents male-female differences in racial preference among Negro children. On all four items boys favored the white puppet more than girls. The sex difference reached significance on the items "nice puppet", "looks bad", and "nice color". Smallest sex difference was found on the item "play with", though here also there was greater white preference among boys.

The same direction on sex difference was found for white children, as shown in Table 3. Again, on all items males showed

TABLE 2  
SEX COMPARISONS FOR NEGRO CHILDREN

Item	Males %	Females %	$\chi^2$	p
Nice Puppet				
White Puppet	83	68	5.41	<.05
Brown Puppet	16	31		
Play With				
White Puppet	73	64	1.25	ns
Brown Puppet	27	33		
Looks Bad				
White Puppet	19	30	2.81	<.10
Brown Puppet	79	67		
Nice Color				
White Puppet	74	63	2.80	<.10
Brown Puppet	24	34		

Note.—Male N = 96; Female N = 85.

TABLE 3  
SEX COMPARISONS FOR WHITE CHILDREN

Item	Males %	Females %	$\chi^2$	p
Nice Puppet				
White Puppet	80	72	3.08	<.10
Brown Puppet	15	26		
Play With				
White Puppet	78	72	2.06	ns
Brown Puppet	17	27		
Looks Bad				
White Puppet	12	25	3.54	<.10
Brown Puppet	81	73		
Nice Color				
White Puppet	77	72	1.40	ns
Brown Puppet	16	25		

Note.—Male N = 77; Female N = 71.

greater white preference than females. The items "nice puppet" and "looks bad" reached significance at the .10 level.

## Age Trends

Age trends were quite complex, and less consistent across items than social class and sex findings. Among Negro children only the item "play with" yielded a significant change with age, as white preference increased from 73 per cent at age 3-4 to 80 per cent at age 5-6, and then decreased to 51 per cent at 7-8 ( $\chi^2 = 12.25$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Among whites, only one item ("nice color") approached significance: from 77% at age 3-4 there was an in-

crease to 84% at 5-6, then a decrease to 59% at 7-8 ( $\chi^2 = 5.37$ ,  $p < .10$ ).

No significance interactions emerged from the Sex by Age analyses. However, among Negro children there was a tendency for male-female differences in racial preference to widen with age, as males increased somewhat in white puppet preference while females decreased. Results for white children disclosed a general tendency for both males and females to follow a curvilinear relationship between age and racial preference.

## Historical Comparison

Table 4 compares present findings with those of Clark and Clark (1947). (Data are presented under the year in which the

TABLE 4  
COMPARISON OF PRESENT RESULTS WITH CLARK AND CLARK'S DATA

Item	1939 %	1967 %	$\chi^2$	P
Nice Puppet				
White Puppet	68	76	2.02	ns
Brown Puppet	30	23		
Play With				
White Puppet	72	69	0.19	ns
Brown Puppet	28	27		
Looks Bad				
White Puppet	17	24	1.19	ns
Brown Puppet	71	73		
Nice Color				
White Puppet	63	69	1.94	ns
Brown Puppet	37	29		

study was conducted, 1939.) The Clarks' Northern data are used to maximize comparability with the present sample.<sup>3</sup>

While degree of consistency between the 1939 and 1967 data is perhaps most striking, there is some evidence of an increase in white color preference among Negro children. On three of the four items there was greater white preference today than 28 years ago: only one item ("play with") showed decreased white preference. On none of the items did differences reach statistical significance.

<sup>3</sup>The Clarks' Northern sample was an integrated one while the present sample was largely segregated. From a social comparison viewpoint integration would lead to greater white preference among Negroes, thus it is possible that the comparison presented in Table 3 underestimates the amount of change from 1939 to 1967.

## Social Comparison Model Finds Some Support

Results of the present study are more consistent with a social comparison model than an individual competence model. Social class data for Negro children and the historical comparison with the Clarks' results suggest that enhanced status will not necessarily lead to greater racial pride, but may instead contribute, through more frequent comparison with whites, to increased feelings of inferiority.

Caution is advisable in appraising the social class data and historical differences in view of the lack of statistical support; however, these data are consistent with other findings. Clark and Clark (1947) found significant differences on two items between their Northern integrated and Southern segregated samples. The Northern sample showed greater white preference, a finding congruent with the social comparison model. Similarly, the "Coleman report" noted lower "academic self-concept" for Negro children in integrated schools despite the fact that they showed higher achievement than Negro children attending segregated schools. Integration is probably an important variable leading to increased comparison with whites. Finally, the relatively high proportion of seven and eight year old Negro children in the present study who chose the brown puppet to "play with", is a finding consistent with social comparison theory. Festinger (1954) has postulated a tendency to avoid the presence of those who remind one of a large discrepancy in attitude and ability. Perhaps Negro children, as they grow older, chose increasingly to play with members of their own race to avoid threatening social comparisons.<sup>4</sup>

The greater white preference of males is one of the most interesting results of the present study. That both races yielded a sex difference suggests that the greater white preference of males is not the result of personal attacks on one's competence but of a general awareness of the relatively inferior position of Negroes, an awareness made more salient for those enacting the male role. It is the male who suffers the greatest consequences of prejudice and oppression.

The hypothesis of differential sensitivity to Negro-white status differences as a function of the child's own sex role must be offered cautiously. Nonetheless, there is evidence of considerable awareness of social reality in young children. A majority of three

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<sup>4</sup>These children are, of course, avoiding more than threatening social comparisons. They are avoiding, as well, the insults and disparagement likely to be given by white children. Coles (1967) notes that Negro mothers are likely to caution their children at an early age against playing with whites.

year olds showed a strong preference for white skin color. Small children have also been found to assign poorer houses and stereotyped social roles to brown dolls (Radke and Trager, 1950; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958).

### Some of the Many Questions . . .

Results of the present study suggest questions for future research. First there is a need to determine the relationship between racial preference and behavior. Are black people who express white preference less assertive, more likely to do well in school, less likely to participate in a civil rights demonstration? Racial preference can be conceptualized as an attitude; unfortunately we know little about the relationship between attitudes and behavior (Deutscher, 1966; Festinger, 1964).

Second, present results suggest that the variables usually believed to be crucial in effecting a positive change in black peoples' identity may be less important than previously thought. As long as a large discrepancy exists between the living conditions and skills of blacks and whites a small closing of the gap may only psychologically magnify the difference. If integration and small socio-economic gains are insufficient to the development of racial pride, then other potential sources of change should be investigated. The relationship between involvement in social and political movements and change in self and race evaluation is worthy of scrutiny.

Possibly such movements contribute to increased feelings of competence not only through victories in social struggles but also by encouraging participants to select new social comparison groups. For example, black people are urged by militant leaders to develop their own values and goals and to cease striving toward middle-class ideals (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967). Rejection of social comparison with whites may result in a more positive racial and self conception. It is interesting, though only suggestive, that in the present study two children from Black Muslim homes chose the brown puppet. Hopefully, the examination of the effect on self of black peoples' participation in a wide range of social and political movements will allow for more optimism than can be generated from the present study.

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**"To Receive from Kings . . ."**  
**An Examination of Government-to-**  
**Government Aid and its**  
**Unintended Consequences\***

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International aid has come under attack by donors and recipients alike, and aid programs are in danger of being eclipsed just at a time when economic inequalities among nations are most acutely felt. The explosive potential of this situation makes it imperative that we explore every approach which promises to shed some light on the nature of the problems involved.

Economists and political scientists sometimes suggest that relationships between nations bear remarkable resemblances to relationships between persons, and psychologists and mathematicians have come into the study of international relations with models based on "game theory".

The normative character of relationships between parties interacting as borrowers and lenders or as givers and receivers suggests, however, that these relationships can be explored most fruitfully within a social-psychological frame of reference. The hazards of such relationships are well known to most persons

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and are immortalized in such familiar adages as "Never look a gift horse in the mouth" . . . "Beggars cannot be choosers" . . . "A friend in need is a friend indeed" . . . "Charity wounds him who receives" . . . "To receive from kings is honey at first but ends as poison" . . . "He who pays the piper calls the tune" . . . "Neither a borrower nor a lender be".

To state that such hazards exist on the interpersonal level is not, however, to explain them; only with explanation can the conditions for their existence be made clear. And only if the conditions for their existence have been made clear can exceptional cases be accounted for.

## Resumé of Principles of Exchange

Social-psychological theory provides a useful concept for explaining processes of interaction based on "trading norms" or a system of informal rules of exchange.<sup>1</sup> No interaction is continued for long unless it satisfies a mutual need, as well as individual needs; it is only by reference to a shared commitment or a "superordinate goal" that necessary compromises can be "justified". And compromises must be made in any relationship where extraordinary behavior is involved, or where the strength of the needs of one member are not perfectly and clearly balanced by the strength of his partner's needs.<sup>2</sup>

Where such a mutual commitment to a "larger good" does not exist, one member is likely to exert dominance in defining the terms of the exchange and the stage is set for a power struggle. A weak partner may try to gain more favorable terms by using tactics such as ingratiation and propaganda so that he can increase his partner's dependence on him (witness the manipulations of husbands and wives, for instance, and of parents and children, when common aims or interests are not clear).

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<sup>1</sup>Exchange theory is a way of characterizing human interaction as a series of *transactions*. Behavior is assumed to be goal-oriented and susceptible to positive and negative reinforcement, with *social* rewards sought through *social* interaction. Although many authors emphasize the "exchange function", or concepts of role reciprocity (see References), the study described in this article began with a formalization and operationalization of exchange propositions as advanced by Thibaut and Kelley. By testing their usefulness when applied on the level of intergroup behavior, it was possible to both extend and refine the original propositions, and exchange concepts are described here as they were finally synthesized and reformulated.

<sup>2</sup>The importance of superordinate goals in human interaction was recognized by George Simmel (1950, 261-263) in his essays on domination and subordination. Their importance in eliciting cooperative behavior among groups was shown by Mazafer Sherif (1958).

A strong partner may use threats and sanctions to gain his ends or he may try to increase his partner's dependence on him by making alternative relationships less available. Partners can increase their power by calling on outside support (often this amounts to only "normative" support, or the invoking of the norms or rules which are presumed to govern such interactions). In some cases, the "outside support" may be that of a divine entity rather than of other individuals. A partner may also increase his power by actually offering more in the exchange, so that his partner becomes more dependent on him, or he may develop alternative relationships so that he is no longer dependent on his partner.

Where partners in an interaction cannot agree on commitment to a superordinate goal, each will perceive that he is merely being "used" by the other for personal gain. This perception is reinforced whenever events introduce persistent reminders of one's "costs" in the interaction. When these events are perceived to be controllable or susceptible to manipulation, and not simply the result of fate, accident or lack of alternatives, the relationship will be characterized by an intensified power struggle, with both parties depleting their power through the use of threats and sanctions, counterthreats and counter-sanctions.

## **Operationalization of Concepts of Exchange in International Situations**

Since evidence for the stability or instability of relations between nations often comes initially from the pens of editorial writers in these nations, it might be useful to look at patterns of reaction over time, as revealed in the editorials of newspapers, especially in aid-recipient countries, to see if principles of interpersonal exchange find a counterpart in relations between rich and poor nations. If such principles are found to be relevant, it should be possible to explore both theoretical and practical implications by systematic analysis.

It would be most useful to analyze editorials which were meant for consumption by citizens and officials of an aid-giving country as well as for consumption by fellow-nationals. The constraints of the relationship (that is, the calculated risks involved in making threats, et cetera, as well as the risks involved in failing to represent the interests of one's constituents) should be reflected in leading, internationally circulated newspapers. Even if editors of different newspapers operate from varying and/or contradictory points of view, the principles of interaction which have been described above should be observable in all of the

editorials. If this is found to be so, then the analysis can serve to make generalization about international decision-making processes possible.

In other words, if those who claim to be spokesmen for a nation are in fact perceiving national entities as persons, and if their expressed reactions to other "nations" are governed by principles of interpersonal behavior, then a strong case can be made for looking to these principles for an explanation of actual events. This is not to minimize the importance of economic, geographic, cultural, historical and personality factors; it is simply to suggest that these factors are translated into political decisions through social-psychological processes. Political cartoonists have made capital of this principle for a long time.

In an attempt to test the usefulness of the person-nation iso-morphism and of the application of principles of exchange to role-definition on the national level, I conducted a content analysis of all unsigned editorials in the *Times of India*, *The Statesman* (Calcutta, India), *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), *Dawn* (Karachi, Pakistan), and the *New York Times* during the period 1956 through 1965. The newspapers were available on microfilm and were coded for quantitative analysis in piecemeal fashion rather than in chronological order so that limitations of an ex post facto study could be avoided. Initially, however, all editorials from the year 1956 were analyzed in various ways and by various people so that feasibility of the study could be established and so that reliable techniques of analysis could be developed. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were developed as complementary tools for analysis.

## Discussion of Findings

The most immediately impressive finding from the study was the frequency with which foreign aid was discussed in regular, unsigned editorial columns of the Indian and Pakistani newspapers. Aid was mentioned an average of every two and one half days in *Dawn*, every four and one half days in *Pakistan Times*, every five days in *The Statesman*, and every five and one half days in the *Times of India*. It was impossible to read the editorials in these newspapers without becoming aware of the centrality of the aid relationship in the internal as well as external politics of both Pakistan and India. During periods of press censorship, indicated by the editors themselves, there was a marked falling-off of articles discussing aid from the United States and the political implications of such aid. The major issue with which the leaders of these countries are confronted, it seems, is the difficulty of

ensuring economic progress for their people without sacrificing national independence.

Each of the editors defined the aid relationship as a reciprocal one, at least in expectation. The issues discussed were an attempt to redefine the role expectations or norms governing the relationship. These norms or rules were presumed to be dictated by a mutual goal toward which the relationship was oriented. Thus, no editor claimed to be representing only the interests of his own country, but some "larger good" to which both parties (i.e. the United States and the "aid recipient") were, or should be, committed. This was true of the *New York Times* editor as well as of the editors of Pakistani and Indian newspapers. When interpreted within this "exchange" frame of reference, it became quite clear that the "larger good" toward which the United States government was perceived to be oriented was that of "anticommunism". Economic and military aid was to be given in exchange for loyalty to the United States in its "global strategies" against the expansion of rival powers.

Editors of the Indian and Pakistani newspapers differed in their willingness to accept this kind of orientation for their country's relationship with the United States. Even partial acceptance of it was never considered as a long-term commitment, but only as an expedient definition of the situation. The following excerpts illustrate alternative ways of defining the situation.

*The Statesman*, December 23, 1964:

. . . The first wave of aid after the war was motivated mainly by charity; witness the UNRRA plan developed in the USA to succour the hungry and destitute in Europe. Then came aid with varying degrees of self-interest, with both sides engaging in pretty nifty bargaining. The big Powers with high political stakes found that the boot was on the other leg . . . it was recipients who had often to be wooed rather than the other way round. A whole tradition has thus grown up in which aid negotiations have become super-charged diplomatic encounters quite unrelated to economics . . .

*Pakistan Times*, March 17, 1957:

. . . Primarily, U.S. aid seeks to gain full economic and political control over the aided country; its secondary objectives are to help crush nationalist revolts and to oppose Communism and Communist States. Defense of freedom or democracy or law does not seem to enter into their calculations at any stage. The pacts inspired by the U.S. are only to be presented at the expression of altruism, so that underdeveloped countries can be inveigled to walk into the U.S. parlour and accept a little economic aid. Such aid will be given in a manner that drives the country to a closer alliance. The close allies are mainly to be given military aid, and certainly not too much economic aid . . . in order to ensure that they remain dependent . . . but just enough to keep their pro-American politicians in power . . . [The

editor who was responsible for printing the above was forced to resign from his position in 1958 and was reinstated in 1963.]

## An Alternative?

If the aid relationship was not acceptably defined in terms of its contribution to cold war politics, what alternative did editors offer as a mutual orientation for "donors" and "recipients" of international subsidies? All of the Pakistani and Indian editors referred frequently to an alternative which they defined as "interdependent peace and indivisible prosperity, worldwide". The acceptance of such a mutual orientation implied a willingness on the part of industrialized nations to subsidize developing nations generously through multilateral channels (such as the United Nations) and to implement international trade policies which would favor developing countries. It also implied a willingness on the part of developing nations to share their own skills and resources with other nations wherever possible. A *Times of India* editorial on May 31, 1958, declared:

. . . Any entanglement in the cold war, by increasing the military burden of the under-developed countries, can only inhibit their economic growth . . . No aid programme can be really free from the pressures of the cold war unless it is implemented through the U.N. If the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. do not want any political strings to be attached to the aid they offer, there is no reason why they should be opposed to giving it through a U.N. agency . . . Indeed, in the present situation mere financial aid is not enough. Many of the underdeveloped countries today find it difficult to plan their economic development because of the uncertainty about the prices of the commodities they export. A large part of the benefits of foreign aid of the last few years has been cancelled out for these countries by the increasingly unfavourable trade terms. What these countries need is not only aid on easier terms but also trade on a more stable and more equitable basis. Nothing is more galling today than that the development programmes of any country should be put completely out of gear by international price fluctuations which are beyond its control.

Interestingly enough, editors often spoke of the responsibilities of their own government and people to utilize aid money and services fully as a supplement to aid, or as a way of reciprocating it, when it was mentioned in the context of multilateral organization (agencies such as the United Nations, in which "recipients" were controlling members). In contrast, when self-help was discussed in an article referring to government-to-government aid which came directly from the United States or from some other big power, it was conceived as an alternative to aid, or as a "state" (i.e. self-sufficiency) to be attained via aid. Often the effort required of government leaders in a non-aligned country to obtain

annual aid appropriations from the United States was itself considered to be more than ample reciprocation for aid.

## Amount of "Sacrifice" Determines

## Amount of "Gratitude"

The amount of "sacrifice" that international subsidy was perceived to require of the "donor" figured importantly in determining the amount of "gratitude" which was considered appropriate or necessary.

*Times of India*, June 18, 1964:

. . . The industrialized countries should . . . recognize that they have only temporarily evaded the need to come to terms with the requirements of the developing nations . . . The only positive development at the Conference [U.N. Conference on Trade and Development] was the unanimous adoption of a recommendation that the industrialized countries should allot one per cent of their gross national income to help the developing countries . . . This will not be an unbearable burden for them in view of their fast rates of growth. The U.S.A., for instance, currently adds \$30 billion a year to her national income. This is about the value of India's total annual production. [Parenthetically, it should be noted that the proposal mentioned was not implemented.]

Frequent communications reminding the United States of Western exploitation of underdeveloped countries in the recent past, and reminding the United States of benefits derived by itself from aid in the present, at the expense of recipients (even if these were more political than economic) suggested a strong desire to establish a moral or normative base for the relationship.

Thibaut and Kelley (1959, 134) have described the formation of norms in interpersonal relationships as arising from the need to mitigate frustrations which come from the use of interpersonal power. They state that "norms represent unconscious collusion between weaker and stronger persons, between controllers and the controlled, between persons highly dependent upon each other. Since the feeling of dependence is probably something most people would rather avoid, norms create a more comfortable climate by depersonalizing the source of influence so that the basic fact of their interdependence goes unstated and probably unnoticed". In the case of the international relationships between the United States and India and Pakistan, as revealed in newspaper editorials, there was nothing "unconscious" about the process of norm-formation, and the state of dependence was a matter of intense public concern. The process was, however, informal; the communicants were many . . . U.S. Congressmen, members of the Parliament (India) and of the National Assembly

(Pakistan), ambassadors, writers, voters, et cetera, as well as Presidents, Secretaries of State, Prime Ministers, and other official spokesmen.

## Reminders of Incompatible Objectives

As might have been predicted theoretically, the incompatible objectives of the United States and of India and Pakistan, as perceived or expressed by all editors, only became evident when certain sources of comparison became salient, producing persistent reminders of the rewards and costs of the aid relationship to participants. In general, those foreign policy moves made by the United States leadership in response to some situation which was perceived to be similar in important respects to the donor-recipient situation became extremely relevant to Indian and Pakistani writers in making their own assessments of the outcomes of such relationships.

Comparisons with "peer" outcomes were thus more important in stimulating goal-oriented activity than were comparisons with one's own country's previous outcomes. Comparisons with the outcomes of either friendly or unfriendly "peers" (i.e. other aid-recipients) led to dissatisfaction. In both cases the events which served as reminders of costs and consequences were United States military or political intervention in other aid-recipient countries. These events were seen to be a result of preoccupation with big-power rivalry rather than a result of preoccupation with the building of a world community. When United States support was given to fellow aid-recipients who were unfriendly, it was seen as insulting or threatening. When support was given to friendly fellow aid-recipients, it was seen as slowing down progress by involving them in the struggle between the big powers. Editors felt justified in requesting political and military support for their own countries, however, because they had already been required to give such support to the United States.

The adamancy, frequency and content of editorial comments which were attempts to influence the course of the relationships were dependent not only on the occurrence of salient events, as described above. They were dependent also on the editor's estimation of his country's power relative to that of the United States and on his estimation of his country's status relative to other aid-recipient countries. Both of these varied over the ten-year period.

Although editors initially perceived power and status somewhat differently, eventually the force of political and economic events overshadowed idiosyncracies due to personal or cultural factors, and the positions taken by different editors in a particular country become more similar.

## Pakistan . . .

Pakistan, which became a member of military alliances with the West in 1954, experienced economic and political instability until 1958, when General Ayub Khan took over its leadership. By 1962, economic growth had outstripped population growth for the first time in Pakistan's history, and a form of representative government was re-established. Pakistan risked loss of United States aid in establishing economic and political ties with communist countries. United States aid and political reciprocation of it was valued increasingly negatively in both Pakistani newspapers. *Dawn* made the following evaluation on September 15, 1964:

. . . The American plan for South East Asia, as disclosed by Mr. Humphrey, is to bring about "a coalition of Asian Powers with India as its main force to counter-balance Chinese power" . . . The South Vietnamese are far too war-weary to wish to continue the struggle. So it has become "the infected finger". But instead of seeking a negotiated political settlement, withdrawing from the region militarily, and letting the "infection" heal, Mr. Humphrey wants to spread the infection from the finger to the palm of the hand . . . from Vietnam to all of India and Pakistan! What else can it mean except this, that just as Americans have ruined South Vietnam by their military intervention and their political meddling, setting various elements against one another, and just as they have made scores of thousands of South Vietnamese fight and die against their wish, so the same story is to be repeated in India and Pakistan? . . . The Democratic regime in the United States is now definitely bent upon a course which, if not resisted will encompass the liquidation of Pakistan.

## India . . .

Indian leaders occupied a prominent place in international affairs until approximately 1962, when the seizure of Goa and a military confrontation with China were followed by importation of arms from foreign countries. The death of Nehru in 1964 was followed by famine conditions in 1965. In both Indian newspapers, while United States aid was badly needed and eagerly sought, it was at the same time increasingly negatively valued, and alternatives to United States aid (especially self-help) were increasingly positively valued. The following comments appeared in *The Statesman* on March 12, 1965:

. . . India would be happy to see the spread of Communism, especially Chinese, stopped in South East Asia. But a hot war is not the way to stop it. In the political tussle in which China has engaged here in the Afro-Asian world India is handicapped by her hesitation in condemning the presence of foreign troops in Vietnam, which more conspicuously means American than Chinese. The hesitations are more acutely embarrassing

because the governments in Saigon are a succession of lost causes . . . Those whose preference is for strident voices find India's baffling and disappointing, but not those who understand her predicament, as fortunately both Russia and America seem to do . . . It may be necessary for her to be as busy in peacemaking as her present position allows (which is not much); but it is not necessary for her to appear to be busy. Thus alone can she do her tight-rope walking, prevent a fire which would harm her besides others, and yet not cause offense where she should not.

### **The Quantity of Power . . .**

It might be stated tentatively as a generalization from this case study that when power is perceived to be high, one will exert most effort to decrease one's "costs" in a reciprocal or exchange relationship; when power is perceived to be low, one will exert most effort to increase "rewards". Decreasing costs by means of editorial communication involved attempts to reduce the alternatives open to one's partner in the aid relationship, to reduce his skills or devalue his contribution to the relationship, to threaten to withhold one's own contribution or to advocate termination of the relationship, to invoke norms as an attempt to gain outside support for one's own position, and to suggest or support organization or pooling of resources by aid-recipient countries. Increasing rewards involved attempts to increase one's own contribution to the relationship (even if only through ingratiation or through reminders of earlier exploitation by aid-donors), and attempts to take a long view so that present conditions were seen as transitional to an improved situation.

Ways of expressing or coping with frustrations in attempts to redefine the aid relationship also appeared to depend primarily on perceptions of power. When the power of his own government was estimated as being low, an editor used humor, intellectualization or rationalization to lengthen the time perspective or to deny direct responsibility for events. When power was estimated as being high, frustrations were more often expressed as hostility. Hostility was most extreme where the aid relationship with the United States precluded alternative arrangements for the recipient (as in the case of a military alliance). Perceptions of power under these conditions could be high in spite of the unavailability of alternatives if a strong sense of moral righteousness accompanied the presumably mutual commitment and if the recipient was not thought to have initiated the alliance.

Finally, although the alternative of withdrawal from the relationship was sometimes suggested by editors and was indicated symbolically by the governments in the case of specific offers, and although aid was sometimes curtailed or suspended

temporarily by the United States government, it is evident that the aid relationships of India and Pakistan with the United States continue in modified form today. They continue, however, more as competitive enterprises than as cooperative enterprises.

### Goal-Substitution . . .

Exchange theory suggests that goal-substitution may be expected to occur if withdrawal from a relationship would not seem to present an opportunity to improve a situation which continues to be untenable in spite of efforts to change it. Otherwise, either apathy or self-aggression will result (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959, 182-183). As a corollary to a general proposition that I have advanced to account for all of the findings described above, i.e. "the salience of various rewards and costs varies with the perception of one's power to attain or incur them", it might be conjectured that apathetic responses would characterize leaders whose power perception (and hence, goal commitment) was initially weak, while self-aggressive responses would characterize leaders whose power perceptions had been unrealistically strong.

Certainly in the case of the donor-recipient relationship as it is presently defined by government-to-government organization, there is every indication that these ultimate reactions have begun to occur. There is strong evidence from the editorials that the war between Pakistan and India was seen by Pakistani leaders as an extension of its struggle with the United States, and that sectional rebellions against the Congress Party in India are seen as part of India's struggle with the United States. It may be that, as elsewhere in Asia, the only way the United States will finally be able to sustain the relationship is through coercion.

### Generalization to Other Intergroup Situations

Focussing on an international phenomenon that appears to be readily susceptible to interpretation by utilizing social-psychological principles should not lead to the generalization that all international phenomena are best conceptualized in personalistic terms. At present this has no doubt been possible, even if it has resulted in a certain amount of over-simplification, because of the prevailing personalistic conceptions that editors (and, by inference, other opinion leaders) share regarding national identities. In a world not defined by personalistic conceptions of national collectivities, which goes under the label of *nationalism*, international affairs might be explicable without reference to psychological processes.

On the other hand, it might be expected that wherever individuals have the power and the will to speak and act on behalf of groups, or to the extent that they are thought to have these, principles of interaction which describe role-expectations and which involve processes of cooperation and competition in the pursuance of goals may help to explain intergroup phenomena.

For community organizers, politicians, educational administrators and others who are charged with the tasks of social engineering, the findings of the study of international aid relationships can serve to pinpoint the areas where group leadership is required. These requirements are largely a matter of estimating power accurately, since either under-estimations or over-estimations of power can result in failure to achieve objectives. Where power is low, new sources of power must be found. Where power is high, there must be a willingness to use it appropriately and imaginatively (i.e. without inviting unwanted forms of reciprocation). If agreement can be reached on a superordinate goal which is acceptable to both parties, there should be little need for competition, and leaders can occupy themselves with improving their groups' performances in given roles.

### Policy Implications for Donor Nations

In the case of the particular problem with which the study of systems of international subsidy was concerned, it might be useful for the leaders of donor nations to ask themselves if the goal of "interdependent peace and indivisible prosperity" may not indeed be more desirable and attainable than the goals which presently dominate their thinking. If so, they should be willing to make trade concessions and to grant under-developed nations the right to greater participation in multilateral programs designed to achieve this goal, even if the financial burden for these programs falls primarily on the developed nations at the present time. The aid relationship would then no longer be subject to the hazards of disaffection, as described above in the system of government-to-government aid. Even with multilateral aid representing only a small fraction of total dollar aid, Pakistani and Indian editors valued such aid far more frequently than they valued United States government-to-government aid, and multilateral aid was valued consistently positively, while U.S. aid was increasingly negatively valued.

The findings of the study can be interestingly compared with the ethnographic findings that have pointed out the Trobriander's distinction between *Gimwali*, a name given to interpersonal bargaining, in which open self-interest is assumed, and *Kula*, a name

given to intertribal exchange. In the *Kula*, gifts are to be thrown on the ground and offered with modesty and apology. It is said of the chief who does not behave in his *Kula* with the proper amount of disdain for immediate gain that he is conducting it "as a *Gimwali*" (Mauss, 1954).

Marshall Sahlins (1965, 146-160), notes that initial transfers or exchanges between people may be classified as voluntary, involuntary, prescribed or contracted; the returns freely bestowed, exacted or dunned; the exchange haggled or not, the subject of accounting or not, and so forth. He generalizes that the span of social distance between those who exchange, conditions the mode of exchange. In the societies he studied, kinship distance was especially relevant to the form of reciprocity. Sahlins suggests that groups that are united in an exchange relationship become more cohesive in the face of a common economic or military threat only if they are "suitably organized" by a kinship bond or some equivalent to it.

One group which is so organized describes the moralities of gift-giving as follows. In the words of a Maori informer: "I shall tell you about *hau*. *Hau* is not the wind. Not at all. Suppose you have some particular object, *taonga*, and you give it to me; you give it to me without a price. We do not bargain over it. Now I give this thing to a third person who after a time decides to give me something in repayment for it (*utu*) and he makes me a present of something (*taonga*). Now this *taonga* I received from him is the spirit (*hau*) of the *taonga* I received from you and which I passed on to him. The *taonga* which I receive on account of the *taonga* that came from you, I must return to you. It would not be right on my part to keep these *taonga* whether they were desirable or not. I must give them to you since they are the *hau* of the *taonga* which you gave me. If I were to keep this second *taonga* for myself, I might become ill or even die". In this way, the gift is thought to return eventually to the original donor, so that no onus is attached to its use while it is circulating (Mauss, 1954).

It is not difficult to see parallels for this kind of reciprocal arrangements in the modern family, and even among friendship networks. It might be conjectured that the imperatives of the nuclear age will compel us to recognize the meaning of Community, internationally, even before we realize our concept of it locally. In that case, perhaps our leaders, and those of other wealthy nations, will yet learn to conduct their "*Kulas*" with appropriate magnanimity.

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## **The Negative Effect of Group Cohesiveness on Intergroup Negotiation**

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The effect of group cohesiveness in abetting achievement of productive and competitive group goals is familiar (Schachter *et al.*, 1962, 161; Shepherd, 1964, 122-125; Argyle, 1957, 126-127). The effect on a different type of group goal—namely, that of reconciling differences with other groups—has not been tested (Stogdill, 1962, 63).

The situation arises, as in collective bargaining, where two groups with different objectives select negotiators to resolve differences between the groups. Conditions at the bargaining table are rarely clear-cut. Each negotiator arrives with knowledge of his own group's position. His job is that of coming to some kind of terms with the other negotiator while not "selling out" his own group (Sherif, 1962, 18). The result, as everyone knows, is often a protracted session—sometimes an impasse. Neither side will yield. Mediation may be the only answer (and mediation may result in terms that are very costly to one group).

If the negotiator has a completely free hand, and if there is no objective except to reach an agreement while conceding "as little as possible", then matters can be fairly swiftly dispatched,

probably by something approaching an equal amount of concession by each negotiator (Phipps, 1961). This would closely approach the type of "horse-trading" which takes place between individuals each of whom is trying to serve his own original interests but is also vitally eager to arrive at an agreement.

The negotiator representing a group is in a different situation. If the group *hires* him simply to "do the best he can" but in any case to come to an agreement (e.g., where "power of attorney" is given), then his situation would be the same as that of the private individual. In fact, however, the negotiator does not usually have this authority. If he is a member of the group and has his group to answer to, whatever concession he makes to the other group is at the expense of his own group's original position, and of his conformity to goals which partially define his own membership.

The present study investigates some of the consequences of a negotiator's membership in his own group on the process of negotiating with a second group. If it can be shown that this group membership has effects on the negotiation process, then our understanding is increased in two important areas:

- . . . (a) The nature and problems of intergroup negotiation. Many of the important and troublesome situations in modern world consist precisely of this kind of negotiation—between factions, companies, nations.
- . . . (b) The consequences of group cohesiveness. In our society, group conformity is enhanced and reinforced by the desirable effects for the conforming membership (Sherif, 1953, 188). However, if such conformity has certain adverse effects on the situation of the group vis-a-vis other groups, then the arguments for conformity are, to that extent, weakened.

The present study attempts to test precisely a general hypothesis to the effect that the "we feeling"—i.e., the resultant of all forces acting on the members to remain in the group—has an *adverse* effect on attempts to reach agreement with a second group where some difference needs to be settled. In other words, if this hypothesis is established, it would follow that group cohesiveness has negative consequences when the group's goal is to come to terms with another group; and, since group goals involve the welfare of its members, the negative effect would finally extend to the members individually.

## General Hypothesis: Group Cohesiveness Impairs Concession and Agreement in a Negotiation Between Groups

It may be objected that this hypothesis is so intuitively plausible that it does not need to be tested. Apart from the obvious advantage of "objectivity" over "intuition", there is certainly an equally plausible intuitive concept that a group with a "fair" position and with confidence in its negotiator has nothing to fear at the conference table and that its purposes are certainly being served by sending a capable and loyal representative to negotiate. Stated more broadly, the above hypothesis would establish the fact that, in a sense, the solidarity of the group and the loyalty of its negotiator act *against* the interests of the group in reaching an agreement that is *necessary* to the group; in other words, that group solidarity and its members' loyalty are not advantageous to the group in such an instance.

### Sub-Hypotheses

- . . . (a) The group will exert pressure on the negotiator not to concede the group's position on the disputed question.
- . . . (b) The negotiator will conform to pressure exerted upon him by his group.

It should be noted that the consequences of validating these two sub-hypotheses would be to show that the group typically defeats certain of its own purposes as a result of its cohesiveness. If an agreement with the other group did *not* serve its purposes, there would be no reason to send a negotiator; yet, if validated, the hypotheses would show that typical intragroup dynamics tend to work against the very reason for sending a negotiator in the first place—namely, to come to some agreement, not simply to "have its own way".

Obviously, what we would have is two conflicting group purposes. One is the group's position on some matter—for instance, a company's position that the wage-scale should not be above a certain amount if the company is to have needed funds for new equipment at the end of the year. The other is the com-

<sup>1</sup>Argyle (1957) cites evidence that cohesiveness may impair individual productivity, but this is in cases where the group has the goal of reducing productivity; here, no conflict in its purposes is shown. Collins and Guetzkow (1964, 33) show that individuals may work less efficiently together than separately, but the problem here is one of choosing the best division of labor and no intragroup conflict of purposes is implied.

pany's need to have employees regardless of the wage scale, since without employees equipment would not be needed. Obviously, if both conflicting purposes are totally necessary, and irreconcilable, then the group will cease to exist. In reality, the first position is normally a judgment, an estimate. The group's attachment to it is less a matter of precise calculation than of the operation of forces within the group. The judgment has been arrived at by the group's notion of "due process", and the cohesiveness of the group supports this "due process" at what may be the costly expense of the *second* purpose—namely, to staff the company at all. (Clearly, an analogous example could be constructed for the employees' position that certain wages are "necessary", when of course jobs at *some* wage are also necessary.)

## Experimental Procedures

A paradigm was designed such that the investigator could measure the influence of manipulated variables at several points during the experiment.

*Overview of the Paradigm:* Thirty-seven subjects listened to two buzzer sounds. They were asked to state which of the two buzzers sounded longer and how much longer it sounded. (The buzzers were of identical duration.) Those who thought buzzer No. 1 sounded longer (subjects did not know they had this perception in common) were moved to another room and asked if they could decide as a group which buzzer sounded longer and how much longer. After the group arrived at a consensus, the members were asked to choose a negotiator to represent them in a negotiation with a group who had a different perception of the buzzer. The chosen negotiator was then sent to the negotiation where he negotiated with a "collaborator-negotiator" (instructed by the experimenter for the negotiation). The study recorded the groups' reactions to their negotiator as his position varied in the negotiation, and the negotiator's reaction to his group's attitude toward him.

In a negotiation process, representatives selected by and from the membership meet for the purpose of reconciling an *intergroup* difference. Although negotiation is a bilateral process, the group's influence upon its chosen negotiator (or individual member) is unilateral. For this reason, the experiment was concerned with only one group at a time, and a "collaborator-negotiator" functioned (without the knowledge of the group or their negotiator) as the "other negotiator". The negotiator was given opportunity to concede or to hold his position and was made aware of his group's reaction to his position. His actions with the "collaborator-negotiator" in the negotiation were observed and recorded.

## The Sample

The subjects used in the experiment were selected from a high school population in excess of 3,500 students. Several controls are reflected in the sample:

- ... (a) All subjects were males, to control for differences in reactions of the sexes to each other.
- ... (b) All subjects were volunteers, to maximize motivation and group interaction.
- ... (c) High school students were selected, to lower the probability that subjects would be familiar with research in sociology, social psychology or psychology.
- ... (d) New groups were formed as a part of the experiment; therefore, subjects were without prior social obligation or commitment to one another; in most cases they did not even know other individuals' names. This control allowed for the assumption that subjects were not a prior "group" nor functioning on the basis of pre-experimental loyalties, shared values, etc.
- ... (e) Two segments of 11 individuals were retained from the original 37 subjects on the basis of their initial estimates concerning the buzzers in an effort to form a "flat" distribution for each group. Subjects eliminated represented duplication of other estimates, randomly excluded.
- ... (f) Subjects were referred to by only their first names and last initials when presented to the group for "getting acquainted". This procedure served to control for prejudicial responses based on names associated with ethnic, cultural or religious background.
- ... (g) Sample group size of 11 was used, since a smaller number than this is usually considered a "small group", from which generalization to larger groups would be hazardous.
- ... (h) All known leaders in sports, activities, etc. (as defined by school personnel) were excluded from the sample to control for the effect of known successes and personality.

## Application of the Paradigm

The thirty-seven subjects were informed that the experiment would require approximately two hours after the dismissal of classes on a specified school day. The experiment was described to the students as being one involving the "hearing of sounds". The several steps of the paradigm proceeded as follows:

- . . . (a) All subjects were placed together in a room where a tape recording of two buzzer sounds was played. The buzzers sounded for identical lengths of time. Subjects were then asked to write which buzzer had sounded longer and how many seconds longer. On the basis of their responses, subjects were formed in two segments, previously described, of eleven students each (the remaining fifteen subjects having been excused). One segment believed that Buzzer One had sounded longer by a range of from 2 to 33 seconds; the other segment believed that Buzzer Two had sounded longer by a range of from 1 to 35 seconds. Each segment was then assigned to a different room. As there was no significant differing group. The experimenter left the room and groups with respect to the hypotheses being tested, the account follows only Buzzer One group through the experiment.
- . . . (b) After being given time to become acquainted, subjects were asked if they could decide together (a) which buzzer sounded longer, and (b) how much longer the chosen buzzer sounded (consensus). They were told that at a later time they would be negotiating with a different group. The experimenter left the room and was called back when the group had reached a consensus. At this point, subjects were considered to be a "group".
- . . . (c) The experimenter then wrote the "group consensus" on a blackboard at the front of the room, on which was written each subject's original estimates of seconds' difference and his first name.
- . . . (d) Subjects were asked to rate all members of their group, including themselves, on a nine-point scale, as to the potential of each individual for serving as the group's negotiator.
- . . . (e) A ranking device was next employed on which members chose the five individuals from their group (in order of preference, 1-5) regarded as having the greatest potential for serving the group as negotiator.
- . . . (f) The experimenter then asked the group to select a negotiator by any method that the group desired. The experimenter left the room while the group chose its negotiator.

## The Negotiation

- ... (g) The negotiator was sent to the negotiation room and all subsequent communication between the group and its negotiator was conducted by an experimental helper (and manipulated for-testing hypotheses).
- ... (h) Prior to beginning negotiations, the negotiator was asked to indicate (a) what position he thought his group wanted him to take (in seconds' difference) and (b) what position he intended to take.
- ... (i) The subsequent actions of the negotiator were checked against his interpretation of the group's will and his stated intentions.

## Group Procedures Concurrent with the Negotiations

- ... (j) After the negotiator had left the room, members of the group were asked to indicate on a prepared form the position that they individually felt the negotiator should take at the negotiations (which buzzer sounded longer and how many seconds longer).
- ... (k) Group members were presented next with an adjective check list which contained 92 modifiers as being "applicable" or "non-applicable" to the group's negotiator. One-half of the words were positively toned and one-half of the words were negatively toned. The instrument, designed to measure approval or disapproval, had been validated by a pre-experiment sampling and pilot testing.
- ... (l) At this point, an experimental helper arrived at the group room with notes reporting the "position of the negotiator in the negotiation". One-half of the members received notes stating, "Your negotiator is now taking the position that Buzzer One sounded only 1 second longer than Buzzer Two". Thus, one-half of the group believed that the negotiator had conceded beyond group consensus, and the others believed that he was holding to group will.
- ... (m) After reading the notes, members were again asked to indicate what position they felt the negotiator should take when negotiation resumed (i.e., whether to concede or hold fast).
- ... (n) The adjective check list again was employed, followed by repetition of the rating and ranking devices. When these instruments had been completed, the group was excused.

### Negotiation Concurrent with Group Procedures Above

- . . . (o) The negotiation was interrupted three times. The first two interruptions served to check progress and positions which the negotiator believed were being relayed to his group. The third interruption served to "deliver a message to the negotiator from his group" (experimentally manipulated, while the collaborator was in the corridor, presumably getting a message from his group). The verbal message was, "Your group disapproves your action". No other information was given.
- . . . (p) The negotiator was then asked to indicate again (a) the position he thought his group wanted him to take when negotiations were resumed, and (b) what position he intended to take.
- . . . (q) The subsequent reactions of the negotiator were recorded on tape and observed by the collaborator-negotiator.
- . . . (r) When enough time had elapsed to record and observe the negotiator's actions, the negotiation was terminated and the subjects excused. The negotiator was not informed, nor did he suspect (as revealed on tape) that the collaborator was acting under instructions from the experimenter. To his knowledge, the "other negotiator" was representing the other group.

### Experimental Controls

In addition to the sampling controls described earlier three others were applied: (a) The two groups were formed on the basis of the individual subjects' estimate of the length of time that two buzzers sounded, while, as stated, the buzzers had actually sounded for exactly the same length of time. This insured that there was no empirical validity in the subjects' perceptions—i.e., neither group was "right" in its position; and, again, that the group was not acting on the basis of any prior group values, goals, etc. (*Without exception*, subjects moved their original estimates in the direction of the final group consensus; at the moment of consensus, they became "groups", by operational definition.) (b) Testing devices (explained in the procedures) were applied privately with individuals in order to insure that the subjects were responding to the test situation and not to the persuasion of other members. (c) All instruments were marked by subjects independently and collected immediately.

## Statistical Analysis

Siegel's non-parametric "sign test" was used in the analysis (since it was doubtful that the data met the assumptions of parametric statistics; the "sign test" also allows the rejection of the null hypothesis at the 3% level with groups as small as five).

In order to test the first segment of the general hypothesis (that the group will exert pressure on the negotiator not to concede the group's position on the disputed question), group members were asked to complete three instruments indicating their feelings about the negotiator. These instruments were completed once before negotiations commenced and once after the individual members of the group had received a message indicating the position being held by the negotiator at that point in the proceedings. One-half of the group received notes to the effect that the negotiator was holding to the group will; the other half believed that he was conceding the consensus of the group. Group responses to the "Rating" instrument are presented in Table 1. (All tables

TABLE 1  
RATINGS ASSIGNED TO GROUP NEGOTIATOR BY GROUP MEMBERS

Time of Rating	Mean Ratings by Subjects Who Believed That Negotiator Had Held to Group Consensus	Mean Ratings by Subjects Who Believed That Negotiator Had Conceded Group Consensus
Prior to Message	4.5	7.5
After Message	7	4.5
Significance Level	.002	.001

presented include the data gathered from both groups—replications—even though only Buzzer One group was described above. No significant differences were found between the replications.)

Analysis of the rating devices demonstrated that every member who believed that the negotiator had conceded was less approving (rated him lower) at the .001 level of significance (for the group) than they had been when they had rated the negotiator initially. Those members informed that the negotiator had held to consensus rated him higher (at the .002 level) than they had rated him earlier.

The second instrument used to measure the approval of the negotiator by the group before and after the messages was a ranking device. Every member ranked five members on a scale of 1-5 on their potential ability as negotiators. The individual member selected any five for ranking that he desired. After the

TABLE 2  
RANKINGS ASSIGNED TO GROUP NEGOTIATOR BY GROUP MEMBERS

Time of Ranking	Mean Ranking by Subjects Who Believed That Negotiator Had Held to Group Consensus	Mean Ranking by Subjects Who Believed That Negotiator Had Conceded Group Consensus
Prior to Message	4.5	2.5
After Message	2.5	5.5
Significance Level	.02	.001

negotiator was selected and messages delivered as to whether or not he was holding group consensus, each member was asked to rank five members that he now believed had the greatest potentiality for representing the group in the negotiation (the negotiator might be included). The results of these rankings appear in Table 2.

Compilation of the ranking instruments indicated that those who believed that the negotiator had conceded ranked him lower (or not at all in six cases) than they had originally. This difference was significant at the .001 level of confidence. Those subjects informed that the negotiator held to group consensus ranked him as high as, or higher than, at first (significant at the .02 level of confidence).

The third instrument used to measure the reaction of the groups to the actions of the respective negotiators was an adjective check list. Members were required to choose, from a list of positive-toned (noting approval) and negative-toned (noting disapproval) adjectives, those "applicable" to the group's negotiator. The responses to this instrument are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3 demonstrates that group members who had been informed that their negotiator had conceded increased the number of negative-toned words (indicating disapproval) at the .001 level of significance. These members also decreased the number of positive-toned words applicable to the negotiator at the .02 level.

TABLE 3  
NUMBER OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE TONED MODIFIERS CHECKED AS APPLICABLE  
TO THE NEGOTIATOR BY THOSE MEMBERS INFORMED THAT HE HAD CONCEDED

Time of List Administration	Positive-Toned Adjectives (Grand Median)	Negative-Toned Adjectives (Grand Median)
Prior to Message	35.5	7.5
After Message	30.0	13.5
Significance Level	.02	.001

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE TONED MODIFIERS CHECKED AS APPLICABLE  
TO THE NEGOTIATOR BY THOSE MEMBERS THAT BELIEVED  
HE HAD HELD TO GROUP CONSENSUS

Time of List Administration	Positive-Toned Adjectives (Grand Median)	Negative-Toned Adjectives (Grand Median)
Prior to Message	37	11.5
After Message	38.5	3.5
Significance Level	.02	.001

Table 4 demonstrates that members who believed that their negotiator had held to group consensus decreased the number of negative-toned words applicable to the negotiator to an extent significant at the .001 level. Although the significance level was not as high for the increase of positive-toned adjectives as it was for the decrease in negative-toned adjectives, group members nevertheless increased the number of positive-toned adjectives applicable to the negotiator at the .02 level of confidence.

The second segment of the general hypothesis predicted that the negotiator would conform to pressure exerted upon him by his group. In order to test this hypothesis, the negotiator was asked to indicate (a) his interpretation of the group will, and (b) his intentions relative to the negotiation, i.e., what his position would be during the negotiation. In addition, the action of the negotiator was recorded and observed by the "collaborator-negotiator". After receiving a message from his group indicating disapproval of his actions, the negotiator was again asked to indicate his interpretation of the group will and his intentions relative to the position he would take when negotiations were resumed. Again his actions were recorded and observed. In comparing these factors before and after the message of disapproval from his group, it was possible to measure the effect of the group's

TABLE 5

A COMPARISON (IN SECONDS' DIFFERENCE) OF THE NEGOTIATORS'  
(a) INTERPRETATION OF GROUP'S WILL, (b) INTENTIONS RELEVANT TO NEGOTIATION,  
AND (c) ACTIONS, BEFORE AND AFTER MESSAGE OF DISAPPROVAL

Time Assessment Was Taken	Group 1 Negotiator			Group 2 Negotiator		
	G.W.	I	A	G.W.	I	A
Before Disapproval	11*	13	0-15	9*	9*	7-9
After Disapproval	11*	14	11*	9*	9*	9*

Legend:

G.W. = Negotiator's interpretation of group will.

I = Negotiator's intentions

A = Negotiator's actions

\* = Group consensus

disapproval on the actions of the negotiator. Table 5 summarizes the *two* negotiators' responses to these three factors.

### The Result of the Disapproval . . .

The reader will note that the Group 1 negotiator was fully aware of the group will, both before and after the message of disapproval. The intentions he expressed or position that he planned to defend was somewhat more conservative of his group's consensus of the time difference between the buzzers. Although his actions in the negotiation ranged from 0 to as much as 15 seconds' difference, the negotiator immediately took the position of the group's consensus when told that the group disapproved of his action.

The negotiator for Group 2 also interpreted the group will accurately and expressed his intention of defending that position. In the first session of the negotiations, he conceded that perhaps only seven seconds' difference existed between the lengths of the two buzzers. Upon being told that his group disapproved of his position, he immediately resumed the position that represented group consensus. Thus, in the case of both negotiators, the statement that their actions were not approved by their referent groups was sufficient to cause the negotiators to reassume the position indicated by the consensus of their respective groups.

Further indications of the negotiators response to the groups' messages of disapproval was found on tape recordings made before and after the arrival of the message. The negotiator for Buzzer Group One stated in negotiation that he was chosen because, "I talked so much and got their attention with my math formula for arriving at consensus. I guess they thought I'd be a good arguer". This statement implies that he felt the group wanted him to defend the group will. Another example of this attitude on the part of the same negotiator occurred when the experimental helper arrived to terminate negotiation. The negotiator asked, "Am I kicked out"? This statement seemed a clear indication that he no longer felt sure of his position as negotiator, but was aware that disapproval could affect him and that the group will was counter to concession and agreement.

The strongest evidence in favor of the group's influence upon the negotiator is found in an analysis of the negotiation situation. Both negotiators were absent (at that time) from their groups, but they took the positions that they felt their respective groups wished them to take, and as a result the negotiations failed. The negotiators appeared to feel that group disapproval was due to their fluctuation from the group consensus.

Note should be made of the fact that the written testing instruments, the tape recordings and the observations of the "negotiator-collaborator" were all in the direction of the validity of the hypotheses to be tested. There was no indication of any interaction at any point in the experiment.

### In Conclusion . . .

The general hypothesis and both subsegments of the hypothesis appear to be entirely substantiated; i.e., group cohesiveness impaired an important group objective. On three separate measurements the two groups expressed significant approval of their respective negotiators when the negotiators held to the group will during negotiations, and disapproval when the negotiators were believed to have conceded past the point representing group consensus. When informed that their groups did not approve their actions, both negotiators immediately assumed a position exactly congruent with their respective groups' consensus. The general contention that group cohesiveness works counter to concession and agreement when two groups meet through member-representatives to settle a difference is validated within the scope of the investigation. The consistency of the findings from testing instrument to testing instrument and replication to replication further buttresses the validation.

In attempting to reconcile differences between groups, the focus is often upon the overt issues separating the groups. In this experiment, the buzzer sounds could hardly represent an important issue to the subjects, yet the negotiations failed. It is recommended that more attention be devoted to the dynamic group forces impairing agreement, whatever the stated issues may be. Since group membership impairs the negotiator's ability to reach agreement, it is suggested that experiments be conducted in which attempts are made to settle differences by mediation and arbitration, and involving manipulation of group dynamics to facilitate agreement in negotiation. The methodology employed in this study can be used advantageously for these purposes. The method follows the group from its inception and thus facilitates the control of variables not easily controlled in existing groups. Further, the experimental method used here does not assign "roles" which require subjects to "pretend"; though experimentally controlled, the group relationships in this method are actual rather than imaginary.

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## **Beyond Community Integration and Stability: A Comparative Study of Oriental and Mennonite Children\***

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This paper is concerned with the discrepancy between the social system and the individual personality system with respect to optimal functioning, integration and stability. A social system can to a great extent maintain integration and stability by suppressing individual needs of the members of the system, and conformity to social norms can bring the individuals a sense of security; however, a social group cannot achieve total isolation when it exists within a larger social order. As soon as individuals in the smaller group realize the existence of different values through cultural contact, they lose the sense of stability and are likely to exhibit symptoms of maladjustment. Specifically, this is a comparative study of Oriental children in the United States and Canadian Mennonite children—groups which experience cultural conflict as the integration and stability of their traditional social systems are disturbed.

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## Social Integration

The dominant values of both Orientals and Mennonites are based on religious doctrines. In traditional Oriental societies Confucianism and Buddhism subordinated the existence of the ego to the demands of the social and familial collectivities. The self in these religious thoughts could not exist without the support and protection of society. The focus of Confucian doctrine was the cult of the family in which hierarchy was a primary concern. Roles of individuals were prescribed rigidly for the sake of the continuity and welfare of the family group even to the sacrifice of individuality and spontaneity of family members (Taeuber, 1958; Dore, 1958; Matsumoto, 1960; Kawashima, 1948; Tamaki, 1953; Koyama, 1960).

To Mennonites the Bible is the only source of truth. Man on earth must choose between the ways of God and those of the devil. The Mennonites have chosen the ways of God and in order to pursue them it is necessary for believers to keep away from the ways of the devil and their adherents. Socialization within the family is perhaps the single most important means of regulating individual behavior to conform to such norms. Success in the socializing function of the family is primarily due to the sacred quality attributed to the family. The child is taught to accept the authority of parents, which is derived from the authority of God (Hostetler, 1963; Mennonite Encyclopedia, 1955; Kollmorgen, 1942).

However, neither Oriental immigrants nor Mennonites can avoid cultural contacts with the larger society which stresses a different value orientation, that is, individualism. In the present study children are divided into three groups according to the degree to which they have been acculturated to the larger society: the traditional, the transitional and the acculturated.

## Personality Integration

The first major concern of this study is the personality integration in the stable and integrated society. Durkheim accounts for the rates of suicide by the degree to which individuals are integrated into the normative system. Egoistic suicide arises from the freedom from collective control. Within a stable, well-integrated and highly structured social system, individuals are sufficiently sheltered and guided for generalized anxiety reactions to be rare. Their behavior is based on consistent values and norms and prescribed in detail so that he knows how others will react to what he does. There is little uncertainty in social relations. Also, the sense of group belonging and of close interpersonal

relationship give an individual a great deal of social and psychological support. The reward for exerting the self-discipline required to stay within the boundaries of Oriental or Mennonite social systems is a freedom from certain worries outside the system.

A study of the California State Department of Public Health (Manheimer, 1966), showed that accident rates are much smaller among the Oriental children than Caucasian or Negro children in California, which suggests a correlation between social integration and child behavior.

### The Hutterites . . .

From his study of Hutterites, Eaton (1955) reported that free-floating anxiety and severe and extreme manifestations of psychopathology are rare in their culture. However, Eaton's study indicates that Hutterites are not immune from mental disturbances. They tend to internalize or somatize rather than project or act out their difficulties. For individuals who have acquired a strong superego and are part of a well integrated social system which gives them considerable economic, psychic, affectionate and social support, psychological problems can exist without being expressed through anti-social acts. Eaton noticed children with habit disturbances such as nail-biting, enuresis, thumb-sucking. There are also conduct problems like temper tantrums, quarrelsomeness, disobedience, untruthfulness, cruelty to animals. These behavior deviations were not, however, regarded as major problems by Hutterite adults.

Gutkind (1952) observed that apparently well behaved, obedient, quiet and joyful Mennonite children became progressively more aggressive as he established rapport with them. In play situations the children soon developed a roughness and viciousness hardly equalled by city children. This aggressiveness was at times evident in the behavior of children as well as of adults in dealing with animals with cruelty, in vicious dreams about killing family members and so on.

The above research findings lead to the *first major hypothesis* that the members of a stable, integrated social system are relatively free from overt symptoms of mental disorder such as suicide, delinquency or accident, but are not immune from covert symptoms.

The discussion so far has dealt with individuals within a social system which was assumed to be stable and integrated. However, a social group is constantly exposed to other groups holding different values and norms with cultural conflict the

result. The relationship between value conflict and mental disorder has been studied by many people (Opler, 1959; Leighton, 1957). Studies of folk society and mental disorder seem to support Freud's hypothesis that civilization is accompanied by increased neurosis but Freud's explanation that preliterates have less repression of original drives can no longer be accepted. Far more crucial is their cultural consensus about types and modes of control. With little room for alternatives, a tribal member can only accept and internalize controls and feel comfortable about them; if he suffers, all suffer alike. Karen Horney and Reed Bain advanced the analysis further by asserting that it is not the number of demands made on the individual in society, but the incompatible nature of the demands that increases emotional disturbances (Schermerhorn, 1955).

### High Suicide Rate of Rural Males . . .

Schroeder and Beegle (1955) suggested that the high suicide rate of the rural males is derived from the frustration and personal disorganization which have resulted from the conflict in rural and urban values. Their data indicate that not only have the former experienced a conflict in values which has led to frustrations and personal disorganization, but that many rural residents who commit suicide in Michigan are actually urban oriented in terms of occupational pursuits. Fringe-dwellers swell the rural suicide rate. The decision of such individuals to commit suicide may have its origin in an incomplete reconciliation of rural and urban values.

Thiessen (1966) observed that mentally disturbed Mennonites are usually characterized by strong guilt feelings and ambivalence toward parental and religious value systems which seem to be shattered. An extensive study of the Hutterites (Eaton, 1955) has also pointed out that religious conflicts are important factors in the manifestations of mental disorders.

Accordingly, the *second hypothesis* of the present study is that Mennonites and Orientals who suffer from value conflict are more likely to show symptoms of mental disturbance than those who conform to either traditional or to new value system.

### Oriental Children in American Culture

The previous research (Manheimer, 1966) indicated that Oriental children are much less frequently injured than Caucasian children according to the hospital records in California. There are grounds for thinking that Oriental families, because of their emphasis on family cohesion, exercise exceptionally close

supervision over their children. If so, as Orientals become acculturated to the American way of life, their children may be expected to have a higher accident rate. Childhood accidents here are viewed as overt behavior determined at least in part by social factors linked to the integration and stability of the child as a social being.

The study population was 404 Oriental children under 15 years of age living in the Oakland and Berkeley area in California, who were members of the Kaiser Foundation pre-paid medical plan. In racial and occupational composition, the Kaiser membership does not differ substantially from the population of the Berkeley-Oakland area, although semiskilled and unskilled workers are under-represented. The medical records of the Kaiser Foundation were analyzed to select samples of children who differ widely in number of accidents and to correlate high and low incidence groups with personal and environmental characteristics. Mailed questionnaires and interviews were successfully administered to the mothers of 151 children.

Children were divided into three groups: traditional (non-acculturated children of non-acculturated parents); transitional (acculturated children of non-acculturated parents) and acculturated children of acculturated parents).

### Traditional Children Less Accident Prone

The *first hypothesis* suggests that traditional children are less likely to have accidents than acculturated children, since they are closely supervised and discouraged from being independent (Vogel, 1963; Caudill, 1962 and 1966; Kurokawa, 1966 and 1968).

Table 1 supports the hypothesis that traditional children are significantly less likely to have accidents than acculturated children. Traditional mothers are less likely to take an equalitarian role in relation to their children but they let their children know who has seniority and expect them to respect and be obedient to their parents. They are also less permissive. They establish setting strict norms concerning the child's bedtime, watching TV, making noise and so on. In short, traditional mothers are likely to be restrictive of the child's behavior and to discourage their children's exploration of their surroundings. Conversely, traditional children are significantly less likely to be independent or venturesome than either transitional or acculturated children. They are likely to ask parents for help in making up their minds, in doing homework and so on, and are cautious in their movement, avoiding risks.

TABLE 1  
ACCULTURATION, PARENTAL AND CHILD BEHAVIOR

Parental and Child Behavior		Male			Female		
		Tradit- ional	Transi- tional	Accul- tured	Tradit- ional	Transi- tional	Accul- tured
(N =		22	20	38	30	9	32
(In Number)							
Accident group	High	2	13	19	5	6	12
	Medium	7	3	11	7	2	11
	Low	13	4	18	18	1	9
(In Score)							
Equalitarian role (mother)		7.12	6.55	9.30	6.10	5.85	9.47
			**		**		
Permissiveness (mother)		6.65	6.18	10.08	5.94	5.61	9.93
			**		**		
Independence (child)		6.36	9.75	10.24	6.20	9.56	10.18
		**			**		
Venturesomeness (child)		7.38	9.78	9.42	5.87	8.78	9.55
		**			**		
Prohibition of aggression (mother)		9.14	10.40	6.45	10.50	10.56	6.70
		**			**		
Authoritarianism (mother)		8.68	10.00	6.15	9.53	10.67	6.55
		**			**		
Detached family relation		6.27	8.53	8.21	6.27	9.45	8.47
		**			**		
Aggressiveness (child)		6.68	8.75	9.49	5.80	10.23	8.88
		**			**		
Disobedience (child)		6.91	9.61	9.10	5.77	9.67	8.48
		**			**		
Covert aggression (child)		6.73	9.50	6.35	6.77	10.12	6.15
		**			**		

1. Traditional: Non-accultured child of non-accultured parent

Transitional: Accultured child of non-accultured parent

Accultured: Accultured child of accultured parent

2. A higher score indicates a greater amount of attribute indexed. Score range: 4-12.

3. Significance level by t-test and Mann-Whitney U-test

\* .05 level

\*\* .01 level

## Transitional Children More Accident Prone

The *second hypothesis* is concerned with cultural conflict, stating that transitional Oriental children, who are acculturated themselves but whose parents are not, are likely to experience cultural conflict and harbor frustration, which disables them from coping with hazards and leads to accidents (Sellin, 1958; Green, 1953).

As shown in Table 1, mothers of transitional children are inclined toward traditional child-rearing practices. They are likely to prohibit their children's aggression toward siblings, peers and particularly parents. They take an authoritarian attitude toward their children, telling them what to do, punishing rather than reasoning with them when they do something wrong. Besides interpersonal relations in transitional family are likely to be cold and detached. Parents and children do not seem to have close communication nor do they share many things in common.

As hypothesized, transitional children are likely to be aggressive overtly and covertly, disobedient and have more accidents than traditional children. However, the scores on overt aggression and disobedience are not in general significantly different between transitional and acculturated children. What is noteworthy is that transitional children are most likely to exhibit covert aggression by pouting, sulking and hurting themselves when angry. In this group the postulate of frustration-aggression seems to be supported (Gorer, 1962; Menninger, 1936).

## Mennonite Children in Canada

The Mennonite study is intended to replicate the above research but to stress covert symptoms of maladjustment rather than overt ones.

The study population was defined as all the Mennonite children around the age of 10 residing in the County of Waterloo. This was obtained from a list prepared by the county property assessment bureau providing the following information: name and address of property owner, religion, occupation, family composition by age and sex. A random sample could have been drawn from the above list. However, the major difficulty with the list was that it provided religion only as "Mennonite" and no further breakdown by church order was made. Also the proportion of progressive Mennonites being far greater than that of traditional Mennonites in this country, a random sample would include a very small number of traditional Mennonites and a large number of progressive ones. This is not desirable where the major interest of the study lies in a comparison using degrees of orthodoxy.

Thus a stratified sample was required, but the problem was the unavailability of a comprehensive list of all the Mennonites by church order. However, for the rural area where traditional Mennonites are concentrated, geographical mapping of Mennonite farms by church order had been prepared by the University of Waterloo geography department (Murdie, 1961). Based on this, a geographically random sample was drawn to include traditional (Old Order), transitional (Markham) and acculturated (Mennonite Conference of Ontario) groups. For the urban area no mapping nor listing of individual Mennonite was available, hence the list of Mennonite churches was examined. Three churches which are rated as most progressive by Mennonite ministers were chosen and their church members having children were randomly sampled. A total of 460 children and their mothers (72 per cent of the sample) were successfully approached, and interviews and self-administered questionnaire were obtained from them. The response rate was best in the urban acculturated group and the worst in the transitional group.

### **The Traditional Group**

The traditional group is made up of the Old Order Mennonites who interpret the Bible literally (Fretz, 1967). They consider themselves peculiar and lead a peculiar life, for the Bible says that God's people are peculiar and do not conform to this world. Deviations from the prescribed Mennonite behavior are censured under the sin of pride. They do not enjoy commercial forms of entertainment; neither do they own radios, telephones, automobiles or electric services and appliances. Money is valued only for the purpose of acquiring land and the necessities of life. A primary objective of Mennonite agriculture is to accumulate enough money to keep all the offspring on farms.

### **The Transitional Group**

The transitional group, exemplified by the Waterloo-Markham Conference Mennonites, has modified certain institutional norms to adapt to the current situation of the society at large (Wenger, 1959). New standards of legitimacy came to be accepted. They do not consider material success as a goal, but seem to accept the idea of efficiency without derogating from the basic belief system. Instead of a horse and buggy, they use a car although the chrome is painted black. They use a tractor, telephone and electricity. However, they do not allow education

beyond the age of 14, since education affects ways of thinking as well as ways of behaving.

## The Acculturated Group

The acculturated group, represented by the Mennonite Conference of Ontario, has adapted itself further to the values and norms of the larger society. They accept the cultural goals of success and efficiency, and conform to the behavior patterns of the larger society by using a car, tractor, telephone and electricity and by encouraging higher education. They do not try to be separate from the world, and interpreted the Mennonite principles in the contemporary framework.

The *first hypothesis* concerning parental attitudes is that traditional Mennonite parents are more likely to preserve the senses of traditional stability and integration than transitional or acculturated Mennonites (Thiessen, 1966; Just, 1952; Peters, 1959). The sense of stability is measured by the alienation scale, the quality of traditionalism, by the authoritarianism scale.

In the cases of Mennonites there is a problem in defining the concept of alienation, that is, alienation from what. Mennonites as a group are alienated from the larger society, but to the extent that a Mennonite feels integrated into his own subgroup, he will not feel anomic or powerless. Three dimensions of alienation, as conceptualized by Dean (1961), are used in this study: isolation, powerlessness and normlessness.

As shown in Table 2, traditional Mennonites are significantly more likely to feel isolated than acculturated Mennonites. Either because of their religious doctrine of isolation from the secular world, or because of the sense of frustration for being excluded from the larger society, orthodox Mennonites tend to feel isolated.

The score on isolation alone does not tell whether it connotes positive or negative meaning to the individual. However, the concept of powerlessness has definitely a negative implication, as power refers to the individual's sense of control over social forces. Old Order Mennonites are least likely to feel powerless. They feel isolated but not powerless nor anomic, which seems to indicate stability and integration within their own social system, isolated from the larger society.

The authority-centered mentality of orthodox Mennonites is measured by (a) the amount of freedom and responsibility parents give to the child, with regard for example, to evenings out, social events, friends, and (b) the amount of respect paid to the child's opinion by parents with regard to decision-making process, disciplining and so on. In general the data support the

TABLE 2  
PARENTAL BEHAVIOR BY CHURCH ORDER

Parental Behavior (N =	Male				Female			
	0.0 53	Mark- ham 50	Rural 57	Urban 60	0.0 54	Mark- ham 50	Rural 60	Urban 76
<i>Alienation</i>								
Isolation	6.70	6.94	5.14	4.78	6.78	6.22	5.47	4.70
		***		**		**		
			***			***		
				***			***	
								***
Powerlessness	4.08	6.54	4.61	5.75	4.28	6.28	4.43	5.62
	***		***		***		***	**
			*			***		
Normlessness	5.49	5.98	4.53	6.13	5.04	5.96	4.38	5.61
		***		***	*		***	***
		*						
Authoritarianism	5.92	6.28	4.49	4.38	5.38	5.40	4.70	4.57
		***					**	
			***			**		
				***				
Inconsistency in disciplining	5.49	6.64	5.18	5.42	5.43	6.56	5.13	5.66
	**		***		**		***	
			*				***	
Achievement expectation	3.74	3.96	5.30	6.12	4.20	3.92	5.32	6.20
		***				**		*
			***				***	
				*				***
				***				

1. 0.0.: Old Order Mennonites (traditional group)  
Markham: Markham Conference Mennonites (transitional group)  
Rural: Mennonite Conference of Ontario (acculturated group in rural area)  
Urban: Mennonite Conference of Ontario (acculturated group in urban area)
2. A higher score indicates a greater amount of attribute indexed. Score range: 1-9.
3. Significance level by t-test:  
\* .05 level  
\*\* .01 level  
\*\*\* .001 level

hypothesis that traditional Mennonite parents are significantly more authoritarian than acculturated ones.

### Transitional Parents Less Authoritarian

The *second hypothesis* about the parental behavior is that transitional Mennonite parents are likely to suffer from value conflict, which will be exhibited in their feeling of normlessness and their inconsistency in disciplining.

Scores on the scale of alienation indicate that transitional Mennonites are likely to feel isolated, powerless and relatively normless. Acculturated Mennonites in rural area are least likely to feel normless, while the acculturated in the urban area score relatively high on this scale.

Inconsistency in disciplining is primarily measured by the child's observations—whether or not the child feels that parents are fair in disciplining him, consistent from time to time, consistent with regard to severity, consistent among siblings, etc. Table 2 supports the hypothesis that Markham parents are significantly more likely to be reported as inconsistent in disciplining than parents of other groups. Markham parents have also turned out to be authoritarian toward children.

With regard to child behavior, the *first hypothesis* states that traditional Mennonite children are likely to be free from overt symptoms of maladjustment but not from covert ones; to be weak in ego development and passive in interpersonal relations (Engle, 1943; Stuffle, 1955; Kalhorn, 1941; Augusburger, 1965).

Based on the operational definition of mental health, i.e., absence of symptomatology, children are divided into well adjusted and maladjusted groups (Srole, 1962; Gurin, 1960; Jahoda, 1955). Symptoms of maladjustment are classified into overt and covert types. The overt type includes such overt acting out as juvenile delinquency (stealing, drinking, smoking, sex offence), trouble with police, at school or with neighbors, temper outbursts, negative, hostile, aggressive behavior, pathological lying, etc.

Covert symptoms are divided into (a) physical (hay fever, asthma, allergy, stomach upset, headaches, aches and pains, cold, short breath, etc.); (b) habit disturbance (thumb sucking, nail biting, rocking, twitching, trembling, soiling, etc.); and (c) nervous symptoms (nervousness, depression, fear, worry, nightmare, trouble in getting to sleep, loss of appetite, etc.).

As shown in Table 3, the data support the hypothesis that Old Order children are more likely to show covert symptoms than the acculturated Mennonite children, though the difference is not statistically significant.

## The Feeling of Adequacy . . .

The dimension of ego strength vs. ego weakness is examined by the child's sense of adequacy and the sense of personal freedom (Schaffer, 1961). An individual possesses a sense of being worthy when he feels he is well regarded by others, when he feels that others have faith in his future success, and when he believes that

TABLE 3  
MENTAL STATE AND BEHAVIOR OF CHILDREN  
BY CHURCH ORDER AND SEX OF THE CHILD

Child Behavior (N =	Male				Female			
	(Church Order)				(Church Order)			
	0.0 53	Mark- ham 50	Rural 57	Urban 60	0.0 54	Mark- ham 50	Rural 60	Urban 76
Mental maladjustment	3.85	4.08	4.33	4.62	3.13	3.40	3.60	3.42
Overt symptoms	4.32	4.76	3.61	3.87	5.63	6.08	5.05	5.26
Covert symptoms							*	
								*
Sense of adequacy	3.74	3.68	5.67	4.08	3.26	3.32	4.80	3.74
		***		***		***		**
			***				***	
Personal freedom	4.83	4.78	5.46	5.45	4.08	3.98	4.82	5.41
						*		
							***	
							**	
							***	
Ascendance (against submission)	4.51	4.74	5.39	5.85	4.94	4.66	5.05	5.22
		*						
			***					
			**					
Extraversion	4.70	4.72	5.44	5.07	4.91	4.02	5.32	5.86
		*				**		
							**	
							***	
Value consistency	4.43	3.80	4.96	4.55	4.81	3.82	5.07	4.72
			**			*	**	
							*	
Guilt feeling	5.85	6.64	5.02	4.68	6.24	6.40	5.58	5.18
	*		***				*	
		**					***	
	*						**	
		***						
School achievement	4.98	5.46	5.04	4.47	4.89	4.58	4.58	4.88
			*					
School problem	5.34	5.82	5.25	6.12	5.15	4.72	5.05	5.01
				*				
		*						

1. 0.0.: Old Order Mennonites (traditional group)

Markham: Markham Conference Mennonites (transitional group)

Rural: Mennonite Conference of Ontario (acculturated group in rural area)

Urban: Mennonite Conference of Ontario (acculturated group in urban area)

2. A higher score indicates a greater amount of attribute indexed. Score range: 1-9

3. Significance level by t-test:

\* .05 level

\*\* .01 level

\*\*\* .001 level

he has average or better than average ability. To feel worthy means to feel capable and reasonably attractive. Self-esteem is also determined by acceptance or rejection of one's being different from others. Particularly for Mennonite children the sense of being different can give them either the feeling of pride or the feeling of self-hatred. According to our data, rural acculturated Mennonite children turned out to score significantly higher than any other group on the scale of adequacy. Old Order children are slightly, though not significantly, lower in scores than the urban acculturated. It came as a surprise that the urban acculturated do not score higher. It may be that acculturated Mennonite children on the farm do not find nonMennonite rural children too different from themselves, while in the city where the population is heterogeneous, Mennonite children, even if belonging to the progressive order, find it difficult to associate with diverse groups of people.

An individual enjoys a sense of freedom when he is permitted to have a reasonable share in the determination of his conduct and in setting the general policies that shall govern his life. Desirable freedom includes permission to choose one's own friends and to have at least a little spending money. An individual may be said to be self-reliant when his overt actions indicate that he can do things independently of others, depend upon himself in various situations and direct his own activities. Among boys the differences in scores among church orders are not significant, although the relationship is in the hypothesized direction. Among girls, the urban acculturated score significantly higher on the scale of freedom.

Interpersonal relations are measured by the scales of ascendance versus submission and of extraversion versus introversion. Among girls differences in scores on the scale of ascendance by church order are not significant, while among boys, the hypothesis is supported that Old Order boys are more likely to be submissive than the acculturated. The former are likely to be submissive to authority and in peer group relations, and to report that other children are mean to them or boss them. It may be that boys, who, unlike girls, are expected to play a dominant role, feel themselves or appear to be particularly submissive when they have to play the role of a minority group member. On the scale of extraversion versus introversion, the differences in scores among boys are not significant except between Old Order and the rural acculturated, although the relations are in the expected direction: traditional Mennonites are more likely to be introverted than the acculturated. Among the girls the hypothesis is supported at a significant level.

## Transitional Children: Guilt and Values

The *second hypothesis* of child behavior states that the transitional Mennonite children are likely to experience cultural conflict in the form of value inconsistency and guilt feelings and are likely to suffer from mental maladjustment.

From the data presented already in Table 3, the transitional Mennonite child can be described as someone who is likely to suffer from the sense of inadequacy and the lack of personal freedom; and to be submissive and introverted in interpersonal relations. Basically these characteristics are similar to those of the traditional Mennonite children. The difference between traditional and transitional groups is sought in the amount of value conflict experienced by both.

In order to measure the degree of value consistency, children were asked whether or not they are puzzled about the meaning of God, confused on some of their religious beliefs, doubtful about the value of worship and prayer, confused on some moral questions, bothered by clash of opinions between themselves and their parents, whether they find contradictions between what they learn at school and at home, or feel envious of nonMennonite children. The data indicate that the transitional group, Markham children, are most likely to feel inconsistency in value system.

Guilt feelings are expressed in such forms as (a) strong self-accusation ("I believe my sins are unpardonable, I am a condemned person, deserve severe punishment"); (b) specifically localized guilt feelings ("I am not religious enough, not going to church often, unable to feel close to God, am not as good a child as I should be, not living up to my ideal, feel guilty for resenting my father, unable to break a bad habit"); and (c) general worry ("I frequently find myself worrying about something I have done wrong, afraid that God is going to punish me"). The data indicate that the transitional Markham children are most likely to feel guilty and the differences in scores between them and others are in general significant.

As expected, Table 3 shows that these transitional children are likely to show covert symptoms of maladjustment. Thus, the hypothesis concerning cultural conflict and psychological maladjustment has been successfully tested. Transitional Mennonites, who have made an adaptive change on the church level by loosening some of the regulations, are not successfully coping with conflicts on the level of individual personality.

### In the Case of Conflict . . .

Finally, the case of conflict is studied in detail. The most serious conflict is produced for a child when he encounters the

values and norms presented by schools, which defy the religious doctrines the child has been reared with (Smucker, 1943). Old Order and Markham Mennonites do not consider higher education necessary for farming but rather harmful for their religious life. Therefore, it was predicted that they would have low achievement expectation toward their children. Achievement expectation was measured by parental response to questions regarding the necessary amount of education for their children and whether or not they consider it important to have good grades or to work hard at school. As shown in Table 2, the data support the hypothesis that Old Order and Markham mothers score significantly lower on the scale of achievement expectation than the acculturated Mennonites. Within the latter, urban Mennonites are significantly higher than the rural ones. The child's achievement was assessed by his score on an I.Q. test and other general tests. Differences in scores by church order are in general non-significant. Problems with school were determined by means of the Mooney Problem Check List in which a child is to check the list of problems which trouble him. The range of problems cover the academic area, such as difficulties with school work or trouble with teachers because of poor performance, rather than interpersonal relations.

Based on the notion of value conflict, the hypothesis was offered that among Old Order and Markham Mennonites, where parents have low achievement expectations for the child, a child who is good at school work is more likely to report problems with regard to school and likely to be maladjusted than a child who is poor at school work.

Table 4 supports the hypothesis in general, although the results are not conclusive due to the small number of cases after several variables have been controlled. One thing to be noticed, however, is that whether parents have high achievement expectation or not, children who are good at school work are more likely to be maladjusted and have school problems than those who are poor at school work. In this sense, maladjustment of the child is not a function of the conflict between the child's achievement and related desire for further achievement, and the parental discouragement of education. It may be that norms of education are so definitely set by religion and Mennonite society that individual parental attitudes do not affect much of the child's behavior. In other words, the conflict is not between parents and child but rather between society and child. Also, parental attitudes such as high achievement expectation may be idealistic rather than real among Mennonites or they may be applicable to education within the normative limitation, that is, below grade 12.

TABLE 4  
SCHOOL PROBLEM AND ADJUSTMENT OF MENNONITE CHILDREN BY SEX OF THE CHILD, CHURCH ORDER,  
PARENTAL ACHIEVEMENT EXPECTATION AND SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CHILD  
(IN PER CENT)

Sex	Male						Female					
	Church Order			Old Order Markham			Progressive Mennonites			Old Order Markham		
Parental achievement expectation				Low			High			Low		
	Poor	Good	N	Poor	Good	N	Poor	Good	N	Poor	Good	N
School achievement of the child	26	43	69	14	17	31	37	48	85	22	19	41
Presence of school problem	46	72	118	(11)	(9)	(7)	70	71	141	(4)	(9)	(7)
Well-adjusted	84	19	103	(7)	(11)	(40)	40	86	126	(16)	(10)	(11)
Maladjusted	4	65	69	(4)	(3)	30	30	4	21	68	(6)	(3)
Covertly	12	16	28	(3)	(3)	19	30	10	0	18	(0)	(1)
Overtly												

Where the number of cases is too small, absolute figures are given in parentheses instead of percentage.

Another hypothesis of value conflict was that among the acculturated Mennonites who encourage higher education, a child who is poor at school work is more likely to have school problems and is generally maladjusted than a child who is good at school work. As seen in Table 4, whether parental achievement expectation is high or low, a child who is poor at school work is more likely to be maladjusted than a child who is good at school, although this relation is more pronounced among those whose parental expectation is high. Concerning the school problems, the relations are not significant. It can be interpreted that where the norm is a high achievement, a child who is poor at school work is likely to be maladjusted.

### In Conclusion . . .

Children reared in a closely knit and hierarchically ordered social system do not frequently engage in anti-social activities, nor do they show free-floating anxiety. They appear to be well protected and supervised by parents and to be passively submerging themselves in the demands of the social collectivity. To illuminate this point Oriental children in the United States and Mennonites in Canada were studied. It was hypothesized and tested that these apparently well-behaved and well protected children are not free from covert symptoms of maladjustment, although they rarely show overt symptoms.

For the Oriental immigrants in the United States and the Mennonites in Canada, the assumption of the integration and stability of their traditional social system is not valid. Inevitable contact with larger societies have pressured these subculture groups toward change. Both Orientals and Mennonites have taken steps in revising their norms to adapt to the situation. For the sake of efficiency, they have adopted certain material aspects of the prevailing culture, while adhering to the traditional values. This change, while adaptive on the structural level of social system, does not seem to be entirely successful in maintaining the integration and stability of personality of the individual members. Transitional Oriental and Mennonite children showed the greatest number of symptoms of maladjustment. Thus two conclusions may be drawn from this: (a) members of a closely knit social system may be free from overt symptoms of maladjustment but not immune from covert ones; (b) there is a high correlation between cultural conflict and mental disturbance.

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## The Study of Sex Roles

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For some years, behavioral scientists have played an ambivalent love affair with role theories. As a way of describing patterned behavior, they find role concepts relevant, useful, and handy—but also inadequate, muddled and overly simple. As Levinson (1959) said: "The concept of role remains one of the most overworked and underdeveloped in the social sciences". Discussions of this ambivalence about role theories are well documented in the literature and I will not dwell on them here. The key dilemmas in role analysis research could be summarized as follows:

- ... The terminology is various, inconsistent and only partly overlapping in usage. It is true that the core ideas have involved three elements: (a) role behavior based on role expectations of relevant others; (b) expectations keyed to a specific role; (c) a social location or interaction system for the role expectations and behavior (Gross, 1958). However, the term role itself has been taken to mean different things: observable behavior, expectations for behavior (typically required behavior for the role incumbent), norms for behavior (what incumbent's behavior ought to be), or even some combinations of these.
- ... The context in which roles can be located ranges widely from the the whole society to the narrowly dyadic group. Models of actors in their social location as role incumbents typically indicate reciprocity of the structural relationship between: man-woman, mother-child, teacher-pupil. In so doing, the interaction and influence between sets of role

actors and their reciprocals is assumed to occur in a shared arena for the relationship. Thus, research has tended to concentrate on roles easily locatable, e.g., within the nuclear family or work settings. The society-wide role types, such as "male", "adult", "intellectual", have been notably more difficult to study in role theory terms.

In this paper, the focus is on one role type—sex role. The aim is to review definitions of it and to discuss its usefulness in studying how men and women learn to enact sex related roles. The above-mentioned dilemmas will reappear in the attempt to isolate definitions of sex role. Finally, two approaches for studying sex roles will be suggested.

## Definitions of Sex Role

It has been proposed that role has three separate foci according to the main fields utilizing the construct. Gordon (1966) suggests that the anthropological, psychological and sociological core meanings are respectively: position, behavior and relationship. Supposing we take this three-pronged look beyond generic role to ask: what is meant by sex role? The prime conclusions which emerge from such an inquiry are that sex role is rarely defined, the attempted definitions vary widely, the construct lacks clarity, and the three fields reveal overlap in usage. Still there is some differential emphasis as suggested in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
MEANINGS AND USAGE OF SEX ROLE

Meaning of Sex Role	Core Definition	Emphasis	Social Location
Position	Normatively appropriate expectations for M & F	Division of labor of group or societal tasks	Structured settings
Behavior	What M and F do and are like	Personality, abilities, preferences	Setting need not be relevant
Relationship	The process of role taking	Socialization and interaction	Dyad or larger groups with varying structure

When sex role refers to a position, it *de facto* stresses the position's location in a highly structural social context. Indeed, strongly tied to Linton's (1945) classical definitive formulation, and utilized widely in anthropological field studies, the positional meaning dwells on sex as ascribed and tied to age groups. The ascriptive quality is elaborated in definitions of sex roles as "re-

cruitment roles" and "non-relational" (Nadel, 1957; Banton, 1965). The prescriptions for appropriate behavior are assumed to be widely held and agreed upon. Further, the whole society is used for locating sex role; this jibes with the gestalt-type descriptive analyses of primitive societies. The main content thrust of this approach is the division of labor in society, with standards of appropriateness for the apportioning and fulfillment of tasks by sex and age (Mead, 1935; Murdock, 1966; Southall, 1959).

### **The Overlap is Evident . . .**

However, the aforementioned overlap in utilization of the sex role construct is also evident. Thus, in sociological studies, the positional meaning of sex role is apparent in groups smaller than whole societies: e.g., in small groups, involving study of the sorting out of tasks and special behaviors (Bales, 1958), in large-scale organizations, like legislatures and school systems (Gehlen, 1967; Gross, 1958), and in the American nuclear family division of tasks between husband and wife (Blood, 1960; Nye, 1963). It may be concluded that the sex role-as-position meaning is difficult to apply, if not irrelevant, to less structured settings where expectations are not largely consensual and organized, and behavior is not normatively based (Gross, 1958; Newcomb, 1950).

The view common in social psychological approaches assumes the universality of sex differences—their respective biological characteristics, however culturally elaborated, are the basis for polar behavior and attribute models. Stress is on behavior as measured by variables like school achievement, occupational choices, play object preferences, and on behavior-related attributes of the individual—personality, adjustment, need achievement, aspirations. Girls perform better on verbal tests, achieve higher grades; boys excel in science, mathematics and mechanical ability. Girls are more fearful and nervous, while boys have greater achievement needs and higher aspirations (See Brown, 1965, and Wigney, 1965, for summaries of relevant research). The behavioral focus is operationally tidy. The resultant dichotomies seem to reinforce the clusters of sex-related characteristics: women are women and men are men wherever they may live, eat, play, work or interact. However, developmental features of sex-related behaviors are accounted for as some researches emphasize age or stage as a factor (Emmerich, 1961; Wallace, 1966). The issue raised then is the validity of universal sex role behavior measures without regard to the delineations of other impinging characteristics or to the pertinent social location.

## For Sociology Role Theory is Relevant

For the sociological approach, the setting for role-taking is indeed relevant and specified. Sex role grows out of self-development during the socialization process. The individual interacting with others learns his own and others' roles. He discovers and interprets behavior, revising temporarily fixed roles (Cottrell, 1942; Parsons, 1955; Mead, 1934; Sarbin, 1954; Turner, 1962). The difficulty lies in defining all the features pertinent to comprehension of the relationship between the role-taker and the others in the context. Group size and degree of structure immediately must be considered. Theoretically, any group can be studied, ranging from dyad to whole society. In practice, research on relationships has been most feasible in highly defined social locations (Angrist, 1968; Farber, 1959; Stryker, 1962). As Stryker pointed out, one cannot assume as Mead did that all social groups have rational orientations, utilitarian goals and highly organized structure. To specify daughter-in-law or ex-patient wife seems sufficiently concrete indication of the role-taker and the relevant others. But perhaps it is more accurate to zero in on the social specifics: e.g., a Polish Catholic first generation urban American young newly married couple as the nuclear family type in which the wife is being studied.

Thus, the deficiencies of role theories burden the sex role construct no less. Indeed, sex role epitomizes some difficulties: the many definitional stances, fuzzy empirical referents, and over-emphasis on delimited social arenas for studying roles. Sex role singularly suffers from absence of specific definition—its meaning is connotative instead of denotative. As several observers note concerning American society, there exists little consensus on the content of sex roles, especially for women (Goode, 1960a; Gross, 1958; Parsons, 1942). The definitional weakness may mirror the hardship of specifying and studying that which is rapidly changing, blurred and highly variant in form. In that sense, the social location problem is tied to the definitional one: How to pinpoint what is vaguely describable? How to describe what is vaguely locatable?

To deal with such variability, sex role may be seen as involving four elements: label, behavior, expectations and location. The label "male" or "female" refers to the biologically-determined phenomenological fact that the labeled individual probably has or probably will enact organized sets of behaviors open to persons with that label. He (or she) will probably himself expect to evidence, or others will expect him to evidence, what are sex-related attributes and behaviors. The expectations may be generically normative—what men-in-general should be or do, or concretely

normative—what you, Man X, with your special characteristics in this particular situation, should be or do. The closer the relationship between actor and relevant other, the less generic and the more specific the norms that apply. No priority is given to expectations as evocative or determinative of behavior. Although that may be the case, equally likely is the evocation of expectations on the basis of specific behaviors or cues (Angrist, 1968). The label itself can activate both behaviors and expectations from others, but always in relation to a social location.

### **Sex Role Involves Multiple Roles**

To delineate the exact context for sex role is to encompass the whole set of roles an actor is heir to. Reference here is to a role constellation: the combination of roles one individual can play at a given stage in his life vis-a-vis other individuals and groups (Angrist, 1967). The point has to be underscored that no single role is feasibly isolated except conceptually. In reality, individuals judge and are judged by multiple criteria. They react and are reacted to as complex bundles of characteristics. Even in the encounter between strangers, the "personal front" is conveyed through vehicles such as clothing, age, sex, racial features, size, looks, posture, bodily gestures (Goffman, 1959). No single such label or vehicle, but their combination, composes the front. Students of role behavior have amply documented the idea that a person participates in a complex society as a many-faceted actor, an incumbent of many roles, carrier of many labels, performer of different sets of behaviors, subject to multiple kinds of expectations.

### **How is a Role Enacted?**

How then is a given role enacted? Both from the actor's viewpoint (and usually the relevant others') and from the observer's view, the individual, through group- or self-determined priorities features one role above his other ones. Bates (1956) described this as a "dominant role", which temporarily and in appropriate context supercedes "latent roles". In this framework, age and sex-roles are dominant ones. Thus, father in the family is husband, sex partner, son-in-law, worker; influencing all these is his dominant role of male. The articulated system of role relationships put forth by Gross (1958) provides for the "focal position" of the role sector, and counter positions which relate to the focal one. For any given analysis, the researcher indicates which position is focal for his purposes.

So central is the multiple role dimension to Sarbin's (1954)

theory, that he incorporates it *ipso facto* as a dimension in role enactment. The "number-of-roles" dimension is implicated in social adjustment so that, other things being equal, "the more roles in a person's behavior repertory, the 'better' his social adjustment". Lack of role-taking skills thus can be characteristic of psychopathology.

With somewhat different stress, Goffman (1961) distinguishes focused from unfocused roles. Sex roles are then to be viewed as unfocused or diffuse in the larger society. A focused role occurs within a "situated activity system", activity which occurs entirely within the walls of single social establishments. The individual holds a key role around which other roles intrude inevitably. Age-sex roles are such intruders: they introduce modulations "... in the performance of other roles" but have no principal jurisdiction in a social establishment or any set of tasks allocated to the performer. . . . "Even while the local scene establishes what the individual will mainly be, many of his other affiliations will be simultaneously given little bits of credit" (Goffman, 1961).

### Life Cycle Aspects of Sex Role

While these conceptions deal with multiple roles, they stress the temporal, contextual or structural dominance of one role over others. Another kind of view is embodied in the life-cycle concept. Perhaps the strongest embodiment of the role constellation idea appears in the life-cycle framework of some family studies (Glick, 1965; Hill, 1964). The individual is seen in a natural history of social development through life stages from child-in-the-family to single adult, to husband, father, grandfather; or to wife, mother, grandmother. The stages comprise elements of sex and age, marital, familial, school and work roles so that, actually, some roles overlap others (e.g., child, schoolgirl, teenager), some endure (e.g., female, even "mother" is relatively long term), others change (e.g., college student). A given individual's life-cycle may be cut into, so to speak, in order to observe the combination of roles in that stage or time slice (Angrist, 1967; Axelson, 1960). Or the family as a group may be studied in terms of its stage, whose definition stems from such matters as the length of time the couple is married, the presence or absence of children, and school stages and ages of the children, husband's work status, health of family members (Farber, 1961; Motz, 1950).

### The Life Cycle Time Slice . . .

Implicit use of the life cycle time slice in family literature has led to the elision of sex role into family role: female, then, means

wife-and-mother; male means husband-and-father. Although this seems a logical emphasis in the family field, some consequences derive from this highlighting: (a) the study of sex role has tended to concentrate on conjugal or marital roles especially for women; (b) the family is seen primarily in the stage of *procreation* rather than at *orientation*, thus families with adult children, especially unmarried ones, are rarely studied; (c) role constellations of the unmarried do not fit the familial life cycle model and tend to be either ignored—e.g., working divorcee with young children, single career girl, wealthy bachelor business executive—or defined as deviant. However, it is true that recently the divorced have come in for scientific study and with some life-cycle analysis. See, for example, Hunt (1966).

The life-cycle approach assumes progression or development so that in the family, any one stage has a high probability of being followed by others in a predictable order. Each stage has its developmental tasks (Kenkel, 1960), and individual family members have careers, that is, they progress through a series of roles; in this sense the family is a system of careers (Farber, 1961). Further, adult roles are said to have a cycle with stages, each with unique tasks and adjustment problems. This role-cycling analysis provides a kind of microscopic look at the structure, content and continuity of a given role (Rossi, 1968).

It can be seen from the preceding illustrations that the features of role constellation (the natural history of the life span, the time slice, the role multiplicity of any single individual at any time in a given location) are already an explicit part of family studies.

## Sex Role Constellation

What value has the role constellation approach to studying sex role?

First, it provides a workable solution to the location problem in studying sex roles. By close delineation of the several labels operative at a given time, relatively precise measurement of behavior and expectations vis-a-vis relevant others within the exact location becomes manageable and meaningful. The social location may be the household (composed of wife, husband, three children, maid) or the nuclear family (composed of wife, husband, three children).

Second, the normalcy of dealing with numerous and changing demands, expectations, and performing a wide repertoire of behaviors becomes apparent. The individual family member or school teacher is "many things to many people" as the colloquial-

ism goes. Instead of struggling to unravel the threads of role conflict, the research task becomes to analyze the methods for meshing sets of individual behaviors and expectations. The idea that people manage to juggle, avoid, manipulate, interpret, the scope of their roles seems closer to empirical reality than that individuals act in terms of a single role blueprint at any given time or place. In fact, some mechanisms for behavior under potentially conflict-ridden conditions have been described as "role-segregation", the scheduling of role enactments so that their audiences are segregated (Goffman, 1961), and ordinary role relations as a sequence of "role bargains" in which each individual seeks to reduce his role strain (or felt difficulty) in fulfilling his role (Goode, 1960b).

To summarize, the utility of a role constellation approach to the study of sex roles rests on the fact that the individual rarely, if ever, behaves just as a man or woman. Rather, sex modifies, sometimes strongly, sometimes weakly, whatever social interactions or relationships he is engaged in.

## Role Flexibility

The issue may be turned differently to show that a given actor in his several roles is not constantly subject to view by members of his several role sets. By role set, Merton (1957) means "that complementary role relationship which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status". Indeed, for many roles, the audience may be quite distant at least some of the time—the husband's breadwinner specific role activities cannot readily be gauged by the wife (as when he decides to "work late") nor can husband judge the wife's homemaking activities for most of each day (nor count how many hours she spends on the phone). This lack of visibility includes elements of (a) distance from the audience, (b) temporal discreteness, (c) spatial discreteness (Preiss and Ehrlich, 1966). But as Goffman (1961) suggests, even when the actor is highly visible in a role, he typically shows "role distance" from it. A certain objectivity, making light of the role, intrusion of other peripheral roles into the situation, all reflect the actor's manifestation of role distance. This may be considered a means for avoiding conflict or for dealing with unavoidable conflict. It is the normalcy of an actor's multiple role involvements that permits him to exercise perspective on any single role.

Two other factors operate to foster flexibility in roles—(a) the frequent vagueness of, or disagreement in, expectations, and (b) the ability of role behaviors and labels themselves to generate expectations.

The vagueness or indeterminacy of sex role expectations is well documented as evidence that men's and women's dress, family and work lives are increasingly less dichotomous in industrialized urban societies, and even polar personality differences hold less consistently (Silverman, 1967; Vincent, 1966). In marital roles this vagueness has been considered responsible for conflict—for example, women more often prefer a companionate type marital role, while their husbands expect them to perform in more traditional domestic patterns (Rodgers, 1959). Women, in one study, emphasized an "ideal self" as modern but a "real self" as traditional female sex role (McKee, 1959). And young girls held quite traditional conceptions of sex roles although these differ from what characterizes their own primary social groups (Hartley, 1959). This kind of discrepancy between sets of women's role expectations, or between male and female expectations for women, may be interpreted as evidence of confusion about sex roles—indeed, most observers have done so. But it also represents a range of maneuverability—as some students of role conflict suggest, the very multiplicity of choices coupled with absence of sharply-defined expectations can foster flexibility for the actor (Parsons, 1942).

### **The Flexibility Allowance . . .**

It is important to underscore this oft-observed phenomenon that all roles or realms of behavior have a stretch about them, or flexibility allowance. The notion of role constellation highlights the typicality of multiple involvements, identifications, expectations, locations and labels. Constructs like role distance, focused roles, role dominance suggest that perceived role conflict may be rare and manageable rather than common and disruptive. Of course, one may see the potentially negative consequences of such flexibility: confusion to the point of inaction where action is required or ineffectiveness in implementing one's role (Getzels, 1954).

The capacity for role labels and behavior to elicit expectations suggests that flexibility also operates so that the actor can influence or determine others' expectations. Instead of assuming the unidirectional flow of behavior from expectations, the latter may be evoked from "personal front" cues and from behavior. Others react initially to the person's appearance, to what he seems to be in terms of labels, such as Negro, man, handsome, hippie, by expecting him to behave according to those labels. The actor can try to generate responses from others by the way he presents himself in appearance and behavior in a situation. Although

others' perception of the actor may not jibe with his own, more or less accurate labels are quickly attributed to him and utilized until interaction alters these preconceptions. This evocative power of labels and behavior involves role perception in Sarbin's (1954) sense of silent naming or locating the position of the other and then responding to it. It is an implicit ingredient of Meadian social psychology focusing on the processual interplay between the role-taker and relevant others. It is in role-as-ascribed-qualities—what one is or appears to be—that the evocative function of labels and behavior is observable. Still, this idea has been latent rather than manifest in role theories—as Preiss and Ehrlich (1966) assert, determinism based on expectations has been the predominant assumption.

Again, the negative consequences of role labeling should be considered. As many studies of deviant behavior show, the label (self-imposed or endowed) continues to evoke expectations for deviant behavior, and perhaps stigmatized status, even when individuals would like to be rid of their negative cast (Mechanic, 1962; Phillips, 1964)—the label has a life of its own. As if recognizing this, families or relevant others of deviants may cling to acceptable, normal, healthy labels or substitute false, though less damning, ones (Schwartz, 1957).

### Contingency Orientation

The learning of adult sex roles, as indicated earlier, is seen primarily as occupation-directed for males and family-directed for females. While man's strait jacket during socialization is occupational choice and achievement, woman's straight jacket is marriage. This bifurcated picture is accurate in the sense of separate key goals for each sex, but it is inadequate to describe the flexibility phenomenon in sex role behavior. At this point, I am unprepared to substantiate such a hypothesis for males (although I submit that male role flexibility exists also) but the picture for females should emerge firmly.

My hypothesis is that flexibility in future fulfillment of women's roles is built into socialization both early and late as contingency training. In other words, woman lives by adjusting to and preparing for contingencies. The degree varies by social class, so that the lower the class the higher the contingency orientation. Indeed, women in lower socioeconomic groups have characteristically faced greater unpredictability in life style and greater acceptance of life's hazards as inevitable than higher class women (Rainwater, 1960). Lower class women may not only be more practical in this respect, but also more realistic (Lefton, 1962). The present discussion centers on middle and upper class

college-educated women. This contingency orientation is reflected in personality development, in belief systems and in choices.

### The Girl Learns to be "Feminine"

The girl learns to be "feminine"—with all the adjectival subscales that term connotes—relative passivity, deference, low intellectuality, cooperativeness. That is to say, she learns to fit in, "to know her place", to take cues from authoritative males (Bem, in press). Catering to people's palates, to their moods, to their needs—these are feminine skills considered necessary to being wife and mother.

Beliefs and expectations about suitable behavior for a girl dwell primarily on the domestic realm of adult women's roles. Given that central theme for girls, an elaborate set of "ifs" surrounds it. For example:

- ... (a) Douvan (1960) refers to the fact that a girl cannot commit herself to anything but marriage; she must remain malleable enough to fit the value system of her potential future spouse. One contingency element, then, is preparation to fit an unknown spousal relationship.
- ... (b) A second contingency is lack of guarantee that she will marry. Although all but a few women hope and plan to marry, remaining single is both a fear and a possibility—ability to be financially self-supporting is a motivation for vocational training in case one does not marry.
- ... (c) The economic necessity to work is considered a likely eventuality at some time in the woman's life. She may need to support herself and husband while he completes his education, she may have to supplement or temporarily supply the family income, or earn money for special purposes—a car, vacation, or college costs for children.
- ... (d) After marriage, temporary or permanent childlessness becomes a possibility, whether by accident or design. Leisure activities or gainful employment, either to fill free time or to provide content to life, may be viewed as resources for filling such a gap.
- ... (e) When children grow up and leave home, the woman faces a drastic decline, even elimination, of her mothering functions. The need or freedom to fill this void may re-open work or leisure pursuits as realistic options.
- ... (f) Exmarriage like nonmarriage is a contingency to be prepared for with "security" or "insurance". Divorce or widowhood can require the woman to become a breadwinner. Hence, a common rationale among girls is to be able to work, "just in case".

## **The Contingencies are Real . . .**

Obviously, the contingencies are real. This does not mean that all growing girls perceive and deliberately plan for them. The research task would be to determine how much rational accounting and preparation for the adult woman's contingencies occurs, how categories of women differ in degree of preparation, and whether some contingencies are more directly prepared for than others.

Not all the possible contingencies are given equal weight. In fact, one contingency takes priority during late adolescence and early adulthood rendering others subordinate. It is preparation for, even overstress on, marriage and the marital role. Epitomizing as it does the essence of American conceptions of femininity, this marital role emphasis masks the multiplicity of functions which family life entails for the woman. As the key contingency, preparation to fit the unknown spouse leads girls to tailor their behavior for maximum eligibility. This means acting feminine (passive, cooperative, non-intellectual), in dating situations (Komarovsky, 1946) and high school girls' acceptance of traditional but disliked domestic responsibilities for their married lives (Hartley, 1959). It means perception of limited options in the occupational world. The inability of occupational choice theories to handle women's patterns reflects women's contingency orientations (Psathas, 1968). Women's expectations for adult roles have been dubbed unrealistic (Rose, 1951); on the contrary, one could argue that they are concretely realistic. While a boy enters college considering types and conditions of work, the girl's primary focus is on marriage. Work is peripheral. College then becomes important—as broadening social experience, for self-development, for mate-finding. Whereas during the preteen years boys and girls tentatively consider occupations, only boys consistently pass into the reality stages of exploring, crystallizing and specifying an occupation. Ginzberg (1963) notes that “. . . major adjustments must be made in the general (occupational) theory before it can be applied to girls . . .”

## **Longitudinal Research on Role Aspirations . . .**

In my current longitudinal research on college women's role aspirations, there is evidence for the extent to which a contingency orientation operates. Study subjects initially consisted of the 188 freshmen entering the women's college of a larger co-educational university. Students were asked to complete a questionnaire each fall and to be interviewed twice during the four

years. Attrition over four years left 108 seniors; complete questionnaire data were obtained for 87 of this cohort.

Occupational preferences during freshman and sophomore years show extensive shifting: 37% shifted preferences within the first month of freshman year, fully 70% had changed by September of sophomore year (Cf. Davis, 1965, and Wallace, 1966).<sup>1</sup> Not only did choices change, but early in sophomore year 42% still reported feeling undecided about their occupational choice compared with 58% who had said so as freshmen. Indecision about or disinterest in occupation is reflected in the low proportion of the cohort of 87 who as freshmen were career salient—30%.<sup>2</sup> This percentage is especially noteworthy since the college in which the research was done is reputed as vocationally-professionally oriented. Indeed, by senior year, 43% were career salient, perhaps suggestive of the school's influence. But panel analysis of the choice patterns shows radical vacillation between career and non-career interests. Of the 37 who were career salient seniors, only 6 had been so consistently over the four years. The others had arrived there via one or more changes in salience. By contrast, girls who are not career salient predominated in all four years and showed considerably less shifting.

### Marriage is the Key Contingency

The extent to which marriage is a key contingency is suggested from my analysis of single women's responses to questions about home versus career preferences. In a study of educated women's life styles, five and fifteen year alumnae of the women's college referred to above completed questionnaires on their leisure and work activities. Details on the sample and procedures are in Searls (1966) and Angrist (1967). Of the 318 respondents, 85% were married and mainly homemakers. Of 90 women employed at least part-time, roughly one-third each were single, married without children, or married with children. For the single working women (average age of 27 years) 48% said they would most want to concentrate on home and family if they were to marry; only 24% and 12% of childless working women and working mothers,

<sup>1</sup>These percentages are based on 125 freshmen of the 143 who became sophomores and for whom complete questionnaire data were obtained.

<sup>2</sup>Career salient is defined in terms of answers to two questions about adult roles. Career salient are girls who 15 years from now would like to be career women (either single, married or with children) and who would work full-time or part time even if their husbands earned enough so that they would never have to work.

respectively, picked that option.<sup>3</sup> However, when preferred occupations are compared with actual ones, there is some indication that they now realistically confront the non-marriage contingency—compared with married working women, the single ones prefer substantially higher level occupations than those they have: 47% had professional jobs but 65% desired them. This discrepancy was highest for the single women.

Among the small group of 34 alumnae with a median age of 36, who were mothers and working part-time, only 44% reported working in fields which they preferred. The actual jobs held were generally related to their college major, but often unrelated to jobs they desired. In answer to the question: "What one occupation or field would you most like to work in if you had the necessary training"?—only one person preferred a sales, secretarial or clerical job, but 5 held such jobs, 7 preferred semi-professional jobs but only 3 had chosen such. In general, the older the woman, the less likely her preferred job resembled her actual one. Thus, while marriage was an explicitly anticipated contingency, work appears to have been only vaguely prepared for. Although college major is reflected in later work choices, the major itself was probably chosen with the criteria reported by contemporary women in the same college: "to be practical", "to be able to work in case I ever have to".<sup>4</sup>

### And After Marriage . . .

After marriage the contingency orientation shows up in new ways. While marriage was an explicit contingency one prepared for, others remained only implicit. Again, drawing on the alumnae data mentioned, one sees the married women's accommodation to stages and features of family life. For example, among full-time homemakers the type of leisure activities pursued varies according to ages of children—women with preschoolers tended

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<sup>3</sup>The question was: assume that you are trained for the occupation of your choice, that you are married and have children, and that your husband earns enough so that you will never have to work unless you want to. Under these conditions, which of the following would you prefer? (Check one) (1) to participate in clubs or volunteer work, (2) to spend time on hobbies, sports or other activities, (3) to work part-time in your chosen occupation, (4) to work full-time in your chosen occupation, (5) to concentrate on home and family, (6) other (explain briefly).

<sup>4</sup>Lotte Bailyn (1964) describes women's occupational choice process as revokable, irrational and discontinued. Of course, the ideas and data reported above need to be tempered with the work world conditions impinging on women's occupational choice, for example, the difficulties of finding high level part-time work.

to follow recreational and self-enrichment activities which are largely home-centered; women with school age children pursued predominantly community activities (Angrist, 1967). Similarly, the older homemakers found less enjoyment and mastery in homemaking than the younger women—perhaps they reflected boredom with domesticity, or else their late-found option to like homemaking less as it is less needed by older children (Searls, 1966).

Statistics on women in the labor force also show this contingency orientation. A pattern of phasing in and out of the work world represents married women's reactions to the family life cycle. Women's lowest participation in the labor force is between the ages of 25 to 34 when family responsibilities are greatest. The peak comes at 45 to 54 years of age when 42% of the married woman population is in the labor force. Whereas one quarter of women workers in 1940 came from the 45-54 age group, 50% did so in 1962; for the 35-44 age group, the figure rose from 29% in 1940 to 45% in 1962. These new peaks reflect younger ages at which women complete child-bearing and become freer of family responsibilities (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1963).

Concern over women's work force trends and the compressed parental years, manifests itself in the "re-tread" phenomenon. Continuing education programs have arisen to deal explicitly with the presumed crisis of the later years, to help women take a kind of second look at life (Center for Continuing Education, 1965). Marriage becomes a past or minor contingency and others like filling time, or economic self sufficiency loom large.

## In Conclusion . . .

In this paper, several themes were discussed. (a) Sex role definitions and usage were reviewed in terms of their predominant meanings of role either as position, behavior, or relationship. Each meaning tends to be associated with a topical emphasis and social location assumptions. Sex role as positional usually involves the division of labor by sex in structured groups; as behavior, sex role tends to be defined in terms of personality, abilities, preferences without regard to context; as relationship sex role learning in socialization is the focus in varied social settings. Each meaning of sex role contributes something to another conception suggested in this paper of sex role as having four elements: label, behavior, expectations, and social location.

(b) The special vagueness of changing sex role norms in contemporary society justifies looking at the multiplicity of actual role involvement by actors, rather than isolating single roles.

Study of role constellations is suggested as a way of dealing with the time-tied nature of roles based on characteristics such as age, stage in the life cycle, familial and occupational status. This approach de-emphasizes role conflict and implies the normalcy of multiple relationships with differing temporal and spatial priorities.

(c) The extent of role flexibility is illustrated from studies of women's roles. To some degree women perceive themselves and are seen as having options in their adult roles. These options are considered as contingencies around which women's sex role learning occurs. Socialization for contingencies is hypothesized to be a key theme in women's lives and manifest both in early and adult socialization. The primary contingency is marriage, but several others impinge on women and either implicitly or overtly influence their role constellations.

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## Biographical Sketches

CAROL ANDREAS is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, and a member of the Citizens Governing Board of Detroit's Model Neighborhood Area. She received her Ph.D. from Wayne State University in 1967 and has been a lecturer in sociology at the University of Michigan, where she was associated with the Center on Conflict Resolution. She has travelled widely and has taught in Karachi, Pakistan while with her husband on a U.S. Government aid project from 1959 through 1963.

SHIRLEY S. ANGRIST is Associate Professor of Sociology at Carnegie-Mellon University. She is senior author of a recent book, *Women After Treatment*, which reports a comparison study of ex-mental patients and their normal neighbors. Family, sex roles, and medical sociology have been her main areas of research. She is currently involved in longitudinal research on college women's role conceptions and aspirations. From 1962-1964, she worked at the University of Pittsburgh to develop social science curriculum content for graduate students in nursing.

VERNON L. ALLEN is Associate Professor of Psychology at the University of Wisconsin and staff member at the Institute for Research on Poverty. He received his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of California at Berkeley and did postdoctoral work at Stanford. He is editor of a book in press, *Psychological Factors in Poverty* and is writing a book on conformity. He is spending the current year in England as a Fulbright Fellow.

STEVEN ASHER received his B.A. from Rutgers-Newark and his M.A. from the University of Wisconsin where he is continuing his graduate study. His interests include interpersonal cognition, roles and their relation to social comparison processes.

LEWIS A. COSER is Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University. He was President of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in 1967-68, has served as President and Vice-President of the Eastern Sociological Association, and is a member of the Council of the American Sociological Association. He has taught at the University of Chicago and the University of California, spent a year as a Fulbright Research Scholar in Oslo, and is currently spending a year as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences. He is the author of numerous articles, reviews, and books, among them *The Functions of Social Conflict*, *Sociological Theory* (with Bernard Rosenberg), *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (with Irving Howe), *Men of Ideas* and *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*.

JOSEPH DE RIVERA is Associate Professor of Psychology at New York University. He is author of the recent book: *The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy*, and is currently engaged in developing a more precise language for mapping interpersonal and intergroup relations.

MORTON DEUTSCH is Professor of Psychology and Education and Director of the Social Psychology Laboratory at Teachers College, Columbia University. He has been president of SPSSI and the Division of Personality and Social Psychology of A.P.A.; he is currently president of the Eastern Psychological Association. He has received the AAAS Socio-psychological prize and the Carl Hovland Memorial Award as well as the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award. He has published *Interracial Housing*, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, *Theories in Social Psychology* and *Preventing World War III: Some Proposals* and written many articles on cooperation-competition and interpersonal bargaining.

MYLES I. FRIEDMAN is Professor of Education at the University of South Carolina. He received his Ph.D., specializing in Educational Psychology and Research, from the University of Chicago. He was instrumental in establishing the Graduate Educational Research Training Program at the University of South Carolina and was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Educational Research. He was also responsible for the installation of a Head Start Evaluation and Research Center for the study of early childhood development at this university. In September, 1967, Mr. Friedman was appointed Field Reader and Consultant for the Bureau of Research, United States Office of Education.

M. ELIZABETH JACKA is Vice President of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation (NMSC). She received her Ph.D. in educational psychology from Northwestern University. Her responsibilities at NMSC include direction of the testing, selection of scholarship recipients, administration of awards, relations with schools and colleges, and educational service operations of the corporation's activities.

MINAKO KUROKAWA received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley and is at present Assistant Professor of Sociology at York University, Toronto, Canada. He has been engaged in a comparative study of acculturation and mental health.

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MARY McDILL is a graduate student in the Dept. of Social Relations, Johns Hopkins University. Her major research interest has been in desegregation processes in schools. She is currently doing research in the area of educational sociology.

THOMAS F. PETTIGREW is Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard University. After serving on the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues for five years, he became President of the Society for 1967-68. A fellow of both the American Psychological and American Sociological Associations, he held a Guggenheim Fellowship during 1967-68. Pettigrew has published over sixty articles and monographs on race relations in the United States and South Africa, and he is the co-author of *Christians in Racial Crisis: A Study of the Little Rock Ministry* (1959) and author of *A Profile of the Negro American* (1964).

ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE is Professor of Sociology at the University of California at Berkeley. He has taught at Johns Hopkins, The University of Chicago and the University of Concepcion in Chile. Most of his work is on the sociology of economic development.

JAMES E. TEELE is Assistant Professor of Sociology, Department of Maternal and Child Health, Harvard School of Public Health and Research Associate, Harvard Graduate School of Education. He attended Virginia Union University and New York University. He has authored publications in the fields of deviant behavior, medical sociology and minority groups.

DOLLIE R. WALKER is at present Administrative Assistant in the Division of School-Community Relations of the Baltimore Public Schools. She was on leave to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare working as a Program and Research Specialist in the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities (1900).

KURT H. WOLFF, professor of sociology at Brandeis, has been a visiting professor at the Universities of Rome, Freiburg, Frankfurt and Paris-Nanterre, is the chairman of the research committee on the sociology of knowledge of the International Sociological Association, has published widely in this and related fields, has translated Simmel, edited commemorative volumes on Simmel and Durkheim, coedited *The Critical Spirit: Essays in Honor of Herbert Marcuse* (1967, 1968), and is the author of *Hingebung und Begriff* (1968).

CAROL R. ANDREAS, "To Receive from Kings . . ." An examination of government-to-government aid and its unintended consequences. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 167-180.

A formalization of principles of exchange in the dyad, and systematic application of these principles to an inter-nation situation by content analysis of newspaper editorials, reveals new dimensions of theory and introduces a phenomenological approach to the study of intergroup relations. Findings are consistent with a general proposition that may be stated: "the salience of various rewards and costs varies with the perception of one's power to attain or incur them".

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CAROL R. ANDREAS, War Toys and the Peace Movement . . . *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 83-99.

Using a "natural history" technique, a war toy craze is documented which began in the United States in 1962 and spread its influence well beyond national boundaries. The craze appears to have been consciously stimulated by military and business interests who were aided by direct access to children through the medium of television. It was consciously opposed by pacifist-oriented organizations and individuals, utilizing educational media combined with mild pressure techniques. Both the war toy craze and the anti-war-toy movement have apparently influenced cultural values in America, with available evidence indicating a preponderant influence by the latter.

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SHIRLEY S. ANGRIST, The Study of Sex Roles. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 215-232.

Definitions of sex role reflect the inconsistent terminology and over-reliance on highly structured social locations characteristic of general role theories. Approaches to the study of sex roles are suggested as tentative answers to these problems. Sex role is seen as a constellation of roles which one individual can play at a given life cycle stage. Sex then operates with other characteristics to modify interaction. Further, role flexibility is manifest in sex role learning as preparation for adult life contingencies. This contingency orientation is hypothesized to be a key theme in women's lives.

CAROL E. ANDREAS, JR. was born at New York, New York, on June 1, 1912. He is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, where he received his B.S. degree in 1934. He is currently employed as a research scientist at the University of California at Berkeley.

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During a recent survey, conducted in 1952, it was found that the majority of the respondents in the United States in 1952 had a high school or college education. The survey also indicated that the majority of the respondents in the United States in 1952 had a high school or college education. The survey also indicated that the majority of the respondents in the United States in 1952 had a high school or college education.

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The purpose of this study is to determine the relationship between the level of education and the level of income. The study is based on a survey of 1,000 individuals in the United States. The results of the study indicate that there is a positive correlation between the level of education and the level of income. The study also indicates that the level of income is higher for individuals with a college education than for individuals with a high school education.

STEVEN R. ASHER and VERNON L. ALLEN, Racial Preference and Social Comparison Processes. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 157-166.

In an extension and partial replication of work on racial preference by Clark and Clark (originally reported in 1947), a total of 341 Negro and white children were tested. Each child was shown two puppets, identical except for skin and hair color, and asked questions adapted from those used by the Clarks. Results showed that: (a) the majority of both white and Negro children from the ages of 3-8 expressed preference for the white puppet; (b) social class differences approached significance for Negroes, with the middle-class more frequently choosing the white puppet; (c) both Negro and white males showed greater preference for the white puppet than did females; (d) age trends varied complexly with sex and race, but were generally not significant; (e) comparison with the Clarks' data showed slightly, but nonsignificantly, greater preference for white puppets in the present study. Findings were discussed in terms of social comparison theory and sex-role factors.

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LEWIS A. COSER, The visibility of Evil. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 101-109.

The symbiotic relations between 'good people' and those who do some 'dirty work' (which is deemed necessary for the maintenance of the social order in which these 'good people' have vested interest) is examined. It is argued that, in modern societies, such dirty work is performed in such a way that it is not clearly visible to 'good people', and that this lack of social visibility serves as a protective mechanism allowing 'good people' to maintain their quotidian courses of action without undue perturbation. When technological or other condition make it impossible to deny knowledge of social evils, however, 'good people' may no longer claim lack of knowledge, but may instead claim that the evils visited on some human beings are justified in as far as these people are lacking of some essential attributes of humanity. Finally, the paper considers the alternative possibility, that the revelation of certain now visible social evils will provide an incentive for attempts to change the value structure of a society in which these evils are tolerated, condoned and considered buttresses of the social order.

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JOSEPH DE RIVERA, The Responsibilities of the Psychologist in World Affairs. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 71-82.

A nation is a democracy to the extent that its citizens are willing to accept responsibility for its actions. At the moment the United States is only partially a democracy. The extent of the current separation between the government of the United States and its citizens is documented by historical cases. An attempt is made to demonstrate that social scientists share common beliefs, values and knowledge and hence can act with unity to help close the gap between the government and citizens of the United States. Social scientists should have a lobbyist and an educator to implement their views and to enable them to take more responsibility for the actions of government.

In an extensive and partial replication of work on racial prejudice in 1967, a total of 341 Negro and white children were tested. Each child was shown two puppets, identical except for skin and hair color, and asked questions adapted from those used in the Clark and Clark study. (a) the majority of both white and Negro children have the same attitude toward the two puppets; (b) social class differences are not reflected in attitudes for Negroes, with the middle-class more frequently rejecting the white puppet; (c) both Negro and white children showed considerable prejudice for the white puppet than the Negro; (d) age trends varied considerably with sex and race, but were generally not significant; (e) comparison with the Clark data showed slightly but consistently greater prejudice for white puppets in the present study. Findings were discussed in terms of social comparison theory and socio-cognitive factors.

LEWIS A. COOPER, *The Ideology of Evil*, *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 101-109

The historic relations between 'good people' and 'evil' are the subject of this work. (which is deemed necessary for the maintenance of the social order in which these 'good people' have existed hitherto) is examined. It is argued that in modern society each duty work is performed in such a way that it is not likely to be 'good people', and that the lack of social mobility serves as a protective mechanism allowing 'good people' to maintain their position in society without undue perturbation. Within this ideological or other condition, it is impossible to deny knowledge of social evil, however 'good people' may no longer claim lack of knowledge, but may instead claim that the evil is caused by some human beings and limited to as far as these people are lacking in some essential attributes of humanity. Finally, the paper considers the possibility that the revelation of certain new social evils will provide an incentive for attempts to change the value structure of a society in which these evils are tolerated, condemned and exterminated but not removed.

JOSEPH DE RIVERA, *The Responsibilities of the Psychologist in Society*, *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 71-82

A nation is a democracy to the extent that its citizens are willing to accept responsibility for its actions. At the moment the United States is not a democracy. The extent of the current separation between the government of the United States and its citizens is determined by historical causes, the history of the United States and its citizens. It is argued that social scientists have a responsibility to help along the process of change and reform and hence can and will help along the process of change and reform and hence can and will help along the process of change and reform. It is argued that social scientists should have a responsibility to help along the process of change and reform and hence can and will help along the process of change and reform. It is argued that social scientists should have a responsibility to help along the process of change and reform and hence can and will help along the process of change and reform.

The typical characteristics of destructive conflicts are described and the underlying psychological processes which result in such conflicts are identified. A similar type of description is given for productive conflicts. The factors which tend to move a conflict into a productive or destructive course are discussed. The problems involved in changing the course of conflict are examined. Here the emphasis is on conflict between those who have considerable authority to make decisions and relatively high control over the means of social and political influence and those who have little decision-making authority and relatively little control over the conventional means of influence: a type of conflict which is characteristic of our time. It is pointed out that social scientists have rarely served as consultants to the poor and weak rather than the rich and strong. The unwitting consequence has been a distorted perspective and a neglect of certain basic problems. Strategies of inducing change available to low power groups are then considered.

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MYLES I. FRIEDMAN and M. ELIZABETH JACKA, The Negative Effect of Group Cohesiveness on Intergroup Negotiation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 181-194.

The general hypothesis that group cohesiveness may impair concession and agreement in intergroup negotiation is broken down into two sub-hypotheses: (a) that the group will exert pressure on the negotiator not to concede the group's position on the disputed question, and (b) that the negotiator will conform to pressure exerted upon him by his group. In the experiment reported here, the interaction between two groups and the negotiators they elected to represent them was studied in relation to the negotiator's behavior in bargaining with an experimental collaborator. Members of both groups showed strong negative reactions to negotiators when it was reported they were making concessions. Messages of disapproval from the group, in turn, strongly influenced the negotiators to hold to their group's original positions. It is suggested that future work in the area of intergroup negotiation center on intra-group dynamics rather than the actual issues separating the groups.

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MINAKO KUROKAWA, Beyond Community Integration and Stability: A Comparative Study of Oriental and Mennonite Children. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 195-213.

A comparative data is presented on the process of cultural change, family structure and mental health among Orientals in the United States and Mennonites in Canada. These groups were chosen for study because of the similarities in their traditional collectivity orientation, strong social and familial integration, relative absence of individual initiative and spontaneity, and in their subsequent process of acculturation. It was hypothesized and tested that (a) traditional Orientals and Mennonites are likely to show covert symptoms of mental disturbances, such as physical symptoms, habit disturbances and psychological stresses; and that (b) Orientals and Mennonites who are transitional from traditional to modern orientations are likely to experience conflict and to manifest overt symptoms of maladjustment. Both hypotheses received support from the data.



THOMAS F. PETTIGREW, Racially Separate or Together? *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 43-69.

The basic assumptions of racial separatists, white and black, are examined in terms of social psychological theory and findings. These include assumptions of racial comfort, racial inferiority, racial conflict, white-liberals-must-eradicate-white-racism and autonomy-before-contact. Each of these ideological contentions is found wanting, especially in the confusion of cause with remedy. Separatist actions based on these notions will only exacerbate, not relieve, the problems to which the assumptions refer. Consequently, true integration involving contact with cross-racial acceptance appears critically necessary for American society. A mixed strategy is proposed consisting of integration efforts combined with ghetto enrichment programs which are not counter-productive for integration.

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ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE, MARY S. McDILL and DOLLIE WALKER, Is there a Racial Tipping Point in Changing Schools? *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 127-136.

Data collected on the Baltimore City School system was used to explore two basic views about the operation of prejudice. One is that prejudice is a threshold phenomenon which has given rise to the notion of a "tipping point" in a heterogeneous racial unit beyond which one race begins to make a dramatic exit. The second view of prejudice is that it is a continuously varying phenomenon. This has been expressed in the literature in social distance studies. Our analysis supports the second view that prejudice becomes more and more manifest with an increasing proportion of Negroes in a school.

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JAMES E. TEELE and CLARA MAYO, School Integration: Tumult and Shame. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 137-156.

The controversy over school integration as well as factors which should be considered by those engaged in research on the academic effects of bussing are examined. Data is presented from the research on Operation Exodus in Boston which suggests that black parents in Boston are more interested in a quality education than in school integration. These findings, as well as the problems widely associated with integration programs, are used to cast light on the growing movement among black people for community control of schools.



KURT H. WOLFF, For a Sociology of Evil. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 1, 111-125.

"What is evil"? has been asked by theologians, philosophers, and uncounted, unknown people, but not by social scientists, who predominantly are nominalists. At this stage we find ourselves suspended between two impossible worlds, one in which we can no longer believe, a world directed by religious directives and moderations, and one which we cannot bear, a world without these directives and moderations. Intrinsic to it are many expressions of discontent and revolt. These imply the *possibility* of a better society and, as a historically adequate conception of evil, evil as that which endangers the seeds of this better society. The sociology of evil thus emerges as the study of negative reactions to our society, suggesting numerous and vast areas of research, some examples of which are given. All of them are inspired by the one question "concerning the seeds, in our society, of a better one than ours".



## The Activists' Corner

Nevitt Sanford  
Stanford University

David Krech  
University of California, Berkeley

Responses to our earlier columns show that there is now a ground-swell (registering .0005 on the Richter seismographic scale) of opinion favoring social action by social psychologists. Certainly *many* social psychologists feel this strongly. No doubt this is all of a piece with the growing concern of university men and students, about the crises of our time. Universities are rapidly setting up institutes for urban studies, or planning to, while our colleagues in sociology and political science at their recent national conventions had to deal with virtual rebellions led by younger scientists who clamored for "relevance" (Chronicle of Education, 1968). This is all to the good; but clearly it poses for us, and probably for our colleagues in other disciplines, a serious dilemma—and one, we suspect, which has not even been sensed by some of the most concerned and the most clamoring of the clamorers: *where are the men who can take the necessary action to be found?*

It would be a great help of course if many psychologists in various specialties found the time and the inclination to behave like SPSSI members of old. We again exhort them to do this. This would help, but we fear this would not be enough—not nearly enough. The jobs to be done require not only noble purpose and high-minded will, not only wisdom and experience, and not only the application of the approach of the psychologist to

problem-solving, but also some *special kinds of skills, and knowledge and experience*. One of us has called for "clinicians to society", the other for "problem-oriented generalists", and we had in mind some rather complicated patterns of activity. Consider, for example, a problem facing many of our colleges and universities today: how to prepare themselves—their various faculties and non-academic departments—for a vastly increased influx of students belonging to various racial and ethnic minorities. Whoever took the lead in attacking this problem would have to attend to the competences and outlooks of the minority students, to subtle forms of prejudice to be found among the academic and non-academic personnel of the institution, the nature and determinants of faculty resistance to any possible threat to their academic standards. He would have to be able to see his problem against a background of events on the national scene and in its relations to the social structure of the particular institution, and he would have to work with others in setting goals in accord with a philosophy of education. He would have to be able to work closely with individuals and groups, with a view to changing attitudes in a highly charged situation; and, not, least, he would have to be enough of a scientist to learn by evaluating the effects of his actions—his mistakes as well as his successes—and to make his lessons available to others in terms that would permit tests of their generality.

### The Problem Stated

Here, as well as in various other problem areas—in police-community relations, the welfare system, the struggles of farm workers, and so many others that the spirit droops and the mind boggles—there is an absolute need for a *practical* as well as a theoretical grasp of immediate and almost palpable personality and social events. Let us state it more generally: there is a need of a sense of values, humane feeling, intimate familiarity with the experiences and the stratagems of the manipulator (and the manipulated), trained intelligence—particularly the capacity to assemble and evaluate evidence from various sources—and the confidence to act.

This is a large order. We suspect no one will disagree with that understatement. We also suspect that no one will disagree with our judgment that this large order cannot be filled by young men whose training has consisted almost entirely in how to do specialized research in narrow, albeit theoretically valuable, areas of social psychology.

What we have to say in the rest of this column is addressed only (or primarily) to those of you who are part of the "ground-

swell". If you are ready to say "Alpha"—there is a need for effective social action by social psychologists—then you must be ready to say the more difficult, but equally essential "Beta"! Starting now, large numbers of *social clinicians* and *problem-oriented generalists* must be trained in *departments of Psychology*.

Our purpose today is to suggest some ways in which this might be done. We begin with recruiting and then discuss ways in which trainees might be helped at various stages of their careers as graduate students, to relate theory and action.

### The Problem Solved—in Three Difficult Steps

Much of what is required for the sort of activism we are talking about should be present in a student by the time he graduates from college. Our first step toward a solution of our problem, therefore, starts with recruitment. Graduate schools of Psychology could take an important first step toward turning out action-oriented Ph.D.'s if they did what they have often spoken of but rarely carried out in practice, that is, recruit college graduates not on the basis of what they "have had", but on the basis of what they show of the best effects of general education at the undergraduate level—clarity and ingenuity of thinking, richness of imagination, breadth of interests and openness to experience.

The beginning of this practice would come as something of a shock to Psychology departments in the better known liberal arts colleges. These departments evaluate themselves mainly on the basis of what proportion of their students get into graduate school and believe that the best way to increase that proportion is to teach what will be taught again later on. However much we might bemoan the failure of our most expensive colleges to provide the liberal education they promise, we do not expect these colleges to initiate change. The system within which they operate is dominated by the graduate schools, and as long as these latter institutions want, or appear to want, junior specialists that is what they will get.

We do not really expect the graduate departments to change fundamentally either—not until we have produced a few hundred social psychological activists with an interest in education or until the departments become far less able than now to give immediate material rewards to graduate students who are willing to go along with the system.

We believe (all right, read "we hope"), however, that there are departments in which the faculty in social psychology wants to move toward greater social relevance and has some power and room to maneuver. For them, then, we venture these suggestions concerning recruitment and selection.

- . . . (a) Be not impressed by courses and grades in psychology, but look ye instead for signs of a good general education.
- . . . (b) Give not (automatically) priority to candidates from well-known colleges, who come recommended by old friends and colleagues who say that their candidates have "already done graduate work". Look more closely at applicants from more obscure institutions who might be just as bright as these apprentices and have had a much better exposure to liberal education.
- . . . (c) Give special preference ("other things being equal"—of course, of course) to applicants who want to change to social psychology, after having been seriously involved in another field—classics, or history or engineering. Perhaps we may yet turn up another James, or Tolman, or Boring or Kohler. In any case, this is probably the best assurance we can get nowadays that our candidate will have some breadth.
- . . . (d) Give special preference, other things being equal, to candidates who have seen something of life. Particularly interesting would be candidates who have worked for a few years in programs or agencies directly concerned with social problems and who now have good reason to believe that more scientific training would help them reach their goals.
- . . . (e) Be a bit wary of students who are activists first and scientists or intellectuals only secondarily, particularly those who are already totally committed to a social program or ideology. It would probably be better if they went immediately to the action front, returning to the academy only when they felt a strong need for the types of training and understanding that can be had there.
- . . . (f) Let us never forget that we want people with a special talent for work in this field. The best signs of this are—still—curiosity about people, awareness of one's own problems and processes, humane feelings—these things, rather than a vision of oneself filling some particular, well-rewarded social role.

## The Training of Our Clinician to Society

Let us more to our second step: the psychological training of our clinician to society, or problem-oriented generalist. Nothing that has been said or will be said later is intended to suggest that our activist does not need the discipline of psychology. We do urge, of course, that he be something of a generalist, a man who

is able to see problems in context and to bring to bear upon them a range of perspectives and kinds of knowledge. Yet it would appear that there are highly desirable and useful skills and intellectual powers that can be developed only through intensive engagement with phenomena, systematic knowledge, or method, and that this sort of engagement is possible only if the student's range is, at least in the beginning, relatively narrow.

Thus, for example, if a student is to understand the experimental method in science, he must experiment, and if his experimentation is to be meaningful, he must first acquire a good measure of the discipline of a particular science. It would appear also that for the development of confidence in himself as a scholar or professional, a student needs a sense of having mastered some area of knowledge or method, and obviously this area must be relatively narrow if the sense of confidence is to come early—when it is likely to be most needed.

The question is, can a student acquire this discipline and also what it takes to become a problem-oriented social psychologist within the space of a more or less normal Ph.D. program? We believe that he can—but only if graduate programs are reformed in accord with some elementary principles of pedagogy.

### Reform the Curriculum . . .

Reform would have to begin with at least a tacit acknowledgment by the department of what has become an open secret: that much of what is taught in graduate schools has no place in any defensible philosophy of training but has been inserted into the curriculum for various other reasons. One reason is to permit each faculty member to "teach his own career". And this practice, we suspect, derives from the department's wish to compete successfully for "able faculty". If graduate training in "core" psychology were put on a sound philosophical footing, if it were agreed that its basic function is to give a student the necessary attitudes and inclinations, the knowledge of how to learn and the approach to understanding peculiar to his discipline, doctoral programs would be less expensive than they now are, less frustrating and more favorable to students who wished to prepare themselves for the practice of social psychology—or any other specialty.

Somebody must take the responsibility for this "core" and sort out the essential and the trivial and of connecting the new or, more likely, the apparently new, with the established. Since the chairman, good fellow that he is, is probably neglecting this critical task, the SPSSI members might as well take the lead.

While they are at it they might as well remind their colleagues, with suitable tact, that much of what is taught in undergraduate courses, and even in some graduate courses, is not really decided upon by anybody, but just happens, often as a result of the activities of publishers and a few text-book writers. Publishers want to publish, and they persuade their writers to write about what market research shows that most teachers want to teach; but how is a teacher caught in a market survey to decide what he wants to teach? After due attention to his own research interests he is likely to look around to see what others are doing, or what text-book writers are writing about, or what the opinion-makers—men who have an uncanny way of knowing what is about to become fashionable—are now interested in. This highly competitive business can become very tricky. Just the other day, one of our with it opinion-makers spoke of “the corpse of cognitive dissonance”. This will get around; and it is sad to contemplate its impact on the man who is earnestly updating his text and has just devoted nine-tenths of his chapter on attitude change to this now panned “flash in the pan”.

The updating business is a story in itself, one that is both funny and tragic. Textbooks, like Fab, must be “new”, and here the simplest expedient is to cite only research published within the last five years. This research is likely to be the new and the bold, and to neglect the true and the old. This explains why so many revisions are less interesting and less useful than the original; and it helps to explain why so many graduate students in social psychology have such narrow and otherwise peculiar conceptions of the field.

### The Sine Qua Non

It is not enough, of course, to eliminate the non-essential, no matter how new. There must be at the same time actions to assure that what is taught is relevant to our activist, and is taught well. And now we come to our third difficult step. It can be assumed that most students who enter graduate school today have already been exposed to various set fields of knowledge and that they have learned more or less by rote many concepts that remain largely meaningless. There is no point in offering more of the same. *What we want for our future activist is a large experience with field studies that enable him to confront directly some of the phenomena of life in all their complexity and immediacy.* He should have this at the beginning of his graduate training. He should have this at various times during his training. He should have this after his graduate training.

We would start him off right by involving him in problem-

oriented research in this field, in the first year of his graduate work. Since most of such research is in a comparatively early stage of development, the student could begin participating creatively in the search for knowledge. Through being given a chance to use his mind actively early in his career as a student, he could "learn how to learn", instead of being required to devote himself exclusively to set fields of knowledge, many of which will shortly be outmoded.

With urgent questions already formed in his mind, he would approach his didactic work in an excellent position to connect concepts and experience. If he were fortunate enough to be able to work with faculty engaged in the study of new kinds of empirical phenomena, he could see the work of conceptualization performed, as it were, before his eyes—and could take part in that work himself.

### Field Study . . .

Field study would have the additional advantage of helping the student to see his scientific and scholarly work in a context of values. The field work of a student would be bound to have implications for the welfare of the individuals or groups he studied, and that would lead him to ask questions not only about the nature of what he observed, but about what he ought to do.

It would be precisely the student's concern about what to do in a practical way that would give him experience in synthesizing knowledge. Forced to consider the various possible consequences of any action he might take on a human or social problem, the student would begin to gain an understanding of some of the ways in which things cling together, and of the ways in which they can be brought together intellectually. A student thus engaged would be unlikely to raise questions about the "meaning" or "relevance" of what he was studying; on the contrary, he would probably have high motivation and morale, and exhibit little of that wasted motion which is so common among graduate students.

If we are to offer the graduate student field work in his first year, there may, of course, be worry about how he is to assimilate that core of psychology we mentioned previously. We are of the opinion that if we had done a good job in paring down the core, and an equally good job in intellectualizing the field study, then the first year graduate student can do field work without this impeding his progress in general psychology.

We would note here also that in many large departments the general requirements upon all students have become relatively light. So far has the division of the departmental offerings into

subspecialties gone that a student is able to take care of his general requirements by taking two courses each quarter or semester for two years while devoting the rest of his time to "research". Obviously this "research" could just as well be presided over by social psychologists interested in promoting field study of the kind we have described. As a matter of fact, it would be the responsibility of social psychologists as much as of any others to see that graduate students were well grounded in general psychology.

Other arrangements might well be tried. Thus if a student becomes deeply involved in field studies during his first year, he might very well postpone most of his general requirements for completion during his second year. In any case, we expect our activist social psychology students to keep pace with their fellows in other areas of specialization as far as meeting general departmental requirements is concerned.

It would seem to us a good thing if the student had some connection with applied work at all stages of his career as trainee. Probably he would be best off if he worked with professors who themselves were involved in activities that combined research and action, whether in institutes for the study of human problems or elsewhere. (A possible side-effect: if the call to action on human problems is not great enough by itself to induce professors to undertake research on human problems, then they might consider doing it as a means of providing good training for their students!)

Another way in which graduate students might be enabled to get close to the action is through being teaching assistants in undergraduate courses largely devoted to field work. Such courses are becoming common today largely in response to student demands, and the alert graduate student in social psychology might easily find it possible to learn through teaching.

Social psychologists and their students do not need to go beyond their own university or even their own department in order to find opportunity for combining inquiry and action. Last year at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley one of us gave a course in which six students carried out a study of their institution (Sanford, 1968). They studied by means of rather intensive interviews a 50% sample of that institution's 100 students. This inquiry proved to be very instructive to those who carried it out. Not only did they learn something about survey research and about interviewing, but they learned quite a bit about themselves. They had to ask themselves essentially the same questions that they asked their interviewees. What is particularly striking is the fact that the inquiry started a process of change in the whole institution. Students saw their goals with new clarity and became aware of the lack of fit between these

goals and what they were doing as students and, discovering that their hopes and disappointments were widely shared, they began engaging in group action to improve their education.

### An Action-Oriented Dissertation or a Year's Internship

It would be a fine thing, of course, if the students' Ph.D. dissertation grew out of his action-oriented research. This might well require, however, that departments accept theses based in clinical research or participant observation as well as those that describe the carrying out of designs for testing hypotheses. This desirable reform might be particularly difficult to bring about, and we would not want our case to rest very heavily on it. Instead, we propose something that would cost the department very little and could not possibly threaten its "standards": *let there be a requirement that trainees in social psychology—those who have elected to go the way of clinical-social—complete a year's internship in some agency, office, or institution directly concerned with human problems.* We have in mind such examples as a state employment service, a state senator's office, a prison, a labor union, an office of a Public Defender. This internship could come after the student had completed a thesis based in experimental work, if that is what the department preferred; but if it came before the thesis, and was largely determining of the thesis' content and design, so much the better.

Finally, they say that it is never too late to learn. There remains the possibility of acquiring more action-orientation *after* the student has completed his professional training. His prospects here are actually quite good. Post-doctoral or post-professional training programs, continuing education, refresher courses, and the like pose no threats for the departments of the university, and they have been carried out whenever individuals interested in starting them could find the money or whenever interested funding agencies could find the leadership for them. Fellowships to enable a person with a Ph.D. in one field to obtain advanced training in another were available in the early 1930's. This sort of thing has suffered severe reverses during the great trend toward specialization that began after World War II, but it is being revived today—for example, in programs in community psychiatry and community psychology.

Who among ye, then, is prepared to say "Beta"?

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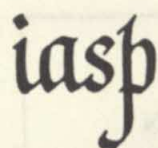
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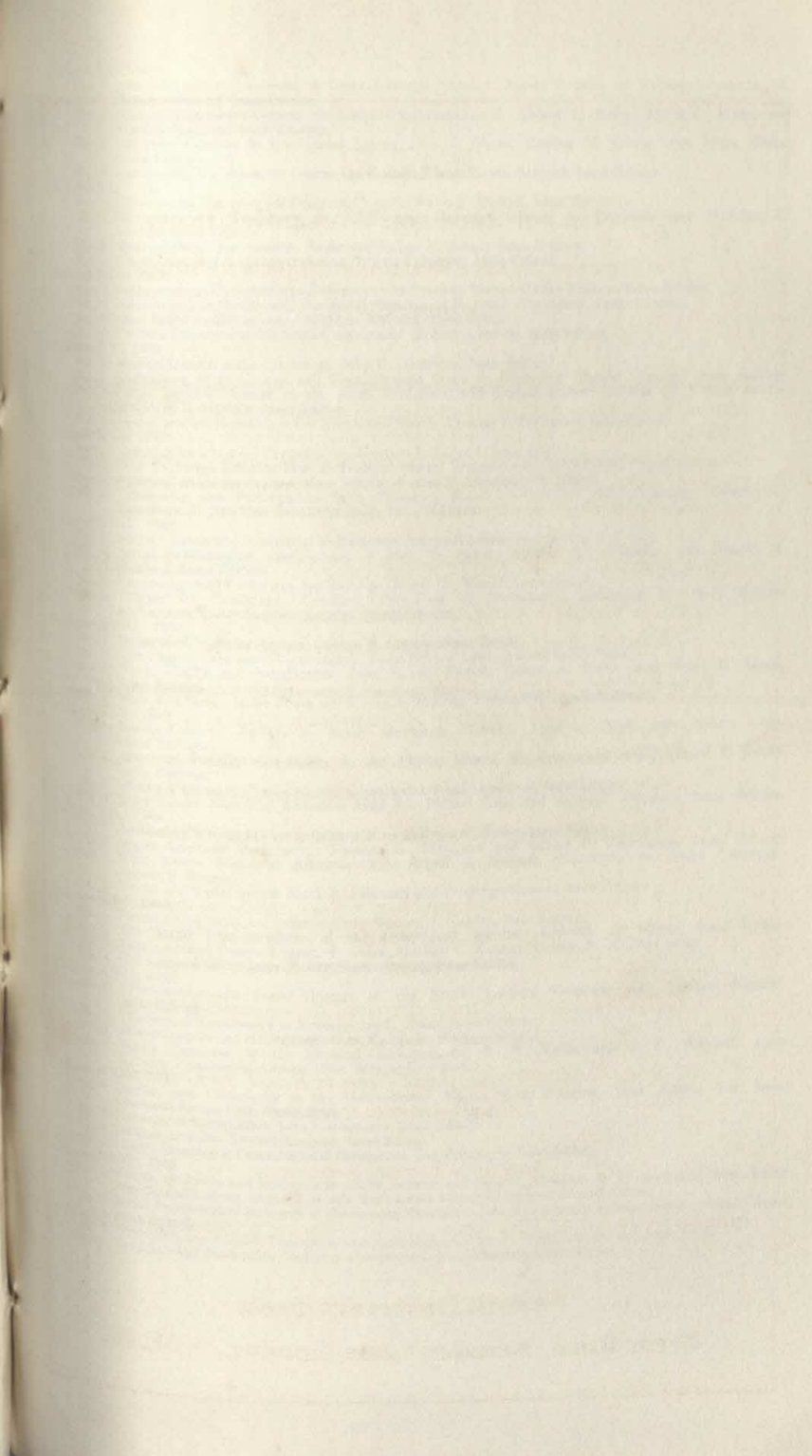
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The Journal of

# SOCIAL ISSUES

SPRING, 1969

VOL. XXV • NO. 2

ALIENATED YOUTH

Abraham J. Tannenbaum

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# THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES

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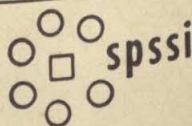
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# The Journal of SOCIAL ISSUES



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APRIL 1969 VOL. XXV No. 2

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## ALIENATED YOUTH

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Negro Academic Performance. Issue Editor, Edgar Epps.

New Versus the Old Left. Issue Editor, Armand Mauss.

Poverty. Issue Editor, Marcia Cuttentag.

Riots. Issue Editor, Vernon Allen.

## Introduction

Abraham J. Tannenbaum

Teachers College, Columbia University

The term "Alienation" is in widespread use today among the lay public concerned about the estrangement of an increasingly vocal segment of American youth. These young people are seen as malcontents in search of identity in a world they must create for themselves because they want no part of the world handed them by their elders. Their common goals seem to be the loosening of social controls that would permit much wider latitude for self-determination and even the freedom to dishonor time-honored traditions. Unlike the social scientist, some layman are unconcerned about disparities in manifest behaviors among those he labels alienated. He therefore subsumes under that term such diverse groups as the young nihilists, hedonists, retreatists, creative expressionists and, of course, the militant revolutionaries. It is noteworthy that the labelers are themselves the targets of hostility and distrust among the labeled, and this may be the "homogenizing" factor that creates the classification.

Social scientists are deeply concerned about contradictions and inconsistencies in defining the group. There is still no universal agreement among them as to whether alienation is a unidimensional or multidimensional phenomenon. Some empirical research (Neal and Rettig, 1967) seems to suggest the existence of both general and group factors. Nevertheless, for operational purposes, Seeman's provocative essay on "The Meaning of Alienation" (1959) is as relevant today as it was a decade ago. He suggests five variants, as follows:

... *Powerlessness*: An individual's belief that he is incapable of

influencing his social and political world under the present social and political ground rules.

- . . . *Meaninglessness*: The individual's lack of a clear belief system by which to interpret and judge behavior outcomes.
- . . . *Normlessness*: A breakdown in the regulatory power of social norms over individual behavior, and the expectation that certain goals can only be achieved through socially unapproved behavior.
- . . . *Isolation*: The Individual's feeling of apartness from society, which he expresses by disputing the high values it attaches to its belief systems.
- . . . *Self-estrangement*: The heavy dependence of an individual's behavior on external rewards and expectations rather than on intrinsic meaninglessness.

## **Alienation and the Adolescent Subculture**

In graphic terms, alienation may be seen as the remotest point on the distinctiveness continuum that characterizes the adolescent subculture. As Grinder points out, there is ample empirical evidence to show distinctive norms in adolescent groups despite the fact that in most instances the alleged generational gap in values and behavior orientations is exaggerated. In extreme situations, where there is rebelliousness in the form of militancy or escape, the question of placing value judgments on such behavior becomes a moot one for social scientists. Most of them seem to maintain a strictly neutral position, viewing themselves as objective analysts of manifestations, correlates, antecedents and consequences of alienation. By providing a better understanding of it, they also provide some clue as to its control or amelioration, much to the interest of those who want to understand it, to the chagrin of those who see it as a healthy campaign against society's shibboleths and to the satisfaction of others who see a cultural heritage threatened with extinction.

Edgar Friedenberg is particularly optimistic about some aspects of youth's disaffection with society. He distinguishes sharply between the non-violent hippies seeking newness in life as against the rampaging rioters seeking a piece of the old action. The former are a new breed, unlike perennial generations of restless youth who can't wait to taste the power and independence of adulthood and fight with their parents for that privilege. The hippies are not struggling to get in; on the contrary they want out. Theirs is seen as a desperate but healthy reaction to a modern world that threatens to suffocate rather than nurture the individual. Some of the violent malcontents, on the other hand, simply

want to perpetuate the existing social condition with themselves instead of the incumbents in the seats of power.

Like so many other manifestations of social deviance, alienation can be understood only in social-psychological terms. It is simplistic to view it as a pattern of responsiveness to external stimuli without taking into account the intrapsychic factors that render the individual prone to such a response. In other words, there is an interactional reinforcement of social conditions and personal proclivities in the formation of an alienation syndrome. The social determinants are not yet clear, nor are they necessarily uniform for all individuals. However, some revealing personality variables have come to light in various studies of the symptomatology of alienation. Gould's research adds credence to the notion that there are describable psychodynamic factors associated with this form of manifest deviance. In fact, these correlates often encompass traits dissonantly associated with conformity and marginality.

### **The Marginality Components of the Alienation Syndrome**

A study by Whittaker and Watts of the non-student population involved in the Sproul Hall disturbances at Berkeley in 1964 sheds further light on the marginality components of the alienation syndrome. In contrast to the typically pragmatic, sensitive-to-authority students at the university, these fringe dissidents seemed more inner directed and much better attuned to creative pursuits.

This raises some interesting points of conjecture regarding evolving emphases in higher education. For many years, colleges were criticized severely for employing powerful conformity standards in their admissions policies. It was argued that college programs were designed primarily for those with a modicum of verbal intelligence capable of exercising impulse control and willing to adhere to the obedience demands of the school, whereas it was the rare dean of admissions who sought out applicants with offbeat, unpopular orientations to ideas and arts. With the appearance on campus of greater numbers of divergent-minded students, the traditional authority structure at the college will no longer be viable. The fealty relationship between student and administration will undoubtedly undergo change in the direction of more student involvement in policy formulation. Even the familiar undergraduate liberal arts curriculum may be modified to accommodate more intellectual iconoclasm and creative expression. The extent to which alienated youth will influence these

changes can only be guessed at right now. Only time and a sensitive pulse-taking of campus life can produce meaningful answers.

### **The Dropouts and the Forceouts . . .**

If the alienated consists of those outside the system, they include not only the dropouts but the forceouts as well. Impoverished youth, particularly Negroes in the urban ghettos, constantly find themselves on the outside looking in, and they are virtually stripped of legitimate mechanisms for achieving entrance. David Gottlieb offers impressive evidence to show that Negro adolescents embrace life-style goals that are quite similar to those of white middle class youth. However, the dominant white society denies them access to these goals, even while it perpetuates the myth that they are a breed apart and largely devoid of such ambitions. The caste system is thus preserved even as political leaders pretend that they can achieve racial equality by offering material handouts rather than legitimate avenues of entrance into an opportunity system that might ultimately break down caste barriers.

### **Negative Identity and the Sense of Powerlessness**

It is often assumed that those who are not part of the system and are forced to compensate for lack of opportunity through legitimate means are non-conformists who cannot get into any system. However, Martin Gold offers some evidence to show that delinquents are influenced by peers and seek their approval for youthful offenses. He also offers the interesting observation that alienation in the sense of a fragmented self is not part of the delinquency syndrome. On the contrary, delinquency is used by some adolescents as a means of self-development rather than self-destruction. It gives the alienated youth a sense of identity—albeit a negative one—which may be his way of overcoming a pervasive sense of powerlessness.

As alienation overtakes growing segments of American youth, it is inevitable that its message—if it has one—should be articulated through artistic and literary media. Sanford Reichart looks at modernism in selected works of art and drama and argues that an alienation syndrome is embedded in it. Social scientists who are convinced that the arts are probing barometers of ascending moods and values in society might well look upon this period as one in which the voice of the alienated has been recorded, if not for an inattentive public, at least for the history of our times.

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## Distinctiveness and Thrust in the American Youth Culture\*

Robert E. Grinder  
University of Wisconsin

Political, cultural and technological complexities in the American society foster strains among certain adolescents that engender feelings of helplessness, inadequacy and frustration. Youth in urban ghettos may express their bafflement in periodic riots—leaving death, wanton destruction, and bitterness in the aftermath. Youth from more privileged classes may react against the social order by rejecting its ideologies and by seeking to repeal its injustices. From the German youth organizations early in the century through the Teddy Boy, halbstarke, leder-jacken, stilyagi, and beatnik to the contemporary hippie, youth movements have provided significant sources of ideological and semi-political foment in Europe and America. While the silent majority of the young find that their social relations satisfactorily prepare them for the transition from play-groups and youth activities to adult social roles, a substantial minority finds school, family and peers inhibiting in the acquisition of the kind of adulthood they strive to achieve.

In order to gain understanding of the current unrest among the young in this country, it is necessary to examine the role of

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peer activities and how they contribute to or subvert adult values. It is also necessary to examine the nature of this group. Is it a separate subculture, a distinct youth culture? These issues are discussed below as *distinctiveness* and *thrust*. To further clarify relations among peer activities and adult aims, a recent investigation by Grinder (1967a), considering the impact of the youth culture upon high-school goals, is reviewed.

### Distinctiveness . . .

The question of youth-culture distinctiveness appears largely resolvable in semantic discourse. Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945, p. 98) view culture as "a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tends to be shared by all or specifically designated members of a group". Culture is thus regarded as an abstraction, involving both acts and artifacts, and is comprised primarily of historically developed, shared, and learned behavior patterns. Applying the Kluckhohn and Kelly (1945) definition, the major criterion by which to judge youth-culture distinctiveness is whether systems of communication and patterns of behavior exist among adolescents that distinguish them from children and adults.

Gottlieb and Ramsey (1964) found, in a survey of social scientists, that the majority were indeed inclined to view youth's activities as a special instance of subculture. Youth's patterns of behavior were viewed as distinct from those of adults and were said, therefore, to constitute a youth culture. Several qualified their comments by advancing special criteria for defining culture and by suggesting that variations in the factors of social class, ethnic group, religious denomination, age, residence, and school foster not one but several distinct subcultures. However, Muzafer Sherif's conception of a youth culture encompassing aspects of adult norms and values and Robert Hess' assertion that the youth culture should not be regarded as independent of adult interaction, seemed illustrative of the general feeling among experts.

Nevertheless, Schwartz and Merten (1967) point out that in spite of overlap basic distinctions do exist between the youth and adult cultures. The needs and pressures of adolescence impose a unique world view, style of life, and value system against which youth may measure itself and in which adults do not share. They see youth's evaluation of adult roles and mores as independent of the standards it uses to evaluate peers. Adolescent orientations, they hold, are shaped by symbols and values that are largely autonomous, and because youth-culture language is highly esoteric, adolescence seems somewhat incomprehensible to adults.

## Characteristics of Adolescence . . .

Several characteristics of adolescence in American society lend credence to the above assertion. The society is strikingly pluralistic. Vast latitude exists regarding choices pertaining to mate selection, extent of educational attainment, vocation, and place of residence. Adolescents are largely free to choose for themselves and to assert themselves in the social scheme as effectively as possible. Adolescence is a period during which a series of largely irrevocable decisions must be made that take the adolescent away from family and childhood and toward participation in adult life. At this time adolescents are both relatively free from responsibility and are economically secure.

Youths must subscribe to long-range goals which they often do not understand in order to attain success in adulthood. These long-range goals may be neglected because of the immediate reward of peer group acceptance. In the struggle to achieve and preserve peer status, adolescents "easily slip under the tyranny of peer pressures" (Hsu, Watrous, and Lord, 1961). Acceptance or exclusion may mean misery or happiness during the high-school years. Special clothing styles, conformity to fads, and slang are means of maintaining peer rewards. Adolescent-adult relations are complicated by the involvement of adolescents in such situations as cliques, crowds and dating. These patterns often befuddle adults, and thus, adolescent behaviors sometimes become objects of derision.

## Youth-Culture Distinctiveness . . .

Youth-culture distinctiveness is spawned in part by family and school failure to prepare youth for the attainment of full adult status (Eisenstadt, 1956, 1962). Few adolescents today, on the basis of family relations alone, are able to learn the competitive prowess, poise and self-assurance that are necessary to gain desirable adult perquisites and privileges. Educational, religious, economic and political functions are increasingly absorbed by institutions independent of family control, and the relative decline of family influence (especially as families have become isolated from grandparents, uncles and aunts) has contributed indirectly to youth-culture formation.

Individuals acquire a mature social identity only after years of continuous participation in a network of intimate, personal relationships. During childhood social attachments are usually diffuse and indiscriminate; rapport is maintained more for emotional comfort and security than for satisfaction of specific status, achievement, and sexual needs. The strong dependency thus

engendered fosters the learning of generalized role dispositions and motivates children to adopt parental moral standards. Nonetheless, upon reaching the adolescent age-range, when the individual falls under the aegis of alternative reward systems, extensive childhood dependency heightens conflicts (Parsons, 1962). The emotional rapport of childhood cannot be sustained during adolescence because of the inadequacies of the family in present-day society, and hence, youth try to structure their own norms and patterns of conformity.

Changing patterns of relations between families and adolescents have indeed created opportunities for personal autonomy and responsibility unknown to earlier generations. The innovations and ambiguities in socializing practices caused by these changes lead youth to cohere, and the viability of their cohesion makes plausible the assumption of youth-culture distinctiveness.

### Thrust . . .

Given the assumption of youth-culture distinctiveness, one has next to assess the facilitative and subversive effects of the youth culture on adult objectives. The nature of the youth-culture thrust has been discussed profusely, but unanimity among commentators is wholly lacking. To sift among the viewpoints for cogency and relevance means to grapple with two major problems: (a) the commentary is often more an intuitive expression of personal feeling than a result of scientific inquiry, and (b) discussions are often based upon conceptions of human nature that vary according to the proclivities of the commentator.

Let us consider first the methodological problems posed by two recent studies focused on youth culture. Friedenberg (1967, p. viii) in *Coming of Age in America* proclaimed that his feelings about adolescents were such that he would have been ashamed to complete his study without bias. "The subjects of my study are adolescents; and I brought to the study my feelings about them and my prior judgments as to how they should be treated". Friedenberg's naked license with the canons of science is entirely explicit, and the reader is forewarned to regard his data as figurative illustrations of his views rather than replicable, objective analyses of adolescent behavior.

In Coleman's (1961) influential *The Adolescent Society*, which is based upon a questionnaire administered to several thousand high-school students in ten Illinois high schools, the deficiencies are less obvious. Coleman held that a distinctive adolescent society exists and that it diverts the attention of high-school students from high-school goals. The assumption was widely

hailed as definitive, partly on the basis of the impressive magnitude of the investigation.

Epperson (1964), however, has pointed out that the findings upon which Coleman based his conclusions may have been artifacts of the way in which his questions were phrased. Coleman asked his subjects, for example, whether "disapproval from parents" or "breaking with a friend" would be more perturbing, and appears to have regarded the two events as emotionally equivalent. Not surprisingly, he found 43% of his subjects would prefer to incur the disfavor of their parents. Epperson (1964) rephrased the question to read "parents' disapproval" and "friends' disapproval", and found that only 20% would rebuke their parents. Coleman also reported that his data showed that a large proportion of the male subjects would not follow their father's line of work, and interpreted these results as an indication of adolescent estrangement from the adult culture. Epperson (1964), on the other hand, suggested that the results indicate upward mobility aspirations.

### Assumptions About Human Nature . . .

Second, assumptions about the facilitative and subversive aspects of youth culture must be interpreted in the context of each commentator's beliefs about human nature. Their diversity echoes the "nature-is-right" controversy of an earlier era. It is noteworthy that the earliest scientific assumptions about human nature in the social sciences emerged from the nineteenth-century natural sciences of biology, paleontology and embryology (Grinder, 1967b). It was virtually a necessity to base interpretations on hereditary or genetic factors, since at the time, systemization of knowledge in sociology, psychology and anthropology was exceedingly primitive.

Several principles, including recapitulation theory, were advanced to show that simple organs and traits served as necessary stimuli for the growth of those more complex. Biologists and embryologists stressed the critical role of hereditary factors in growth and relied heavily upon the nature-is-right doctrine, the belief that unimpeded inner forces are the best guides to optimum development. Eventually, taxonomic advances in the social sciences increased awareness of individual differences in social behavior, of the various pathways to social maturity and of the fact that individuals learn and progress in society even though they may appear to be thwarted by it. These new ideas slowly replaced the older hereditarian notions. The nature-is-right tradition has lingered, however, and even today there is nostalgia, if

not to unleash the inner forces, then to return to a more pristine era when socio-environmental conditions were less harmful and subversive. However, most students of personality development are less pessimistic. The nonhereditarians, who may be described conventionally as social learning theorists, focus their attention on the facilitative processes of change, rather than either fixed norms of nature or environmental deficiencies.

### **Nature is Right . . .**

Emphasis upon the norms of nature provided the basis for G. Stanley Hall's classic nature-is-right account of adolescent social development. Based on his contention that childhood and much of adolescence is a recapitulation of the evolutionary history of the human species, Hall insisted that social conditions posed barriers to the processes decreed by nature:

At dawning adolescence this old unity and harmony with nature is broken up; the child is driven from his paradise and must enter upon a long viaticum of ascent, must conquer a higher kingdom of man for himself, break out a new sphere, and evolve a more modern story to his psychophysical nature. Because his environment is to be far more complex, the combinations are less stable, the ascent less easy and secure; there is more danger that the youth in his upward progress, under the influence of this "excelsior" motive, will backslide in one or several of the many ways possible (Hall, 1904, 2, 71-72).

Hall's orientation toward genetic factors and his rather dour outlook on the effect of social influences have endured in psychoanalytic interpretations of adolescence. Parsons (1942) advanced one of the earliest analyses of youth culture in psychoanalytic terms. Children become dependent emotionally upon their parents, especially their mothers, he reasoned, and the attachment is enhanced in small families, which provide few "objects of cathexis" and by children's early exposure to competitive pressures outside the family. Then, in adolescence, reaction-formation works against the dependency needs to produce a compulsive independence and defiance of adult standards. Further, a displacement mechanism shifts the focus of dependency and fosters thereby increasing conformity to peer standards. The tensions thus aroused lead youth to strong cross-sex emphasis and to romantic escapades and sexual indulgences. Guided by inner propensities, the adolescent, as viewed by psychoanalytic theory, unfolds in inevitable conflict with the social order, and thus, psychoanalysts generally view the youth-culture thrust as subversive.

The pessimism inherent in the nature-is-right doctrine is also present in recent youth-culture interpretations. Friedenberg

(1962) deplores present societal pressures toward conformity and thus holds that adolescents are losing ground in their natural struggle to achieve the individuality and independence characteristic of adulthood. Keniston (1960, p. 12) believes the purpose of society should be "the greatest possible fulfillment of its individual members". Thus, he castigates present-day society for creating a situation in which ostensibly well-adjusted youth are "uncommitted" because of "the loss of a sense of historical relatedness, the loss of traditional community and the intact task, and, perhaps most important, the loss of a compelling positive vision of the individual and collective future" (Keniston, 1960, p. 475).

### Environmentalist View . . .

The nature-is-right doctrine contrasts sharply with the environmentalist view of youth culture thrust as facilitative. Eisenstadt (1962) identified the breakdown of traditional settings, modernization, urbanization, secularization, and industrialization as major causes of social change, but he does not see these conditions as harmful to personality development. Youth experience uncertainty and ambivalence during their long and relatively isolated socialization since societal values are often presented in selective and idealistic fashion. Nonetheless, Eisenstadt contends that these conditions are also likely to lead to "greater personal autonomy, cultural creativity and awareness of adult responsibility during adolescence".

In contrast to his earlier analysis of youth culture, Parsons (1962) now seems more optimistic. He has shifted his psychoanalytic interpretation of adolescent development toward social-learning theory, and finds that the youth culture has become highly functional in respect to adult goals. Parsons (1962) sees youth-culture patterns as a result of slow but persistent structural alterations in industrialized America; namely, age-grading in the allocation of roles, increases in competitive pressure, and greater demands for competent achievement at every age level. Whereas his earlier view emphasized "regressive" elements, *e.g.*, preoccupation with physical prowess, glamour, and sexual exploitation, he now stresses the positive influence of "progressive" elements, *e.g.*, cultural interests and political activities. "Perhaps the most significant factor about youth culture is its concern with meaningfulness" (Parsons, 1962, p. 199).

Whether one views youth-culture thrust as facilitative or subversive apparently is a result of one's opinion of the effects of society on adolescent personality development. Those who regard society as detrimental to natural impulses tend toward a pessi-

mistic outlook, whereas those who believe society is an agent of learning and development tend to find facilitative elements in youth-culture thrust.

## Youth-Culture Interests and the High School . . .

As Gottlieb and Ramsey (1964) and Smith and Kleine (1966) point out, adequate conceptualization of youth-culture thrust awaits analysis of the circumstances under which youth pattern themselves as facilitative or subversive. A recently completed investigation (Grinder, 1967a) showed that in certain instances youth-culture activities sustain academic orientation but in other instances, subvert it. Since the results aid in understanding relations between youth-culture and high-school involvement, the study is reviewed below.

The first phase of the investigation included the development of a Social Interests Inventory, which was pilot-tested and administered, in final form, to 2,220 boys in seven high schools throughout the state of Wisconsin. The Inventory was designed to tap interests in youth-culture incentives and reference groups, the categories of which were derived from interviews with adolescents and from reviews of youth-culture literature. These sources unearthed three important incentives and four major reference groups. The former comprised *status-seeking*—interest in associating with prestigious peers, being invited to parties, belonging to an “in-group” and interacting with peers to develop social etiquette, grace and sophistication; *independence-assertion*—interest in achieving autonomy from adult authority and accepted standards of society, *e.g.*, seeking short-cuts on a job, breaking city and school rules, ignoring the complaints of adults regarding raucous behavior at parties and restaurants; *sex-gratification*—interest in opportunities to make physical contact with members of the opposite sex and to learn more about heterosexual behavior, *e.g.*, reading pulp magazines, talking about girls, crashing all-girl parties, dancing cheek-to-cheek, holding hands, strolling arm-in-arm, caressing, or necking in a parked car.

## Adolescent Reference Groups . . .

Authorities (Dunphy, 1963; Hollingshead, 1949; Smith, 1962) are in fairly close agreement regarding the major adolescent reference groups, and their general concepts were followed in devising the categories of the Inventory. The neighborhood few-friends group emerges as the first significant peer group to offer a reward system alternative to that of the family. Next appear the cliques and crowds, whose members are bound together

by the intimacy of face-to-face relations, and thus, are limited to less than thirty persons. Finally, cliques and crowds deteriorate in the face of dating, when individuals pair-off. To these three groupings, *few-friends*, *cliques-crowds*, and *dating*, was added a fourth category, *solitariness*, to encompass individuals who attain youth-culture incentives as loners.

### Likert Scales . . .

Unidimensional Likert scales were constructed to measure the relative strength of the boys' attitudes toward the youth-culture incentives and reference groups. Each item described a choice that had been made by a protagonist, of the same sex and age as the subjects, between two discernible alternatives: (a) an attraction of the youth culture, and (b) either a non-youth-culture goal or adherence to adult norms, mores or strictures. Each item recreated the situational dynamics of a double approach-avoidance conflict (Miller, 1944). Subjects evaluated the protagonist's behavior—whether or not they had ever been in the situation—on five degrees of agreement and disagreement, ranked from one to five (Grinder, 1966). The *a priori* weights assigned to the items were arranged so that strong youth-culture interest was accorded the highest weight. Every item was constructed to represent simultaneously one of the incentive and one of the reference groups. Altogether there were seven scales that comprised sixty items, consisting of the three incentive categories (twenty items each) cross-partitioned with the four reference groups (fifteen items each). Hence, it was anticipated that the Inventory would permit investigation of attitudes toward incentives across reference groups, and conversely, reference groups across incentives.

The scales ranged in reliability or internal consistency from .72 to .84 for the incentive and from .69 to .74 for the reference-group categories. The three incentive and the four reference-group scales, respectively, proved to be highly intercorrelated (since the incentive and reference-group scales comprised in part the same items, all scales could not be intercorrelated). The dimensions were expected to be related, however, and in developing the Social Interests Inventory, it was felt that forcing the independence of the scales might distort the extent to which the items portrayed the reality of youth-culture functions.

### Antecedent Data . . .

The second phase of the investigation involved the collection of antecedent data on the 2,220 subjects who had been admin-

istered the Inventory. School records were scrutinized for information pertaining to age, absences, credits, curricula and aptitude test scores. The completeness of the data collected ranged from a high of 2,055 on absences to a low of 1,735 on school credits. Also, an "Activity" inventory was administered to a random selection of 676 boys. It comprised two parts:

- . . . (a) Self-report items in which subjects, by circling an appropriate category, indicated such activities as the age they began dating, the frequency with which they dated, the nights they were allowed out per week, the number of close friends they had, the amount they interacted with close friends, and the extent to which they participated in out-of-school, non-adult activities, school clubs and government, school sports, and adult-sponsored activities.
- . . . (b) Peer-nomination items in which subjects were asked to name the boys in their class who were most likely and least likely to involve themselves in each of the four reference groups. The school-background, self-report, and peer-nomination data were combined for all seven schools, and, where necessary, transformed to standardized scores.

## Comparisons . . .

The results of comparing the Social Interests Inventory scales and the antecedent data revealed strong and consistent relations between high youth-culture interests and low commitment to high-school objectives. On the whole, differences were slight among the correlation coefficients across the seven youth-culture scales for each of the antecedents, largely as a function of the high intercorrelations among the scales. Nonetheless, the pattern of the antecedent relationships with the scales, taken as a whole, is suggestive of the way in which youth interests differentially sustain or subvert adult aims. Several of the relationships, for example, corroborated Coleman's (1961) evidence of peer solidarity and youth-culture divergence from adult values. High youth-culture interests correlated significantly with certain school-background variables, including high absences, low credits, low curriculum level and low aptitude test score ( $p < .01$ ), and with self-reports of early age-of-dating, high frequency-of-dating, and high nights-out-per-week ( $p < .001$ ).

Further, strong youth-culture interests were related to self-reports of high frequency of out-of-school, non-adult activities ( $p < .001$ ); and, in contrast, *low* youth-culture interests were correlated with high involvement in school clubs and government,

school sports, hours-of-study and adult-sponsored activities. Highly visible peers, that is, those low in nominations for solitariness and high in nominations for few-friends and clique-crowd activities also showed strong youth-culture interests ( $p < .05$ ). Peer nominations pertaining to dating behavior, however, were unrelated to interests as revealed by the Social Interests Inventory, and it seems probable that youth seeks the pleasures and rewards of social dating whatever its youth-culture orientation.

The relations among youth-culture interests and measures of high-school commitment suggest that the two orientations support reward systems that are basically incompatible. Every adolescent has only a finite quantity of time to expend, and it would appear that immersion in the immediate, gratifying youth-culture reward system seemingly precludes participation in the delayed, uncertain satisfactions of adult goals. But the situation is more complicated. Analyses of the pattern of correlations among the antecedent variables per se suggest that certain peer-group activities may actually support high-school objectives. Strong youth-culture participation, as indicated above, may be inimical to the high school, but moderate participation appears to sustain school objectives; furthermore, youth-culture nonparticipation, like strong participation, seems related to withdrawal from school aims.

### **School Sponsored Activities Reinforce School Objectives**

Self-reports of involvement in school clubs, government and sports activities, for example, correlated significantly both with school credits, curriculum, and aptitude, and with peer-nominations in terms of nonsolitariness and clique-crowd orientation. Also, boys who reported having several friends were high in extracurricular activities, adult-sponsored activities, and academic aspirations, but boys who reported that they did not interact with any friends were significantly low in academic aspirations and clique-crowd visibility. These data suggest that school-sponsored activities reinforce school objectives by providing youth with "wholesome" activities, in which participation apparently does not detract from peer visibility and status. Indeed, it seems that youth who possess high academic aspirations, engage in extracurricular activities, and enjoy peer visibility are kept soundly oriented toward adulthood through a web of compatible social relationships. Similarly, in a study of 540 boys in four London secondary schools, Sugarman (1967) found that those who are involved both in the youth-culture and the in-school social system are likely to be "middling" in both achievement and conduct.

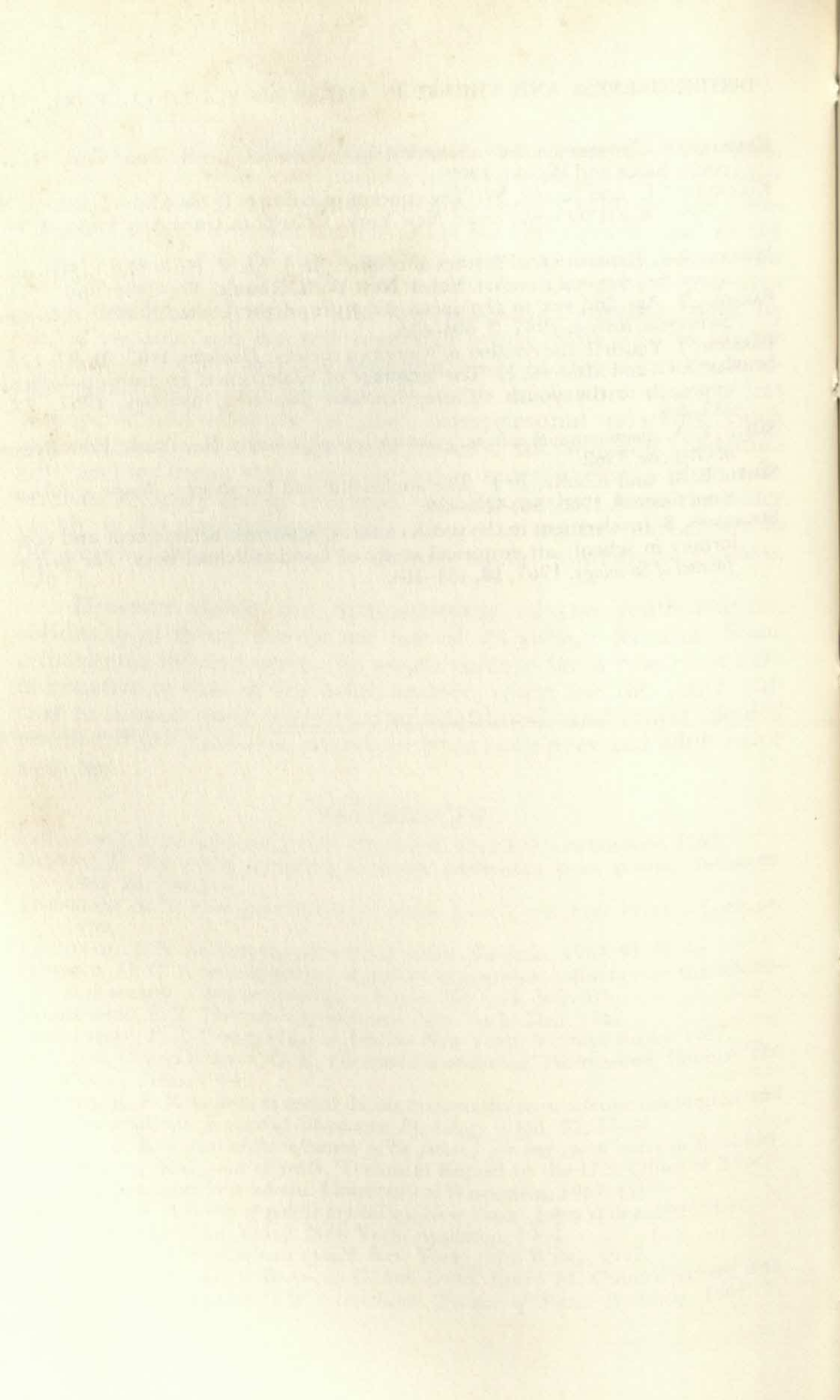
Boys low in academic aspirations, extracurricular activities, and friendships, however, possess little to sustain them in either the high school or the youth culture; their problems are compounded if they are older than average for their grade level. Being older in school related significantly to late age-dating-began, low participation in adult-sponsored activities, low sports, low visibility among few-friends, and low academic standing, both by school records and by self report of study time and academic aspirations. Older boys are apparently out of step with the dominant age-cohort, and perhaps, through exclusion, become less perceptive and effective in their interpersonal relations. Such persons constitute the high-school loners, socially and academically, and for them, the youth culture is more irrelevant than subversive. Another group of loners, wholly distinct from the older youth, is the over-achievers who also may neither participate in the youth-culture nor in the school social system (Sugarman, 1967).

However viable the distinctiveness of the youth culture, solidarity of thrust seems not one of its salient features. Some adolescents depend upon the youth culture for a reward system alternative to that of the adult society, some use the youth culture to support their transition to adulthood, and others, denied youth-culture pleasures, withdraw from both peer and adult value systems.

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## Current Patterns of Generational Conflict \*

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One question which concerns most discussions of current generational conflict is whether the confrontations between young people and their elders which so pervade our life today are seriously different in kind from those with which were characteristic of the past. The answer to this question, in the sense in which it is usually meant is, I would maintain, "very different, indeed". There are, of course, many kinds of intergenerational conflict; and the kinds that have become traditional still occur today. Most conflicts between young and old are still clashes over specific issues that reflect no special discontent with society as such; and many of those encounters that do nevertheless continue to use rather familiar political ideas and postures in which to express it. Neither clashes with authority nor political protest is, as such, novel. But the major reason why there is so much interest in the question today is precisely because we rather generally sense that many young people now reject society in a new and much more fundamental way. To paraphrase Bob Dylan slightly, Mr. Jones does indeed know that something is happening; and if he doesn't know what it is he would like to find out.

How large a proportion of contemporary youth are seriously disaffected is an open question; but not a very important one. The magnitude varies, and what the disaffection means is more important than how widespread it may be. Moreover, by becoming

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\*In *Educational Changes: The Reality and the Promise*, Edited by Richard Goulet. Citation Press, 1968.

preoccupied with the number of people who raise an issue, we avoid facing the issue they raise. This evasion has become conventional in our society, and in itself affords an excellent example of the quantitative approach to life that turns disaffected youth off. In this paper, I will assume that it is the novel turn disaffection has taken that has aroused the uneasy interest of the reader and occasioned an issue of this Journal devoted to the topic, "alienated youth", and will emphasize those aspects of generational conflict which are useful in explaining the novelty.

### **Who Should be in the Driver's Seat?**

In our own earlier conflicts with our elders, we most frequently felt, I believe, that we had become more nearly equal—if not superior—to them than they would admit, and were being denied the opportunity to use skills and fill social roles that we were as well able to handle as they. We fought them for the right to do what they were doing; and to prove that we could do as well or better. And such intergenerational conflict still goes on today, between "square" but ambitious and impatient young people and elders whom, by and large, they accept as, if not models, examples of the possible life-styles that exist and among which they must ultimately choose.

This is still probably the commonest—though no longer the most important—kind of intergenerational conflict. For our generation, however, the claims of those of the young who merely wish to replace us and prove that they can do better are hardly threatening. This sort of conflict has been thoroughly institutionalized in traditional, "sandbox" student government, and the bureaucratic procedures by which the educational system itself provides for promotion and graded success or failure. Far from being a threat to the socialization of the young we depend on it to provide the motivation for socialization; it is precisely in seeking to defeat its elders at their own game that youth involves itself in the game and insures that the game will continue.

### **Or "Let's Leave the Car"?**

But there are many young people—now usually, if loosely, identified as hippy—whose conflict with us concerns much more profound issues than the question whether they, rather than we, should be in the driver's seat. It would be a better use of metaphor to suggest that they feel as if they were locked in the back of a vehicle that had been built to corrupt specifications, was unsafe at any speed, and was being driven by a middleaged drunk. They don't want to drive; they don't even want to go where the car is

going, and they sometimes distrust the examiners too much even to be willing to apply for a license. What they want is to get out while they are still alive; if they succeed in that, they will try to camp where they happen to be, hoping to make it if they can stay together and leave ambition and the Great Society to us.

This attitude is a real threat to social continuity; especially to that of the middle-class and its way of life. The kind of disaffection I have described occurs almost exclusively among middle-class—or formerly middle-class—youth. Few hippies originate in working- or lower-class; and members of these classes are usually hostile to them when they encounter each other on the urban scene. It is true that lower-class youth, especially Negro youth, has also come to express great disaffection, and to express it more violently, than in the past. But conflict between lower-class youth and the authority of their elders still basically follows the traditional pattern which hippy middle-class youth is abandoning. Lower class youngsters protest the lack of opportunity that keeps them down: poor and scanty job-openings; restrictive and humiliating school routines; systems of grading that discriminate against them through biases—unintended but too subtle to identify clearly and correct—built into the very cognitive style of the school and its testing routines; police surveillance that degrades them and leaves them with arrest records that bar them from employment even if no charge against them has ever been sustained. These are real and serious grievances; but the effort to redress them does not threaten official social values, which affirm that discrimination is evil and support the demand for improved and equalized opportunity.

The demands of lower-status youth, indeed, support and validate the basic values of our society; because in protesting against discrimination they assert their faith in the value of what is withheld from them and their resentment at being deprived of it. This is true even when their protest is violent and disruptive. The looters who sacked Watts in the course of the riots there carried off whiskey and portable TV's, and what better evidence could they have provided of their fidelity to our common cultural heritage? But hippy youth are, though non-violent, far more deeply disaffected. They dislike alcohol and resent the tolerance accorded alcoholism by a society that continually harasses them and may even imprison them as felons for using marijuana, a much less messy drug in its effects, and physiologically a safer one. And while they may carry a transistor tuned esoterically to the local rock station, their basic attitude toward the media is better expressed in the second end-paper of the album, *Absolutely Free*, of the highly expressive rock group, The Mothers of Invention, which takes the form of a parody of a protest poster bearing

a hideous photograph of the most sinister-looking of the Mothers—all of whom are men—and the exhortation, "Kill Ugly Radio"!

### The Extent Nor Intensity can not be Estimated

Neither the extent nor the intensity of hippy rejection of our society by middle-class youth can be estimated from observation of the more dramatic and publicized enclaves like San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury—already, like Greenwich Village before it—a tourist trap abandoned by its devotees as a polluted area. Perhaps most middle-class youngsters are still fundamentally square. But their squareness is costing them status and respect among the community of youth; and conventional young people are apt to develop some disturbing behaviors of their own when they find that their conventionality no longer earns them the rewards they believed were implicitly guaranteed by their social contract with the establishment. Even class presidents and cheer leaders become unnerved as their peers turn on and drop out of the high schools' officially creditable activities program.<sup>1</sup> Scattered observation—I know of no systematic study, and hardly envision one—rather consistently suggests that the traditional age-gradient for diffusion of delinquent practices has largely been reversed.

It is the younger adolescents who now are likely to introduce their curious, but relatively "uptight" older peers to acid or, in the case of an unusually sheltered older adolescent, even pot. Whatever the proportion of squares to hippies—with many, as usual uncommitted—to be found in any adolescent group it is certainly clear that the norms have shifted in favor of the hippy lifestyle. And it should be equally clear that this is no victory for amorality. It is the hippies and teeny-boppers—the term "teeny-bopper" is not pejorative, but means merely a very young hippy—who assert the importance of moral behavior and who either actively condemn and protest the immorality of the society that surrounds them or regard their own commitment to "love, flowers and music" as an implicit act of condemnation. Indeed, in their comments on "plastic" people and their "plastic" society they sound very much like an old-fashioned British judge pronouncing sentence of death on a murderer: very gentle, resolute, detached and convinced that, considering his character, the man could hardly have hoped to come to a better end. Is this love? Perhaps. It is certainly kinder than being nibbled to death by social workers.

<sup>1</sup>The Mothers of Invention have explored this problem to wonderful satiric effect in the song, "Status Back Baby", on band 2, side 2 of *Absolutely Free*.

## The Firm Conviction

These young people are very firmly convinced that they will never become like their elders, and they are willing to make the most extreme sacrifices of comfort and security to avoid this fate; to go to jail rather than fight in the Vietnam war; to live in squalor, without the credentials our society demands of those whom it rewards with middle-class amenities. Will they persist in so stark a choice as they grow older and less energetic, and face the decline of their sustaining sense of community as less committed members defect? Juvenile delinquents do not; when they outgrow their social roles they usually abandon their delinquent behavior and pass anonymously into the ordinary life of their social class, having already lost the opportunity to become professional criminals—organized crime recruits as cautiously as any Madison Avenue firm, and tends to reject youths whose clumsiness or impulsivity has left them with criminal records. None of our relentless and ingenious programs for socializing juvenile delinquents has proved successful; and none has proved necessary; the life of crime has become bureaucratized and rejects them, whether or not they reject it, leaving most to choose among the less rewarding legitimate alternatives still available to persons who have made poor use of their opportunity to become trained.

## "Feelings are not a set of Tools" . . .

The same thing may happen to hippies as they grow older; but I doubt it. Their values are much less like those that prevail in the larger society than those of juvenile delinquents are. A person who is genuinely committed to openness, feeling, self-expression and those drugs which, in his experience, contribute to these; who *really* abhors violence and prefers squalor to ornate vulgarity may resist conventional efforts to socialize him even over the long haul. Most of the hippler young people I know do not even regard this as an exercise of will; on the contrary. They could not, they feel, become like their parents or most of their teachers or employers even by an act of will. Their feelings are too different; and they respect their feelings too much. If, like their elders, they regarded their emotions as a possession, a set of tools to be used, like their mind but more cautiously, in pursuit of practical ends and overhauled by therapy when they gave trouble, they might. But this is just what they don't do.

How can one account for the hippies' devotion to feeling and responsiveness, and to their relatively durable resistance to socialization? There are no firm answers to these questions; the youngsters I am discussing here are very different from Keniston's

*Uncommitted* (1965), have not been subjected to and probably would not cooperate in, any comparable study.

It is quite likely that their more savage right-wing critics are correct in at least one particular: the more permissive child-rearing practices of the past twenty years seem, despite many conspicuous and silly abuses, to be paying off as promised in greater emotional freedom and a deeper sense of selfhood. Moreover, hippy youth has finally begun to develop what James S. Coleman and others have attributed, I think prematurely, to their more conventional peers: a real subculture of adolescents and young adults, with its own values, a relatively independent status-system, its own art in the form of posters, buttons, and of course music, which I shall discuss at greater length below.

This culture even has its own press, like the San Francisco *Oracle* and the Los Angeles *Free Press* and Berkeley *Barb* and East Lansing, Michigan *Paper*, among others. Most notable are the growing number of underground newspapers published by high school students who face suspension if they distribute them on campus and harassment by their school administrations in any case. What is most remarkable about these papers is the fact that the level of literary expression achieved in them, and punished by school authorities as irresponsible or obscene where possible, is very high; while, at the same time, and often in the same schools, an unavailing struggle to teach students to read and write within the limits acceptable to the social system that controls the schools continues.

### **The Subculture is not Independent**

This subculture is not, of course, independent of the larger culture that opposes it, and to which it is vulnerable. But its young members are not so vulnerable as they would be without it; they can sustain each other emotionally, hide and nurture fugitives from the adult world, and validate one another's experience and personal worth. Between these young people and the middle-aged middle-class there is not only a barrier to communication, or generation gap. There is a real conflict of interest. The institutions that we justify as necessary to their socialization, like the schools and the juvenile courts, with their ancillary control apparatus of "attendance teachers" and parole officers and their extensive powers of detention, appear to them like the forces a colonial power directs against a native population, justifying the coercive destruction of their preferred way of life as a benevolent effort to raise their level of sanitation, improve their standard of living, and increase their economic opportunity by training them

to work usefully—and willingly—in the conqueror's fields and factories.

Youth in America is, indeed, subjected to a measure of coercion that no other element of the population—not even Alabama Negroes, if adult—must accept. No one else is controlled by special courts that operate from the legal presumption that their intervention into the respondent's affairs is always undertaken *in the respondent's own interest*, and is therefore by nature impunitive, so that no provision need be made for a formal defense, or for formal charges that a law has been violated. Juvenile authorities can, and do, intervene in the lives of youngsters presumed to be "potential delinquents"; they pride themselves on taking into account reports on the adjudicated youngster's character, attitude and general conduct, as well as legal evidence, for their purpose is not to punish but to prescribe a remedial regimen. Since the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Gault case a few months ago juvenile courts are now required to provide most of the formal constitutional safeguards to which adults are entitled to youngsters who are in fact charged with serious violations of the criminal code. But such formal proceedings are but a small part of the court's usual business; essentially, they are a socializing apparatus, authorized to intervene if youth, by the standards of the community, is "irresponsible" or "taking a wrong turn".

### Legal Coercion and Youth . . .

Youth, moreover, is subject to many other forms of legal coercion from which adults are free: curfew laws, loitering laws, special laws governing motor vehicle operation or public assembly or dancing; and, of course, drinking. The function—if not the stated purpose—of these laws is, quite clearly, to reduce the scope of personal autonomy and, with it, the opportunity of young people for diversity in growth or, in their own term, to "do their own thing". And, of course, the most massive sources of constraint of all—so big they are nearly invisible—are the school attendance laws and, for young men, the Selective Service Act, especially now that 19-year-olds are to be drafted first unless they find refuge in college. All these constraints reinforce each other; it is perfectly possible for a young man to lose his life in Vietnam without ever having enjoyed the freedom to decide how long he would wear his hair or to belong to an organization which could invite anyone it wished to address it, or to refuse to allow his locker or his living quarters to be searched without a warrant, or even walk the streets as late as he wished.

None of this sounds very new; but, in fact, school-leaving ages have been and are progressively rising; while only the escalation

of the Vietnam war has made the draft a real fact of life, much less a fact of death, for middle-class youth. The pressures are greater now than they were, and are growing.

But they nevertheless seem justified to many adults, and even to many young people, who assume that the socialization of the young into the dominant society, and the obligation of the young to accept its authority and perform its military missions, is inherently necessary and legitimate; and that this legitimacy cannot be placed in doubt by attacking the legitimacy of the social order itself. From this point of view, hippy, dissenting youth are at best a social problem and at worst a public menace; if society is to be preserved, the generation gap must be bridged and a bridgehead established from which to invade and capture, or heartily seduce, the recalcitrant young. To the recalcitrant young themselves, the efforts of society to constrain them and put them to use seem obviously illegitimate, because the society itself is seen as illegitimate, and the fact that it utilizes the law in its attempts does not make them any more legitimate. It merely means that moral people must learn to accept the necessity of going to jail, as has often enough been necessary in the past.

### The Adult Response . . .

How any adult will respond to the challenge of alienated youth depends fundamentally on his view of this current crisis in legitimacy. The conventional response is to assume that, since civilization must always frustrate the instinctual drives of its members, they cannot cite their frustration as justification for dropping out of it; and their alienation must be treated as a social or psychological problem. What you then do depends on how you respond to social problems: Governor Reagan, with characteristic contempt, has stated that he favors a "carrot-and-stick" policy for motivating recalcitrant youth. More sophisticated operators, some of whom would willingly be just as punitive if they thought punishment would work, try more manipulative approaches to get youth "involved" again. Many—perhaps most—experimental high-school and college programs seem designed to break the institution into smaller and more intimate groups and require more student participation without actually sharing any decision-making power or facing the real bases of the students' disaffection. While this is manipulation, it is nevertheless often sincerely liberal in intent; the program is based on the premise that even the most disaffected share an obligation to respect the outcome of any political process in which they have been induced to participate; if, in fact, their participation has been powerless, they are still obligated to be realistic about *that*.

## The Motley Decision

Since, however, it is the political and social structure that hippy youth distrusts, on the basis of its fruits as they know them; liberalism does not, to understate the case, turn them on. A more promising basis of *rapprochement* is to be found in what seem to me to be genuine social responses to at least some of the issues raised by these young people and their plight in society. A particularly clear indication of the kind of thing I find more hopeful is the little-publicized decision handed down last April in New York City by Federal Judge Constance Baker Motley in *Maderas vs. Board of Education* that a child and his parents may have legal representation at a hearing that may result in his suspension from school. The Board, and even *The New York Times* in a subsequent editorial published on April 14th, opposed the decision as opening the way for legal intervention into the internal affairs of the schools, which in New York call these hearings "guidance conferences", just as they call truant officers "attendance teachers".

But Judge Motley who has since, in any case, been reversed on appeal based her decision, not on young Victor Madera's specific complaint, but on the fact that such administrative hearings may lead to the incarceration of a child in an institution no less total for being called a "special" or "residential school"; and that statements made by the child or his parents at such hearings may subsequently be used in criminal actions against them for truancy or contributing to the dependency of a minor (Mackler, 1967). The Supreme Court decision in the Gault case, *Arizona vs. Gault*, which I have already mentioned, provides some real recognition that even minors possess enough inherent dignity to be entitled to constitutional protection; the consternation with which it was received by many juvenile authorities is evidence enough that this decision really does mean something. Very recently, the Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the right of students to wear their hair as long as they wished. Less hopeful, however, have been the comments of certain Justices, in their recent decisions upsetting obscenity convictions, that they would look with contrasting favor on laws designed to forbid the distribution to minors of possibly pornographic books to which adults had a right to access. The whole question of pornography has been dealt with in terms designed to reduce social conflict rather than to clarify the issues involved. It is precisely work which recognizes the richness and variety of the possible relationships of sexuality to feeling and personal communion that is likely to validate the process of growing up and free young people from some of their hang-ups and alienation; while flat, textbook descriptions of sexual apparatus and behavior, which are generally regarded as suitable to minors, are either meaningless or, by design, alienating.

## Socialization is Alienating

But all the constraints and restrictions on youth that I have discussed are alienating—that is their function—for socialization is alienating. Socialization may best be defined as the systematic extinction of alternatives, the reduction of the potentially unassimilable view or disruptive thought to the level of the literally *unthinkable*. Socialization also, of course, emphasizes a complementary function: indoctrination or, as we more frequently choose to call it, “transmitting our cultural heritage”; that is, communicating to the young what may be thought or must be thought; what alternatives society will allow and even encourage. Education, indeed, in a period of little conviction, seems to consist primarily in communicating just this information; it does not seek to convince but to indicate subtly but clearly which interpretations of reality will be tolerated. Both repression and indoctrination work toward the same end: increased social stability on terms set by those currently in power and consistent with the moral tradition they endorse; at the cost of alienating us from those of our feelings and insights that might impede the process.

## The Struggle Between Perception and Cognition . . .

This, basically, is what hippy youth will no longer accept; and this, too, explains their peculiar choice in drugs. Acid and pot—LSD and marijuana—share, though unequally, the power to restore to some extent the balance in the eternal struggle between perception—not just sensation—and cognition as contributors to our view of reality. While I prefer a balanced view—achieved without chemical intervention—that makes full use of both cognition and feeling, it is surely evident that this struggle has been biased in favor of cognition since the time of Descartes, and that a shift in the point of equilibrium is overdue. *Cogito, ergo sum* is an impressive statement; but in the days of McNamara and Herman Kahn—both exceptionally intelligent men—one is justified in responding, “But, oh, say, can you see, can you feel, too”? It cannot rationally be denied that LSD, at least, is sometimes dangerous. But schooling, too, justifies seriously weakening certain crucial human faculties in the young, in the interests of strengthening others, and drives some young people to suicide; nor does our society shield youth from the physical or moral dangers involved in defending it or extending its hegemony. Public concern over drug use is not aroused by real dangers, though there are some, but by the fact that pot and LSD are genuinely subversive of socialization. The madness—if madness it is—that they induce is the direct converse of the kind of impairment that Erich Fromm

calls a "socially patterned defect"—that is, a distortion of character that society induces and rewards as adaptive to its institutions, though it be a far more permanent deformity in our capacity for human response than LSD induces in people who "drop acid". "Drop acid, not Napalm"! seems a very suitable slogan to put on a psychedelic button.

The use of LSD and marijuana, in short, intensifies the eternal conflict—as ancient as the legend of Philoctetes—between those individuals whose sense of personal security is derived chiefly from reliance on order and control, and perpetually threatened by feeling, impulse and human messiness; and those who feel safest when they are in closest touch with their feelings, but are perpetually threatened by repression and constraint. But this conflict bears most heavily on the young, who are not only most exposed to and permitted fewer defenses against socializing forces, but especially subject to the least liberal elements in society. School personnel and probation officers are selectively recruited from the respectable and relatively "uptight" working and lower-middle classes. As I have suggested elsewhere (Friedenberg, 1965), this is not, in my judgment, merely an unfortunate accident; but an essential social dynamic in a mass society determined to avoid the unrest that would continually arise if the most competent and perceptive youth were not taught, thoroughly and, if need be, harshly, to subordinate their sense of personal authority to the demands of petit bourgeois *ressentiment*. Hippie youth are harrassed in virtually all schools; and the possibility of drug use brings the police, with their much greater commitment to order over impulsivity, onto the scene.

### The Police . . . Enforcers of a Moral Code

If the police, when they got there, acted merely to enforce the law when there was probable cause to believe that it was being broken, their action would often be useful. But—particularly vis-a-vis hippie youth—the police act rather as the enforcers of a moral code, and one which youth often finds oppressive.<sup>2</sup> Drug

<sup>2</sup>And not just hippie youth. Cf., specifically, Morris Rosenberg's comment in *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*, that "In general, it is difficult to detect a clear and consistent association between the father's occupation and the adolescent's self-esteem. . . . One group, however, merits special attention because the type of occupation may reflect something about the attitudes and personality of the father. . . . Specifically, respondents whose fathers are members of the armed forces, policemen or detectives, or sheriffs and bailiffs had unusually low self-esteem. . . . Fathers in these occupations may well possess an affinity for an authoritarian occupational structure as well as a willingness to face and to utilize violence. Perhaps the occupational imperatives influence the individual's per-

use by hippy youth provides the police with an otherwise comparatively rare opportunity to direct intense hostility against a member of a superordinate social class for an offense that the community holds to be vicious. Such occasions—the treatment of homosexuals provides another example—usually expose the victim to intense hatred as well as, of course, prosecution at law. Conservative parents then support the punitive authorities; while liberal parents, in my experience, are usually not much more sympathetic. Though they may not be as punitive, their liberalism inhibits them from defending their son or daughter very effectively against lower-status aggression, where a little elitism might have freed them to pull rank at least to the extent of hiring a good lawyer and publicly affirming family solidarity.

Still, the times, they are a-changing for adults as well as for youth. There are signs that our generation is becoming more open and expressive in its own behavior and attitudes. I refer to new forms of sensitivity training like T-groups; a growing willingness and even desire among college faculties to listen to students—which splits many faculties into hostile factions, one progressive and the other still up-tight; and, particularly, the new and respectful attention being given to the music of the young. The CBS-TV documentary on folk-rock, featuring Leonard Bernstein, which appeared this spring and had been six months in production was, though dated by the time it was broadcast, a genuine landmark. The music itself is quite extraordinary. Much of it is commercial *kitsch*; but what is extraordinary for our culture is that the most popular groups are hardly ever included among those with most prestige; the folk rock sub-culture is to that degree at least aristocratic. The weekly list of the top-thirty tunes rarely includes more than one or two records—and often includes none—by the groups that are most respected and have most to communicate to their audience.

### Folk-Rock the Medium for the Message

Any adult who wants to receive a relatively complete message across the generation gap must learn to listen to this music; and will probably derive great joy from it, as well as a strong mixture of less happy but equally appropriate emotions. No other art

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sonality; more likely the personality helps draw the individual to the occupation. Of course, even if these fathers do have authoritarian personalities, we do not know how such personalities influence the self-conceptions of the children. Nevertheless it is an interesting finding, and one worth further investigation, that lower self-esteem is found among children whose fathers are in authoritarian occupations and whose stock in trade is the use of physical violence for the control of physical violence (48-49).

that is being produced in America or England currently has as much vitality, or as much unity in the sense that words and music are so well suited to each other and to what is jointly being expressed. It is characteristic of good folk-rock that the compositions really do not stand by themselves; if played and sung by someone other than the group who composed them, they become something different and usually bad, though this unfortunate practice seems to be growing as the market for music expands and becomes more like that for commercial hit tunes. If you dig the music, you will dig the youngsters; and for this reason it seems to me appropriate to provide some specific guidance to the new listener in this article. Any such effort will, of course, be dated by the time it can be published; though more with respect to particular works than to groups; new ones may be omitted who have appeared too late to be included, but quality lasts.

It would be a convenience to the reader for me to quote lyrics; but on the whole I believe I should not. Aside from the delays and complications of getting permissions for a wide number of excerpts, there is the fact that to do so is subtly misleading. Folk-rock devotees tend to be McLuhanites, and would feel that the text, separated from the music, must necessarily give a false impression of the whole. This is true; one may quote lyrics to convey a specific idea from the music, but not of it. Even Dylan, a major poet who certainly gives a reader more than most poets since Blake, gives a listener not only something more but something different.

I have decided, therefore, instead to discuss briefly the major works of certain individuals and groups who, at the time of writing, seemed to me to have most to offer a new but exacting listener. I shall group these according to function.<sup>3</sup>

## High Art

... Bob Dylan. The album, *Bringing it All Back Home* (Columbia, CS2328) would be my choice for depth and range. These are not songs of social protest; they might be called songs of protest at the human condition. On this album, "The Gates of Eden" is most profound; and "Mr. Tambourine Man" and the more violently emotional "It's All Over Now, Baby Blue" are the most moving; the shorter songs are among his most effective comic work, equally penetrating in their way. Dylan, incidentally, is so far as I know the only artist appealing primarily to the young whose work has been published in a special, expurgated version for adults. There

<sup>3</sup>This was compiled in the summer, 1967.

exists an incredibly kitschy album called *The Metropolitan Pops Orchestra Plays Instrumental Versions of Bob Dylan Favorites* (Metro MS-597) whose jacket notes, among other equally revealing comments, "You see, Bob Dylan is a brilliant, penetrating, indeed, shocking protest poet. So much so that the elder generations are often put off by his words (and his wild free-swing arrangements thereof). As a result, they miss some of the fabulous melodies underlying them. This 'Song Book' is designed to remedy that unfortunate circumstance most handsomely".

*The Beatles*. Since the Beatles have by now evolved to a point in their own development comparable to that achieved by Beethoven in the last quartets, they require more attention than the listener is sometimes able to give them after a long day's night. But the rewards are commensurate. The two latest albums, *Revolver* (Capitol ST 2576), and *Sgt. Peppers Lonely Hearts Club Band* (Capitol SMAS-2653) are the best, though not the most immediately appealing. On *Revolver*, "Eleanor Rigby" and "Tomorrow Never Knows" are the most interesting musically; while "Yellow Submarine" is most familiar. *Sgt. Peppers* . . . is something more, a real song-cycle or cantata whose parts are so intricately related that they should not be appraised separately. It is light, compassionate, though completely unsentimental music; and older listeners will probably be struck first by the portions entitled "She's Leaving Home" and "When I'm Sixty-four", though the conclusion, "A Day in the Life", is all that a conclusion should be.

As a pleasant, and musically worthwhile oddity, *The Baroque Beatles Book* (Elektra, EKS-7306), is a charmingly conceived fantasia based on early Beatle tunes by the "Baroque Ensemble of the Merseyside Kammermusikgesellschaft", done with taste and wit.

*Simon and Garfunkel*. If Dylan is comparable to Blake, Paul Simon, who writes these songs is comparable to Donne in his lighter work; though the idiom is wholly contemporary. Simon and Garfunkel will probably appeal more immediately to listeners accustomed to standard music than any other folk-rock artists; the delicacy and grace of their work takes them a long way from the Mothers or the Stones. Yet the underlying vision of society is not very different and is, at times, equally macabre. The best albums are *Sounds of Silence* (Columbia, CS 9269), with the heart-stopping song, "A Most Peculiar Man"; and the later and more cheerful and controlled *Parsley, Sage, Rosemary and Thyme* (Columbia CS 9363), which includes the familiar "59th St. Bridge Song".

properly sung; and the lovely "Cloudy" and intricate "The Dangling Conversation".

... *Donovan*. The young Scotsman, Donovan Leitch, is one of the most enigmatic rock singers. I find his more recent work unpleasantly mannered and campy; but an earlier album, *Fairytale* (Hickory LPM 127) is the most beautiful record in my whole collection, and one song on it, "The Ballad of the Crystal Man", the most moving song I have ever heard. It ends with a sardonic prayer about Vietnam in which all of us might join. "Circus of Sour" is an utterly beguiling song; and "Sunny Goodge Street", which is being commercialized, should be heard here in its original form. This is the work of a 17-year-old; Vietnam, I suppose, is a better example of what the mature mind can conceive.

... *Jefferson Airplane*. Probably the archetypical San Francisco rock group, though there are many listeners who would claim equal honor for The Grateful Dead—a very disciplined, intricate group but a little too like Bach mixed with napalm for my taste—The Quicksilver Messenger Service, or Moby Grape, or Big Brother and the Holding Company. The Airplane, however, seems to me to have a slight edge; it is more melodious without being any less exciting. *Surrealistic Pillow* (RCA LSP-3766) is their most representative album so far, with "Somebody to Love", the familiar "White Rabbit", "Plastic Fantastic Lover"; and the lovely wordless little "Embryonic Journey", which lasts less than two minutes, to remind us how much Scarlatti would have liked this music.

## Low Art

... *The Mothers of Invention*. Totally incomparable. Perhaps the most sophisticated of any rock group musically—they claim to be, and manifestly are, influenced by a variety of specific composers from Stravinsky to Stockhausen—their idiom is so harsh that many listeners are tuned off by it at once. But the work is perfect. Their second and latest album, *Absolutely Free* (Verve V/V605013) is, like *Sgt. Peppers* . . . , a song-cycle which cannot fairly be resolved into separate parts; though the Mothers themselves subtitle side 2 "The M.O.I. American Pageant" and refer to it as "#2 in A Series of Underground Oratorios". This seems as good a name for it as any, from the opening "America Drinks" to the closing "America Drinks and Goes Home". If the album doesn't freak the older listener out—a risk the Mothers, who called their first album *Freakout*, joyfully assume—it will teach him more about dissenting youth than he probably really wants

to know. Their third, *We're Only in it for the Money*, is an epic poem.

*The Rolling Stones*. By comparison with the elegance and fastidiousness of the Beatles' music, the Stones seem vulgar and obvious; but in their best work they are artists of comparable quality. Actually, they are easier for people who do not dig rock to comprehend than the Beatles are—which is also why listeners are easily offended by them. They draw on the whole British music hall tradition and their best songs might be music-hall songs—there is plenty of aggression in traditional Christmas pantomime which is very similar to their work. There are many Stones albums, but I prefer *Between the Buttons* (London PS 499). On this, the song "Cool, Calm Collected" is of special interest to the American listener; its subject is identified in the first verse as a very wealthy girl who is "dressed all in red, white and blue"; and a brief musical quotation from the Star Spangled Banner is used amusingly. The concluding song on the album, "Something Happened to Me Yesterday", is the most comical song I know. The Stones manage to make sheer, vitriolic hostility a beautiful emotion.

Two other, newer British groups whom many listeners like but whose integrity I am not yet sure of are Fresh Cream and The Who. It costs very little to try them out.

## Occasional Pieces

There are many other groups whose work is of variable quality, but which are good at their best and are, in any case, of special interest because they have produced single songs that particularly clearly express feelings or ideas that recur centrally in hippy dissent. These are available as singles as well as usually on albums issued by their respective groups; and I shall therefore omit album number. Teenybopper resentment of pressures on them and of their lack of rights is very well expressed in The Seeds' hit song "You're Pushin' Too Hard"; and the Blues Magoos' "We Ain't Got Nothin' Yet". Both are forceful, rhythmic songs, of no particular musical distinction but very expressive. Much better musically, and subtler, but in the same vein, is Janis Ian's popular "Society's Child". A very variable Los Angeles group, The Rainy Daze, has created a song, written in rollicking parody of plastic Hawaiian-type music, about an elderly couple who go south singing "Hey-diddle-diddle, twenty-three skiddoo"! in quest of "That Acapulco Gold"—the title of the song and of the highest grade of marijuana. In utter contrast is a deeply moving though rather mannered song by the Daze called "And In My Mind Lives a

Forest", which expresses the development of adolescent schizophrenia quietly and in clinically flawless imagery; conveniently, it is on the flip side of the more popular "Acapulco Gold" single. But the most interesting song of specific social comment is surely The Buffalo Springfield's "For What It's Worth", better known, from its chorus, as "Stop! Hey, what's that sound"? This is an epic poem recounting the incidents of the police *battue* on the Sunset Strip two autumns ago; a haunting song in low key which first made me aware of the depth of meaning that folk-rock could convey. Few adults seem to know this song; yet I have seen stacks of it in the record stores all over the country and heard it broadcast by local DJs on small rock stations in central Georgia where few of the youngsters who listened to it could have known precisely what it referred to. What they did know was that they had often felt the same way about other events in their own lives. Even in rural Georgia there is heat; and young people speaking their mind, are getting so much resistance from behind. The Springfield, as a group, really deserve more attention than this; but this one song stands out so in their total work that they, themselves, have adopted it as a kind of theme.<sup>4</sup> A much more delicate small group, The Incredible String Band is equally worth hearing.

This discussion, obviously, could go on endlessly; but a listener who works his way into folk-rock with these will be able to find his own way thereafter, if he does not blow his mind. I have defined rock very narrowly, excluding soul-music, and the excellent blues bands like Paul Butterfield's and Steve Miller's which are becoming very popular with hippy youth. But they are not the work of youth, and do not express the experience of youth. For not quite the same reason I have excluded the work of The Mamas and the Papas, whom I very much admire, and who are certainly not very old, but who nevertheless strike me as more like guardian spirits of rock than like a rock group themselves. Their gifted comedienne, Cass, moreover, needs music no more than Bea Lillie in order to do her thing, though she is a better and far more winning singer. The Mamas and the Papas are great; but they are not quite what I mean, and I do not think a listener would learn much about how young people feel from their excellent performances. The purpose of this musical critique has not, after all, been primarily to form the musical tastes of readers, but to put them in touch with a group of works of art created by young people who are consummately aware of themselves and of what is happening to them in society; so that these artists could speak for themselves of the patterns of generational conflict in which they are involved.

<sup>4</sup>Disbanded, Fall, 1968.

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## Conformity and Marginality: Two Faces of Alienation<sup>1</sup>

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Alienation, while variously defined, is most often conceptualized as a syndrome which refers to an individual's perception of other people as hypocritical, selfish and uncaring, and the social order as oppressive and impersonal. With a sociological framework, culture conflict and social change are regarded as the major determinants of alienation. Merton (1949), for example, hypothesizes, that alienation is a symptom of dissociation between culturally prescribed aspirations and socially structured avenues for realizing these aspirations. From a more psychodynamic perspective, alienation is viewed as being deeply rooted in the individual's developmental history, with origins in early prototypical experiences such as *Separation Anxiety* (Rank, 1929), *Loss of Relatedness* (Fromm, 1941), or *Basic Mistrust* (Erikson, 1959). Both positions, however, regardless of differences concerning etiology, concur that the experience of alienation will give rise to

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<sup>1</sup>This paper is based in part on the author's doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Connecticut (1964) in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D.

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particular interpretations of social institutions and events, and be manifested in a variety of attitudes and behavior patterns.

For example, one strand of thought, prominent in many of the critical analyses of modern industrial society, from Marx onward, has theoretically linked alienation to both conformity and deviation (*e.g.*, Adorno *et al.*, 1950; Cloward, 1959; Cohen, 1959; Fromm, 1955; Jaco, 1954; Marx, 1932; Riesman, 1953). However, despite the abundance of theoretical speculation, neither of these hypothesized relationships have as yet been subjected to a direct empirical test. The reasons for this are numerous.

- . . . First, the concept of alienation, historically, has been developed primarily within the descriptive and analytic framework of European sociology, rather than within the more empirical orientation of American psychology.
- . . . Second, a clear concensus does not exist as to the meaning and definition of alienation.
- . . . Third, alienation has been primarily used as a *post hoc* explanatory concept, uniquely defined by each theorist to evoke in the reader images of the individual's psychological state that are congruent with the behavior under discussion.

What emerges then, is a concept which encompasses less of a single syndrome, than an omnibus of various kinds of psychosocial pathology which is used to simultaneously describe and explain a great diversity of behaviors, ranging from "blind" obedience to authority on the one hand, to suicide, criminality and psychosis on the other. As a result of such conceptual chaos, it is difficult to assess how alienation influences and mediates the structure and outcome of various social and interpersonal processes.

## This Study . . .

The purpose of the present study is to assess the influence of alienation in a well-defined interpersonal situation relevant to the conformity domain. It is to be noted, that in this investigation, alienation refers to the experienced estrangement of individuals who are functioning within the social structure of a college, rather than to the behavioral estrangement of "outsiders", or socially stigmatized "deviants".

Specifically, this investigation focuses on the relationship between alienation and responsiveness to peer group pressure. How, for example, will an alienated individual behave, compared to an individual who does not feel alienated, when confronted by pressure from a group to which he nominally belongs, but from which he feels relatively estranged? From the perspective of several divergent theoretical viewpoints the alternative answers to

this question seem equally plausible and can be stated in the form of two polar hypotheses:

- . . . An alienated individual deeply craving a relatedness to a group from which he feels estranged, will be more likely to respond to pressure from that group than an individual who experiences his position in the group as securely established.
- . . . Conversely, an alienated individual having experienced continual frustration and disappointment in his attempts to relate meaningfully, will tend to devalue the group, adopt defensive and insular styles, and as a result will be less likely to respond to pressure than an individual who experiences his position in the group as more securely established.

### **In Support of the First Hypothesis . . .**

Support for the first hypothesis appears in the work of Marx (1932), Fromm (1941), Adorno *et al.* (1950), and Merton (1957). For example, in Marx's iconography, the lumpenproletariat are viewed as alienated from their work, lacking group identity, and as a result are potentially ready for totalitarian leadership. Similarly, in his analysis of the persuasion process in the Kate Smith Bond Drive, Merton argues that when a society produces a sense of alienation and estrangement, it concomitantly generates a craving for reassurance, an acute need to believe and a flight into faith (in this case faith in the persuader). In the same vein, Fromm argues that any conditions which lead to a collapse of stable human values, concomitantly produce in the individual a sense of uncertainty and insecurity which result ultimately in a strong "need for authority".

These speculative analyses are also related to the vast body of empirical and theoretical literature on the authoritarian personality (Adorno, *et al.* 1950; Christie and Cooke, 1958), and its relationship to such phenomena as prejudice and conformity to group pressure, as well as the several studies which have directly investigated the relationship between authoritarianism and alienation (Dean, 1961; Roberts and Rokeach, 1956; Srole, 1951). Finally, some partial empirical support for this position comes from the work of Nahemow and Bennet (1964), who investigated correlates of persuasibility among residents in a home for the aged. They found that isolated residents were persuasible on both issues of current importance, and "topic-free" material, and that highly alienated individuals, specifically, were also more persuasible, but only on "topic-free" material. The overall view of the alienated or estranged that emerges from this work then, is that of individuals who have come to distrust the authenticity of

their own experience, who are goalless and have little sense of personal identity or internal coherence. To the extent that this conceptualization is valid, greater acquiescence to peer group pressure would be the predicted finding among high scorers on a measure of alienation.

### **In Support of Hypothesis Number Two**

On the other hand, the opposite prediction would be made from the various theoretical notions and empirical work which suggests that alienation is virtually synonymous with some type of deviancy or non-conformity. Thus, Nettler (1959), on the basis of a study in which he demonstrated a relationship between alienation and confessed criminal behavior (in a "non-criminal" population), concludes that alienation from society makes an individual vulnerable to certain kinds of crimes. This conclusion is within the tradition of an extensive body of sociological literature concerned with the consequences of a disparity between culturally approved goals, and the means for achieving these goals.

A recent example is Seeman's (1959) conceptualization of this position in the language of social learning theory. From his paradigm, the alienated individual can be viewed as having a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve desired goals, or conversely, as having a low expectancy that approved behaviors will lead to such goals. This notion is somewhat similar to Adler's concept of "lack of social interest", which, for Adler, is a consequence of an individual's feelings that many goals cannot be reached legitimately because society is populated for the most part by individuals who are uncaring, hypocritical and manipulative. In order to survive in such a world, the individual begins to strive only for himself, with a concomitant disregard for the feelings and opinions of others. From this perspective, the alienated individual can be described as suspicious and distrustful, cynical about the "rules", and relatively uninfluencible. If alienation is conceptualized thusly, it would be hypothesized that high scorers on a measure of alienation would be less responsive to peer group pressure than low scorers, who presumably have more of a stake in the system, and who feel that maintaining the "good will" and approval of others results in the attainment of desired goals.

### **The Problem of Definition of Terms**

As noted, however, the problem of extrapolating clearly defined predictions from these various notions, and testing the

alternative hypothesis with respect to conformity, is made difficult by the fact that both the terms alienation and conformity are used to cover a whole range of psychological states and behaviors. That is, if it is too vague to talk about alienation without clearly defining it, it is equally vague to talk about the "conformer" or the "deviant". Furthermore, it is also unclear how conformity and deviation are related to alienation in the aforementioned theories. For example, it is quite common to call the "deviant" alienated, and to presume that such a label not only describes the behavior, but explains it as well. However, whether conformity or deviation can be explained as a function of alienation is a matter, first, of a definition of the dimensions of each, and second, an empirical determination of an actual relationship. With a specification of alienation—*independent of the fact of conformity or deviation*—and isolation of its possible dimensions, it may be discovered that some kinds of deviation are unrelated to alienation (unless one persists in speaking tautologically) while other kinds of deviation are related. The same holds true for conformity. To the extent that these possibilities prove to be the case, an omnibus definition of alienation loses both its descriptive and explanatory validity.

Finally, there is the broad problem of the extent to which overt behavior is related to internal psychological states such as attitudes, beliefs and feelings. That is, the possibility exists that dispositional characteristics may determine how a person feels about his behavior, or the likelihood that he will be involved in a particular situation, but that the structural properties or the "demand" characteristics (e.g. Orne, 1962) of the situation determine the behavior itself. This is an especially important consideration in laboratory studies where participants are recruited on a non-voluntary basis. Therefore, a thorough investigation of the role played by a variable such as alienation in a particular interpersonal setting, must attempt to assess not only the overt behavioral outcomes, but the more experiential outcomes as well.

The usefulness of the concept of alienation as an explanation of various kinds of social behavior is not precluded by the foregoing discussion of the difficulties involved in its delineation and application. Rather, these difficulties have been cited in order to outline the requirements for a valid test of the relationship between alienation and responsiveness to peer group pressure.

### **Alienation Measure**

Alienation is conceptualized in this investigation from the point of view of the actor, rather than from some societal norm or hypothesized ideal state. Specifically, it is defined as a syndrome

consisting of feelings of pessimism, cynicism, distrust, apathy and emotional distance.

A 20-item Manifest Alienation Measure (MAM) was utilized to assess alienation as it is defined above. These items were derived from the factor analytic work of Struening and his associates (Struening and Richardson, 1964; Struening and Cohen, 1964), who have demonstrated empirically that they cluster together in several large and widely diverse populations. Some sample MAM items are as follows:

1. People will do almost anything if the reward is high enough.
2. Success is more dependent on luck than real ability.
3. These days a person doesn't know who he can really count on.
4. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.

A questionnaire was constructed containing the 20-item MAM, a demographic and family structure inquiry, and the following scales:

Authoritarianism (Christie, Havel and Seidenberg, 1958), Intolerance of Ambiguity (Christie and Budner, 1960), with Edwards' Social Desirability scale (Edwards, 1957), the Solomon-Klein Social Desirability scale (Solomon and Klein, 1963), the Crowne-Marlow Social Desirability scale (Crowne and Marlow, 1960), a modified Semantic Differential on the "Typical Male Student at the College" on the dimensions of evaluation and potency (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957), the Mach V Machiavellianism scale (Christie and Budner, 1960) which can also be scored for social desirability (Mach V SD), a Social Introversion scale (MMPI), and a Comparative Self Concept measure (Tennessee Department of Mental Health, 1956). Since all of the scales were balanced in that half of the items worded positively, and half negatively, an Overall Agreement Score (Couch and Kenniston, 1960) could also be obtained by totalling the number of affirmative responses across all scales.

## 429 Male Students

During the second week of the semester, a total of 429 male students in introductory psychology courses at Southern Connecticut State College (S.C.S.C.) filled out the questionnaire described above.

A total of 45 Ss were selected for inclusion in the present study: 15 Ss who scored above the 90th percentile on the MAM were designated as High Alienated (HA), 15 Ss who scored below the 10th percentile were designated as Low Alienated (LA), and 15 Ss were selected at random to serve as a control group.

The MAM items were presented in a Likert format with a possible range of scores from 20 to 140. The mean score on the MAM for the HA group was 91.27 with a standard deviation of 8.35, and the mean score for the LA group was 43.00 with a standard deviation of 7.04. All of the Ss were Caucasian and native born, and there were no age or religious differences in the composition of the groups. Participation in this study was necessary to satisfy a course research requirement.

## Experimental Situation and Procedure

Two months following the administration of the MAM, the 15 HA, and 15 LA Ss were run as critical subjects in an Asch-type, group-pressure situation (Asch, 1956), which involved four confederates.

The experimental series consisted of 10 neutral trials, and 8 critical trials. On the neutral trials the confederates unanimously gave the correct responses, but on the critical trials their responses were unanimously incorrect. The 5 Ss were separated by shoulder high dividers, and seated in a row directly opposite the wall on which the slides were projected. Each seat was numbered, with the confederates occupying seats 1 through 4, and the critical S seat 5.

## Control Group

To provide a base rate against which to compare the number of erroneous judgments made by Ss when subjected to group pressure, 15 control Ss reported their judgments privately in writing. These Ss were chosen at random, and run in three groups of five each. Without exception the instructions they received for the task were identical to those received by the critical Ss.

## Dependent Variables

*Conformity.* The number of trials on which the Experimental S gives the same response as the erroneous confederate majority constitutes the behavioral measure of conformity. Since there are 8 critical trials in the series, this score can range from 0-8 for any given S.

*Critical S Post-Experimental Questionnaire.* Following the presentation of the slides, the Critical Ss filled out a questionnaire containing the following scales: "Certainty" of judgments, "Ease-Difficulty" of judgments, a mood adjective check-list (Knowles and Greene, 1959), a modified semantic differential (Osgood, *et al.*, 1957) rating of "The other fellows in the group" on the dimen-

sions of evaluation and potency, and a modified semantic differential designed to elicit an evaluation of the experiment.

In addition, the Critical Ss were asked to respond to the following questions on a 10-point scale: How much benefit did you feel you received from taking part in this study? How often were your judgments influenced by what the other fellows said? How much tendency did you feel to give the same answers as the other fellows?

Finally the Ss were asked whether or nor they would like to participate in the experiment again, and whether they were acquainted with any of the other members of the group. The Ss were also told that any comments that they might have would be appreciated, and that they could use the back of the questionnaire for this purpose.

### *Post-Experimental Interview*

Following Asch's procedure (1956) all of the critical Ss were interviewed in order to explore in greater depth their reactions to the experiment. Toward the end of the interview the experimenter dehoaxed the Ss by fully explaining the nature of the experimental situation, and the purpose of the experiment.

## **The Results . . .**

The frequency of correct responses and pro-majority errors for the high alienated (HA), low alienated (LA), and control groups, are presented in Table 1. It can be seen from this table that 40 per cent of the responses of the HA group were pro-majority errors, compared to 17.5 per cent for the LA group, and 3.33 per cent for the control group. An analysis of variance indicates that the overall difference between the groups is statistically significant ( $F = 8.70$ ;  $df = 2/42$ ;  $p < .005$ ). Tukey tests, employed to assess cell differences, reveal that the HA group is significantly different from both the LA and control groups

TABLE 1  
JUDGMENTS OF EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Group	N	Total Number of Judgments on Critical Trials	Correct Judgments		Pro-Majority Errors	
			F	Per Cent	F	Per Cent
HA	15	120	72	60.00	48	40.00
LA	15	120	99	82.50	21	17.50
HA & LA Combined	30	240	171	71.25	69	28.75
Control	15	120	116	96.66	4	3.33

TABLE 2  
MEAN SCORES FOR THE HA AND LA GROUPS ON PRE-EXPERIMENTAL  
ATTITUDE AND PERSONALITY MEASURES

	IOA	SI	Potency of "Typical Student"	Evaluation of "Typical Student"	F	S-K SD <sub>18</sub>	M - C SD	Mach SD	Mach V	Number of Friends	OAS	Number of 1st and only born
HA Group (N-15)	11	51.13	1.60	11.43	10.07	12.67	11.07	53.93	65.42	55.90	4.38	54.67
LA Group (N-15)	1	40.87	2.00	9.27	14.73	13.53	14.28	50.73	73.71	53.00	3.33	49.33
F	22.59*	21.38	3.16	5.42	15.86	1.00	19.95	2.48	2.40	1.92	3.21	2.40
P	<.005	<.005	<.10	<.05	<.005	N.S.	<.005	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	<.10	N.S.

\*Chi-square = 22.59; p < .001.

( $p < .05$ ). The difference, however, between the LA group and the control group is not significant.

Consistent with the findings of previous research (Asch, 1956), the pro-majority errors were not equally distributed among subjects. The distribution of errors in the HA group covered the entire range from complete conformity to complete independence, while the distribution of errors in both the LA group and the control group were sharply curtailed, with only two subjects in the LA group, and no subjects in the control group erring more than twice. Finally, only two Ss in the HA group compared to seven Ss in the LA group remained completely independent.

### Pre-Experimental Questionnaire

The means for the HA and LA groups on the pre-experimental attitude-personality and demographic measures are presented in Table 2. As can be seen from this table there are considerable differences between the groups. Compared to the LA, Ss, the HA Ss manifest a stronger acquiescent response set (OAS), view other people as being untrustworthy (Mach V), admit to more pathology (S-K SD 18), display less of a tendency to give socially desirable responses (Mach V SD), tend to be more socially introverted (SI), have fewer friends, and are significantly more likely to be first-born or only children.

There were no significant differences between the groups on the perception of the "Typical Student" on either the dimensions of evaluation (SDE) or potency (SDP), nor were there any differences on "intolerance of ambiguity" (IOA), authoritarianism (F) and social desirability as measured by the Crowne-Marlow social desirability scale (C-M SD). The fact that no differences exist between the groups on F and C-M SD is an important consideration, since previous investigations have demonstrated a significant relationship between these variables and the type of conformity being measured in the present study (Crutchfield, 1955; Strickland and Crowne, 1962).

In order to provide a base rate for assessing the impact of the experimental situation, a mood adjective check list was also included in the questionnaire to measure the following factors: hostility, aggression, anxiety, negative egotism and happiness-euphoria. An analysis of this data reveals that compared to the LA Ss, the HA Ss are significantly higher only on the dimension of depression-deactivation. No other differences approaching statistical significance exist between the groups.

## First Born and Only Children . . .

The fact that first-born and only children are significantly overrepresented in the HA group presents a problem. That is, it can be argued that this difference, and not alienation, produces the obtained difference in conformity, since several previous investigations have demonstrated that first-born and only children conform more than later-borns (Becker and Carroll, 1962; Sampson, 1962). A statistical test of this hypothesis was undertaken in the present study by dividing the Ss on ordinal position (*i.e.*, first-born and only children vs. later-born children) independent of alienation. An analysis of this data reveals that the first-only group manifests significantly more conformity than the later-born group. However, this finding must be evaluated in light of one crucial aspect of the sample. An inspection of the population from which this sample was drawn ( $N = 429$ ), reveals that alienation is significantly related to ordinal position. This can be seen in Table 3 which presents the distribution of the

TABLE 3  
DISTRIBUTION OF 55 HA AND 55 LA Ss IN THE  
ONLY CHILD AND FIRST-BORN POSITION VS.  
OTHER POSITIONS

Groups	N	Only Child or First-Born	Other
HA Ss	55	33	22
LA Ss	55	19	36

$$\chi^2 = 7.65; p < .01.$$

55 highest scorers and the 55 lowest scorers on the MAM in the first and only-born versus the later-born positions. That is, the differences in the distribution of ordinal positions in the HA and LA experimental groups are not the result of a bias in sampling. Nevertheless, since there is a confounding of ordinal position and alienation with respect to conformity, this issue will be pursued more fully in the discussion section.

## Responses to Critical S

Since it can be demonstrated that the critical Ss' responses on some of the post-experimental variables are determined at least in part by whether or not they conformed, the HA and LA groups could not be directly compared. However, it is possible to match a sub-sample of HA and LA Ss on conformity, and to compare the matched groups on the various post-experimental indices. This procedure resulted in 9 pairs of Ss who were exactly

matched, and whose scores ranged from complete independence to complete conformity. An analysis of variance reveals several differences between the groups post-experimentally. The HA Ss tend to judge the task to be more difficult, and on the mood variables are significantly higher on the dimensions of aggression (strong, rebellious, defiant), egotism (detached, self-centered, boastful), and depression-deactivation (blue, lonely, uncertain, insecure, tired, sluggish). It is to be noted that the only pre-experimental difference obtained was only the dimension of depression-deactivation.

There were no differences between the groups on any of the other mood factors, on the perception of the confederates, or on attitudes toward the experiment. Neither were there any differences between the groups on the self-report items relating the extent to which the Ss felt influenced, and their tendency to conform.

### Observational Data, and Post-Experimental Interview

Several differences were observed between the LA and HA Ss during the (five to ten minutes) period from the time they arrived at the experimental room until the time the experiment began. The HA Ss interacted very little with either of the two confederates who were then present, or the experimenter, and in general, sat quietly, and inspected the room. The LA Ss, on the other hand, tended almost immediately to query the confederates or the *E* about the nature of the experiment. Satisfying themselves that the confederates knew nothing, and being told by the *E* that all questions would be answered when the rest of the group arrived, the LA Ss usually then turned their conversation to school, psychology, teaching and the like.

Although the interview data was not quantified, it does offer some impressionistic evidence with respect to how alienated individuals respond to stress and conflict. It should be cautioned, however, that the following impressions may be somewhat biased, by the experimenter's foreknowledge of the Ss' alienation scores, and the extent to which they conformed.

In response to the *E*'s initial query; "well, what did you think of the experiment?", the HA Ss tended to give neutral answers such as "O.K.", "I don't know", "it was all right", and they displayed little curiosity about the obvious discrepancies that had arisen in the experiment. By comparison, the LA Ss' seemed more agitated, and very concerned about the discrepancies. When asked about the possible reasons for the discrepancies, both the HA and LA Ss gave similar responses, usually having to do with the angle

of their seat from the screen. However, there was a considerable difference in affect between the groups. Again, the LA Ss seemed genuinely puzzled and upset by the discrepancies, and appeared anxious to find a reason for it. On the other hand, the HA Ss manifested little outward concern or curiosity. Throughout most of the interview the HA Ss tended to give abbreviated responses and asked few questions. The LA Ss by comparison gave more elaborated and articulated responses to the *E*'s queries, asked questions and seemed to display an active interest in finding out about the "why" of the experiment and how they performed.

The most striking difference, however, was in the responses to the dehoaxing. Whether or not they conformed, the HA Ss greeted this knowledge with little outward change in demeanor, and more often than not, made a comment to the effect, that they had "suspected as much". By comparison, the LA Ss appeared visibly relieved, and then either somewhat annoyed with themselves if they conformed, or extremely pleased if they remained completely independent.

### **The Alienation Syndrome: Psycho-Social Correlates**

The findings of the present study appear to fall into a highly consistent pattern with respect to a description of the alienation syndrome. This syndrome consists of a composite of personality and attitude dimensions including a generalized distrust of others, a rejection of socially approved "rules" of interpersonal conduct and social introversion. It is also marked by psychic and somatic complaints, depression and "yeasaying" with its various psychodynamic implications of conflict, poor impulse control, ambivalence and a disparity between feelings and behavior. In view of the fact that these characteristics presumably reflect underlying psychodynamic trends, their relationship to the MAM may be construed as evidence supporting the view that alienation is rooted in the individual's early developmental history. From this perspective it may be hypothesized that certain factors predispose the individual to feelings of alienation, and that these in turn structure his perception of, and affective response to the social order.

As such, an individual's view of his "life chances" within a given social structure may be conceptualized as at least partially a consequence of alienation, rather than having their source solely in the objective features of the social structure itself. Conceptualized thusly, these findings contraindicate the view that alienation is exclusively the result of a discrepancy between culturally approved goals and the avenues for reaching these goals, or that it

is simply a normal response to a pathological social structure. That is, rather than being a consequence of "culture conflict" *per se*, feelings of alienation structure the individual's perception of culturally prescribed goals and values, and relative possibilities of realizing these goals.

It is to be stressed, however, that viewing the sources of alienation from a psychodynamic perspective does not preclude the view that negative environmental circumstances (poverty, war, etc.) can produce transient or even relatively enduring feelings of alienation, nor does it preclude the possibility of group differences. Rather, a psychodynamic formulation implies simply, that even when confronted by the most extreme negative circumstances (e.g., a concentration camp situation), some individuals will be more likely to maintain a sense of trust, hope and optimism, compared to others who will more or less quickly succumb to doubt, pessimism, apathy and despair, and that these alternative adjustments have different predispositional substrates.

### **The Developmental Origins of the Alienation Syndrome: Some Tentative Notions**

The significant tendency for HA Ss to be first-born or only children can be viewed as additional evidence to support the notion that the alienation syndrome has early developmental origins. Although it is premature to evaluate these origins in any detail, the significant ordinal position effect provides an etiological clue, on the basis of which some tentative notions can be formulated to account for both the psychological content of the syndrome itself, and its major personality and behavioral correlates. While this formulation is grounded in a fairly extensive body of empirical research which has investigated the psychological consequences of ordinal position differences, it is largely derived from the work and theorizing of Schacter (1959), Zimbardo and Formica (1963), Ring, Lipinski and Braginsky (1966), and Gilmore and Zigler (1965).

The most common explanation for ordinal position effects is that they reflect differential dependency training during childhood, with the first-borns and only children being viewed as more dependent than later-borns. For example, Schacter found that the first-born was more anxious in stress situations and, with anxiety held constant, more dependent on others as "sources of approval, support, help and reference (1959, 82)". He attributed the first-born's "need to affiliate" to "child rearing practices as related to ordinal position and the differential consequences of having older or younger siblings around (1959, 79)". While the

specific aspects of the parent-child interactions that give rise to ordinal position effects are far from clear, some evidence points to the relatively inconsistent treatment of the first-born as compared to the later-born as an important determinant (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957).

A related notion is developed by Zimbardo and Formica (1963), who drawing on the work of Sears *et al.* (1957), suggest that parents have differentially greater expectations for their first-born as compared with their later-borns, and that as a result the first-born is more likely to be unsure of himself because he cannot live up to these expectations. That is, since there is no basis for supposing that first-borns are any brighter or more capable than later-borns (Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb, 1937), the discrepancy between parental aspirations and the child's ability should be greater for first-borns than for later-borns.

### **Birth Order Empathy, Self-Esteem and Identification**

Also relevant is the work of Stotland and his colleagues on the relationship between birth order and such phenomena as empathy (Stotland and Dunn, 1963; Stotland and Walsh, 1963), self-esteem (Stotland and Dunn, 1962, 1963) and identification (Stotland and Dunn, 1962; Stotland and Cottrell, 1963). In general these investigations find that compared to first-borns, later-borns evaluate themselves more consistently with the performance level of others, and identify and empathize more with others. Similarly Stotland and Walsh note that for later-borns as compared to first-borns, "others [peers] may . . . be perceived as 'part of the same family' and thus sharing a common fate (1963, 614)".

Another (though not contradictory) explanation for ordinal position findings suggested by Schacter's (1959) work is elaborated by Gilmore and Zigler (1965). They suggest that first and only-borns are more likely than later-borns to have been continually satiated on social reinforcers early in life. The developmental implication of this notion is that such continuous satiation would interfere with the child's independence training. They postulate that if this notion is valid it would then follow that first and only-born children who are satiated on social reinforcers would have less motivation to secure them, or be influenced by them, than later-born children who have been deprived of such reinforcers. They also note, that this notion in conjunction with the Brown and Farber (1951) formulation concerning the motivating effects of frustration, would in addition, generate the hypothesis that the absence of social reinforcers will be more frustrating

to children who are more accustomed to receiving them (presumably first and only-borns) than children who are not (presumably later-borns). Both of these hypotheses were tested in a group of young children and were confirmed.

### Several Implications . . .

These various notions, and the findings on which they are based, can be viewed as having several related implications with respect to personality development, and in what follows an attempt will be made to draw them together into a tentative theory to account for the origins of the alienation syndrome.

As Ring *et al.* (1966) postulate, the inconsistent treatment of first and only-born children as compared with later borns should have some consequences for how the first and only-born come to view themselves. They note that the work of theorists such as Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) suggest that our self conceptions are reflections of the ways that "significant others" respond to us. It would then follow that the self-image of the first and only born should be more inconsistent and confused than that of later-borns. The implication of this view with respect to alienation is that it is very similar to the notion of "self-estrangement". That is, since HA Ss are significantly more often first-born and only children, compared to LA Ss, it may be postulated their presumed self-estrangement, or uncertainty about who they "really are" to some extent are the consequences of the inconsistent treatment they received as children. If this is a recurrent experience in childhood, the outcome is likely to be a view of the world as dangerous and foreboding, coupled with an uncertainty as to the nature of the danger and a concomitant feeling of helplessness in effectively dealing with it. These feelings are virtually synonymous with the view that alienation is (among other things) a reflection of feelings of powerlessness and meaninglessness. With respect to the present study, these feelings can be viewed as congruent with the endorsement of MAM items which reflect feelings of apathy, pessimism and uncertainty, and the findings that HA Ss are more socially anxious and that they tend to distrust others.

### Empathy Level . . .

The work of Stotland and his colleagues adds another dimension to the relationship between alienation and ordinal position. It will be recalled that these investigators found later-borns to be more empathic than first and only-borns. That is, first-borns do not "really feel with" others as much as later-borns. The presumed reason for these findings is that later-borns use their sibs

as points of reference for their own development as well as for sources of comfort to a greater extent than first-borns who supposedly are more adult oriented. This notion is similar to the position advanced by Zimbardo and Formica (1963) mentioned earlier.

The implications of these findings with respect to alienation are quite clear. First-born or only children are less likely to feel relatedness to their peers and colleagues, which presumably is another source of their experienced estrangement. Furthermore, their lack of empathy and "felt" relatedness is likely to result in various kinds of communication difficulties, misunderstandings or in Goffman's (1957) terms "mis-involvements". Presumably, then, the first-born will more often misunderstand others, or conversely, be misunderstood by them. This state of affairs can reasonably be viewed as a potential source of disappointment, frustration, distrust and the like, which in turn may result in even more marked communication breakdowns. The finding that alienation is significantly related to social anxiety, the tendency for HA Ss to have fewer friends than LA Ss, and their endorsement of the MAM items which reflect feelings of emotional distance are all consistent with this view.

### **The Unstructured Situation . . .**

Another related notion is suggested by the finding that being with others in an unstructured situation raises the anxiety level of first-borns more than later-borns (Ring *et al.*, 1966). These investigators interpret this finding in light of the hypothesized relative inexperience of the first-born in coping with anxiety. While the Stotland *et al.* research suggests that first-borns empathize less with others, this view suggests that they are also less affiliative for fear of "getting involved" and not being able to "take it". Fear of getting involved is, of course, consistent with the notion of alienation, and the finding that HA Ss manifest a lower level of interaction with the confederates and the experimenter provides some supportive evidence.

### **Social Reinforcer Effectiveness**

The work of Gilmore and Zigler (1965) on the relationship between birth order and social reinforcer effectiveness also has some suggestive implications for a developmental theory of alienation.

They found that first-borns compared to later-borns have less motivation to secure social reinforcers, or be influenced by them, and that the absence of social reinforcers was more frustrating to

first-borns than to later borns. On the basis of these findings it may be hypothesized that the first-born will be more likely to develop feelings of alienation because the world outside the home will seem relatively cold and impersonal in comparison to the (hypothesized) warm nurturing fantasy of the "good, old days".

That is, the outside world for the first-born may never meet the expectations for warmth, support, comfort and nurturance engendered in the family matrix. However, socialization pressures to be independent prevent the male from "acting" dependently or maintaining overt nurturance ties to his family. Cut off from his original source of "supplies" and finding the substitutes to be inferior and uncertain, the first-born can reasonably be viewed as a likely candidate for the HA group. Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to assume that the greater frustration of the first-born as a result of the discrepancy between what he is used to (in the family matrix) and the reality of the "outside" world will lead to apathy and withdrawal. That is, the first born stops "hoping and caring" because his greater frustration when expected "supplies" are not forthcoming makes each encounter potentially more dangerous than it would be for later-borns who expect less to begin with.

### To Summarize . . .

The discovery of ordinal position effects in a multitude of studies is quite striking in view of the fact that the behaviors typically under investigation are temporally remote from the conditions which presumably are responsible for them, i.e., the early caretaking of the child, sibbling relationships, etc. This suggests that the dynamics of birth order are established relatively early in life. The finding that HA Ss compared to LA Ss are significantly more often first-born or only children was, therefore, viewed as evidence for the developmentally early origins of alienation. In addition, this finding was utilized as the starting point for formulating a tentative theory to account to the content of the alienation syndrome itself, as well as providing a plausible explanation for some of its attitudinal and personality correlates. This theory was based on previous investigations of ordinal position effects and the various speculative attempts to account for these effects. While some attempt was made to integrate these formulations, the absence of direct empirical data on socialization variables as related to ordinal position makes the results of such an endeavor extremely tentative. However, regardless of the nature of the determinants, the pattern of findings for first and only-born Ss compared to later-born Ss is quite striking with

respect to alienation. In fact one can almost say that this pattern comes close to defining alienation.

### **Alienation and Conformity to Peer Group Pressure**

The developmental formulation outlined above can also be extended to provide a tentative basis for conceptually relating alienation to conformity. It will be recalled that a greater discrepancy between aspiration level and ability was postulated for the first-born as compared to the later-born. Zimbardo and Formica propose that the greater the discrepancy, the lower the person's self-esteem. First-borns, then, ought to have lower self-esteem than later-borns. In addition it was also postulated that the relatively inconsistent parental treatment of the first-born as compared to the later-born child resulted in the first-born's greater uncertainty about who he "really" is (Ring, *et. al.*, 1966). With respect to this notion (Hovland & Janis, 1959) found that self-esteem is inversely related to persuasibility, and several studies have demonstrated that first-borns conform more than later-borns (Becker and Carroll, 1962; Becker, Lerner and Carroll, 1964; Ehrlich, 1958; Staples and Walters, 1961).

Ring *et. al.* suggest that "people with low self-esteem seem to be more persuasible in part because they are not sure about themselves" (1966, 56). Their findings that first-borns manifest greater variability and less confidence in a series of self-ratings of calmness and anxiety tend to support this position. Also congruent with this notion is their finding that changes in the emotional state of first-borns as compared to later-borns seem to be more related to the nature of the social environment.

### **Some Implications . . .**

These findings have several implications with respect to the significant relationship between alienation and conformity obtained in the present study. It will be recalled that the HA Ss conformed to peer group pressure significantly more than the LA Ss. It was also noted that there were eleven first or only-borns in the HA group compared to one in the LA group, and that this difference was highly significant. Moreover, since HA Ss were found to be significantly overrepresented in the first-born and only ordinal position in the total sample (Table 3), the difference found in the experimental groups is *not* due to a bias in sampling. Nevertheless, since alienation is confounded by ordinal position, the conformity results must be carefully evaluated. It may be that alienation is related to conformity independent of ordinal position.

tion, or that ordinal position is related to conformity independent of alienation.

If this is true it would simply mean that conformity can have several different sources. But, since alienation is significantly related to ordinal position it seems profitless to argue about which variable leads to conformity. That is, ordinal position is not a psychological variable in and of itself. It has behavioral consequences only because early socialization experiences which are more frequently associated with a particular ordinal position tend to have certain consequences for personality development. However, any given array of socialization experiences can be operative for a child in any ordinal position, even though the likelihood of their occurrence may be greater for a particular position in the sibling hierarchy. That is, the greater conformity of first-borns is usually explained by postulating certain factors in their early environment. These factors presumably have consequences for personality development which in turn make first-borns more persuasable. In terms of the developmental formulation outlined above, many of the characterological consequences of being a first-born appear to be theoretically consistent with the notion of alienation.

### **Alienation and Marginality**

It was noted previously that alienation has been linked to both conformity and marginality or deviation. While there is no direct data on the latter issue in the present study, several alternative conceptualizations can be formulated to account for the fact that the highly alienated individual is both more of a conformer and more marginal.

It has already been postulated that the presumed low self-esteem of the HA Ss and their uncertainty as to who they "really" are, make them more susceptible to social influence, i.e., more conformist. However, it was also noted that the HA S is probably less sensitive to the feelings of others, and that he has a greater fear of social rejection. If these notions are valid it would then follow that the HA S is less likely to be "tuned in" to the more subtle and informal norms in any given social situation (Seeman, 1963). As a result the alienated individual may tend to become a marginal person (a deviant), both because his lack of understanding of the implicit norms leads to inappropriate behavior which in turn increases the likelihood that he will be rejected or ostracized. Alternatively, it was noted that the alienated individual feels that he has little control over what happens to him. If this is true then it would follow that he would not view his behavior as a

significant determinant of the gratification he seeks. His attitude about conforming (if it demands any active effort) then, might be summed up as "why bother"? (Seeman, 1963). However, if subjected to pressure, he will passively acquiesce.

### The Alienation Syndrome: Stylistic Components

Some of the additional findings of the present study have implications with respect to the stylistic aspects of an alienated person's presentation of himself, and his response to stress. First, the findings suggest that the alienated tend to deny their vulnerability by adopting a "veneer" of non-concern. Consistent with this notion is the lack of affect displayed by the HA Ss in the post-experimental interview, and the findings that post-experimentally the HA Ss are significantly higher than the LA Ss on egotism (detached, self-centered, boastful), and that post-experimentally, alienation is positively related to negative anxiety (nonchalant, sarcastic). The second aspect of this style appears to be an enhancement of one's own potency in response to stress. This notion receives support from the findings that post-experimentally, HA Ss remain high on aggression (defined by the adjectives: strong, rebellious, and defiant) compared to the LA Ss who drop significantly. Finally, the finding that HA Ss tend to judge the task to be more difficult than the LA Ss suggests that the HA Ss deny or rationalize the meaning of their behavior by investing the environment with causal attributes, *i.e.*, the difficult nature of the task. This pattern of findings appears to indicate that HA Ss engage in a process of "defensive rationalization" (Crowne and Liverant, 1963) with respect to their conformity behavior, and as such it contraindicates the view that alienated individuals "don't care". That is, these findings provide some indirect support for the notion that HA Ss have low self-esteem, and that the maintenance of self-esteem is an important concern for them. From this perspective the attitude of "non-concern" adopted by the alienated individual appears best interpreted as a defensive maneuver, rather than a manifestation of how he "really" feels.

### In Conclusion . . .

Alienation was defined as a general or core syndrome consisting of feelings of pessimism, cynicism, distrust, apathy and emotional distance. A 20-item Manifest Alienation Measure (MAM) was designed to assess these feelings. A battery of attitude and personality measures including the MAM was administered to a sample of 429 freshman and sophomore male college students. Relevant demographic information and family structure

data were also obtained. Analysis of this data reveals a highly consistent pattern with respect to a description of the alienation syndrome. The syndrome consists of a composite of a generalized distrust of others, (b) a rejection of socially approved "rules" of interpersonal conduct, (c) social introversion, (d) psychic and somatic complaints, (e) depression, and (f) "yeasaying" with its various psychodynamic implications of conflict, poor impulse control, ambivalence and a disparity between feelings and behavior. Since these characteristics presumably reflect underlying dimensions of personality, it was concluded that alienation has important psychological as well as sociological determinants. This conclusion receives further support from the finding that highly alienated (HA) Ss, compared to Ss low on alienation (LA), are significantly more often first-born or only-children.

### **Alienation and Resistance to Peer Group Pressure**

Since alienation has been theoretically linked to both conformity and marginality, as well as deviation, one relevant issue is the nature of the relationship between alienation and resistance to peer group pressure. In order to empirically assess this relationship 15 HA and 15 LA Ss were run as critical subjects in an Asch type group pressure situation. The HA Ss were found to conform significantly more than the LA Ss, whose judgments did not differ significantly from a group of 15 control Ss who reported them privately. Several other differences between the HA and LA Ss were also noted. Post-experimentally the HA Ss were higher than the LA Ss on aggression (strong, rebellious and defiant) and egotism (detached, self-centered, boastful), and they tend to judge the task to be more difficult. It was concluded that this pattern of findings reflects a process of "defensive rationalization" on the part of the HA Ss with respect to their conformity behavior.

Although it is premature to evaluate critically the determinants of alienation, the significant ordinal position effect provided a basis for formulating some tentative notions to account for the origins of alienation, and its major personality and behavioral correlates. Utilizing theoretical constructs derived from previous findings of ordinal position effects, it was hypothesized that first-born or only-children are less likely to work out their dependency needs adequately, are lower on self-esteem, are more uncertain about who they "really" are, and are more fearful of rejection. Since alienation is significantly linked to ordinal position this formulation would account for both the greater conformity manifested by the HA Ss when subjected to group pressure, and their greater marginality or deviancy with respect to group norms.

Hopefully future investigations of the phenomenology of alienation, and child-rearing practices as related to ordinal position will provide a sounder empirical base for this formulation.

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## **Personality Characteristics of a Nonconformist Youth Subculture: A Study of the Berkeley Non-Student**

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The present study was designed to obtain a general psychological description of the membership of a particular subculture of nonconforming youth known by the local euphemism as the "Berkeley non-students". They represent a diverse collection of collegiate-age youth and their older counterparts who are, in a way, an epitome of those young people separated from the traditional middle-class and its values.

The non-student, a term with generally unsympathetic connotations in the public mind, is a phenomenon characteristic of a number of major universities such as Harvard, the University of Wisconsin and Columbia University and is particularly prevalent at the University of California, Berkeley. The term refers to individuals who are neither formally registered university students nor members of the conventional work force, but who gravitate to the environs of certain large university campuses and live a marginal existence reflective of their unconventional role. Such youth have generally had some higher education but have dropped out of college, in some cases perhaps temporarily, for various reasons. Although they often profess disdain for their academic experience

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\*This paper represents one aspect of a comprehensive study of the non-student subculture. We are grateful to Anita Levine for her most valuable assistance at all stages of this research project.

and its stifling effects, they are attracted, nevertheless, to the university environment because of the possibilities of inexpensive living arrangements and because the university itself is a direct and indirect source of social, cultural and intellectual stimulation, acceptance and asylum.

It is possible that a minority of such individuals are continuing their education on a more intensive level than when they were in school, studying only that which is of interest to them and which they consider to be of real significance. The university's libraries and many of its lectures are available by merely posing as bonafide registered students; and, of course, innumerable extra-curricular events of intellectual interest are sponsored by the university.

### **The Berkeley "Fringe"**

The non-student subculture, also known as the "Berkeley underground" or "fringe", has been unofficially estimated to contain a floating membership of approximately 3,000 and to the astute observer, it is obviously a very diverse community. However, regardless of the individuality of its membership, the major characteristics of the group tend to make themselves known and thus attract other members of a compatible nature. Basically, the subculture is seen as being alienated from conventional values; it is a protest against society, whether defined as the Power Structure, the System, the Establishment or the Protestant Ethic; it is a reaction against the dehumanizing influences of modern institutions and a materialistic way of life; it is critical of social hypocrisies and restricted standards; politically, it tends from the independent liberal to the radical left, as well as harboring the politically withdrawn; it is pro civil rights and pacifistic; in respect to sexual behavior, drug usage, and public conduct and appearance, it is a libertarian society; it appears to be intellectually sophisticated and culturally aware; it tends toward agnosticism or espouses the more exotic, mystical religions (Watts and Whittaker, 1966b). Simmons' and Winograd's (1966) recent portrait of the emerging, and still very small, youth culture as being fundamentally characterized by its irreverent or questioning attitude toward conventional society, its pervasive humanism, its pursuit of experience and its unpretentious tolerance, somewhat captures the atmosphere of the established underground community at Berkeley.

This deviant subculture today represents a significant manifestation of the emerging minority of youth, apparently growing in numbers, that is alienated from present society to such an extent that its overt behavior has manifested itself in extreme forms

ranging from actively-protesting conditions in society to passively withdrawing into a culture of its own. The phenomenon is international and within the last decade has been observed to be rising and involving increasing numbers of youth in all technologically-advanced nations (Brown, 1966; Gennrich, 1966). Although sociologists have described the general characteristics of alienated youth groups (e.g., Flacks, 1967), few psychological studies have attempted to systematically gather group personality data.

### Related Studies<sup>1</sup> . . .

Rigney and Smith (1961), in the late 1950's, interviewed youthful representatives of San Francisco's Bohemian or "Beat" community, which exemplified a similarly basic protest against society a decade ago, although manifested in a rather purely dis-affiliate form. The psychological data, however, were discussed only briefly in the Appendix after first being subclassified, where possible, into six subgroups on the basis of similarity of MMPI profiles.

More recently, Keniston (1965) intensively studied a small group of Harvard undergraduates who manifested a syndrome of extreme alienation, but no psychological results of an empirical nature are reported in his writings. Furthermore, the study is limited in scope in that the subjects are a very atypical group of alienated young people, being all male, from the upper and upper-middle class, and most being able to maintain their student status at one of the most prestigious private universities in the country.

Two other studies offer group psychological data on alienated youth who reflect, however, a more positive protest against the conditions that they reject and, thus, a basic optimism that social change can be attained. Both studies concentrated on those individuals who were actively committed to Berkeley's Free Speech Movement which culminated in the massive sit-in on December 2-3, 1964, and the arrest of 773 individuals, 10% of whom were not registered U.C. students.

Heist (1966) obtained a sample of students who had been arrested during the sit-in and made certain group comparisons with the Berkeley student body. On the basis of data obtained from the Omnibus Personality Inventory, FSM members tended to score higher on Thinking Introversion, Theoretical Orientation, Estheticism, Complexity, Autonomy, Religious Orientation (religious liberalism) and Impulse Expression; scores were lower

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<sup>1</sup>We regret that several relevant studies have appeared in the literature too late to be included in this paper.

for Social Extroversion, Personal Integration and Anxiety Level (i.e., more anxious).

Watts and Whittaker (1966a) compared FSM members who participated in the sit-in with a cross-sectional sample of Berkeley students on a number of socio-psychological variables. The highly-committed group scored significantly lower on Rigidity than the cross-section of students, a dimension related to the non-conformity-conformity continuum.

The present study extends these previous investigations by providing psychological data on an important segment of today's alienated youth who have withdrawn from formal education and are oriented toward the nonconventional.

### **This Study . . .**

There was no possibility of obtaining a random or truly representative sample of the Berkeley underground since the parameters of this population are ill-defined and constantly changing. Hence, we were forced into a compromise in which we utilized the "snowball technique" where all available accesses into the desired group are initially used and other respondents gained by a referral method. We were in the fortunate position of having a number of contacts with this group, and it was through their intervention that we obtained our initial respondents who then, in turn, led to others. In addition, we posted several announcements on notice boards along Telegraph Avenue, a street adjacent to the campus and frequented by this population. These notices frankly stated the nature of the study, stressed our respect for the anonymity of the respondents, and stated that each person would be paid five dollars for participating, in addition to receiving a general summary of the findings if he so desired. It was our belief that the five-dollar payment would represent considerable inducement for subjects to participate since it is popularly held that the members of this non-student population are unemployed or only minimally employed and live rather frugally. In this way we hoped to avoid, to a large degree, the self-selection factor of obtaining only subjects who wanted to be studied which is a problem inherent in any research involving volunteer participants and one that would be particularly troublesome in this study because of the population's vague boundaries. Whatever the motivation on the part of individuals, we had little difficulty in obtaining participants and their conscientious cooperation. This is consistent with Keniston's (1965) observation that extremely-alienated students at Harvard were very talkative and obsessed with self-analysis which would make the information feedback quite appealing to them.

## 151 of the Non-Student "Fringe" Group

A total of 151 of the non-student "fringe" group participated in the study. While no claim can be made that they are representative of the total population, enough different "inroads" were used in recruiting the subjects that they likely typify a fairly broad range of this population. Furthermore, our sample contained a number of the non-students who were well known, at that time, in the popular press and other mass media. These data were collected during the month of August, 1965.

For comparative purposes, a random sample of the University of California, Berkeley student population was obtained from the current student directory. Each student whose name was drawn was contacted by telephone and informed of the nature of the study, the five-dollar payment for participating, and the feedback of results. Most of the students contacted agreed to take part and were scheduled to come at a convenient time. A few students who were scheduled failed to appear, but they were telephoned again, stressing the importance of 100 per cent participation, until all 56 students originally scheduled had been measured. Eighteen of those students originally contracted refused to participate, mostly because of lack of time, yielding a response rate of 77 per cent. Student data were collected in late September, 1965.

The data for both groups were collected in the same building and under the same conditions, i.e., small groups of respondents at a given time.

## Materials

This paper is based upon data collected through a questionnaire specifically designed for the study and the Omnibus Personality Inventory, Form F (Heist and Yonge, 1969). The Omnibus Personality Inventory, Form F, having its origin in the need for a special instrument to accommodate the objectives of research on college students, is the result of a decade of the development, combination, and refinement of various scales into a unique tool. It is the product of the thinking of a number of individuals, many of whom have been connected with the Center for the Study of Higher Education at Berkeley. The fundamental theoretical concerns were based, not on a specific personality theory *per se*, but on a body of general findings and principles regarding adolescent and post-adolescent behavior, the variables that were apparently important in the academic setting, and the social aspects of college student life. Thus, the dimensions included in the instrument were considered either for their particular relevance to academic activity or general importance for

understanding and differentiating among students in an educational context.

The fourteen scales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory assess selected characteristics of human behavior, chiefly in the areas of normal ego-functioning and intellectual activity. Focusing on ego-functioning, single or multiple scales measure general or social-emotional maturity, social concern, success in social relations and confidence (perception of self in relation to others), and the masculinity-femininity syndrome. Under the second focus, intellectual activity or concerns are scales assessing a person's interest in working with ideas and abstractions, the level of one's theoretical orientation and his esthetic interests and sensitivities. To supplement the measurements in the above areas, assessments of logical commitments, the flexibility of general perception, the degree of impulsivity, and emotional disturbance and anxiety are included because of their presumed relevance to the study of behavior in academic settings.

Since the scales of this instrument are not independent of one another, the statistical treatment consisted of first comparing the two samples of non-students and students, separately for both sexes, for overall differences on the inventory by a generalized analysis of variance. As significant  $F$ 's were found, the individual scales were then tested in order to note which scales were significantly contributing to the overall differences. These analyses were made by using Marascuilo's (1966) stringent (in that the overall alpha level is controlled) method of multiple comparisons based upon a chi-square analog of Scheffé's (1959) multiple-comparison method for analysis of variance.

## General Biographical Data

The most obvious characteristic that tends to differentiate the non-students from the members of the student body or conventional working youth is their general appearance. Using objective criteria, with independent judges in almost complete agreement, 82% of the non-student males and 88% of the females were classified as unconventional in personal appearance. Naturally, this is not to imply that an exotic or unconventional effect is unique to the non-students since the most casual observation of the Berkeley student body would dispel any such notion. However, the incidence of such nonconventionality among the students is much less by comparison, reaching only 19% in the male sample and 24% among the females. These differences in proportions for the students and non-students are, of course, highly significant ( $X^2 = 56.02$  for the males;  $X^2 = 25.00$  for the females). Although the criteria for nonconventionality were involved,

the local, stereotypic picture of the non-student males wearing their hair long, displaying facial hair, bare feet or sandals, and avant-garde dress and jewelry, and the female counterpart wearing little or no make-up and straight hair over the shoulders, certainly corresponds to our particular sample.

Although no attempt was made to approximate the sex distribution of the campus in the non-student group, the resulting proportion of females (32%) is quite similar to that obtained in the random sample of students (38%). Similarly, there are no marked differences in age between the two samples. Approximately half of the non-student females and 34% of the males are 20 years of age or younger, and only 3% of the non-students are over 30 years of age.

Considering the youthful composition of the non-student sample, one would expect that many of its members had only recently left school. The data indicate that this is the case with 39% of the males and 47% of the females stating that they had been last enrolled in an educational institution the previous school year. One-third of the males and 20% of the females were last enrolled two years before, and only 6% of each sex had been out of school for five years or more. The majority of the non-students had prematurely discontinued their formal education with 61% stating they had completed from one to three years of college, and only 11% claiming that they had earned a B.A. degree or higher. To some extent, the non-student culture may serve as an interim, for an indefinite period of time, for the educationally and vocationally indecisive.

As might be expected considering the rather Bohemian character of the non-student population, its members were drawn disproportionately from the Arts and Humanities. When asked to state their present or previous college majors 25% of the non-students, compared to 7% of the students, listed the Creative or Fine Arts; 38% of the non-students *vs.* 25% of the students had, or intended to, majored in the Humanities. The non-students are greatly under-represented in the more pragmatic fields such as Business, the Physical and Biological Sciences and Engineering; there is little difference in the representation from the Social Sciences.

### Employment . . .

Only 30% of the non-students state that they are employed in any capacity and, of that number, approximately half work part time (arbitrarily defined as less than 32 hours per week). It is interesting to note that a larger percentage (45%) of the students are employed albeit, in general, only part time.

When questioned about financial support, about half of the non-students of each sex report personal earnings and savings as the only source; while nearly one-fourth state that they are totally dependent upon outside sources. For the females, these outside sources appear to be primarily their parents since 21% of the female sample list their parents as the exclusive source of their support. However, a mere 7% of the non-student males state that they receive their sole support from parents which leaves a considerable discrepancy from the 25% listing outside sources. The majority of the non-students (72% of the males and 62% of the females) state that they receive no support from their parents. While it would appear that many of the non-students are at least partially dependent upon friends, etc. for support, the source of income (if any) for others remains a mystery.

### **Period of Time in Berkeley Area . . .**

A question of general interest concerns the period of time that members of the non-student group have resided in the Berkeley area. One would suspect this to be a relatively transient population, particularly considering the publicity received by the University of California, Berkeley, as a result of the Free Speech and subsequent demonstrations which may have attracted sizable numbers of nonconventional youth to the "scene". Indeed, 46% of the males and 26% of the females say that they have lived near the Berkeley Campus less than six months; approximately 16% of each sex fall in the category of seven months to a year; another 17% respond "about two years"; approximately 13% of the participants have lived in the area two to five years; and, finally, 10% of the males and a sizable 26% of the females have lived near the Berkeley Campus for over five years.

It is interesting to note that whereas almost half of the males have been in the area for less than six months, the females appear to be far less transient, being spaced more evenly over all of the time intervals. This might suggest that a larger proportion of the females are natives of the Bay Area, whereas more males "migrated" here from other geographical locations. Such would appear to be the case since 31% of the females, compared to 16% of the males, had spent their childhood in the Bay Area.

Although there is a slight tendency for more non-students than students to say that they have been raised in a city, there is no appreciable difference between the two groups with respect to geographical origin.

### **Socio-Economic Backgrounds . . .**

In general, the non-students come from middle-class backgrounds as do the students with no major differences being ob-

tained on measures of socio-economic status. While a slightly larger percentage of the fathers of the non-students, compared to those of the students, are in occupations classified as professional and technical (39% *vs.* 31%) and fewer in the manager-owner category (22% of non-students' fathers compared to 39% of the students' fathers), these differences do not approach significance.

In estimating the incomes of their fathers, the distributions for the two samples were virtually identical with approximately 20% of each falling in the \$5,000 per year category, roughly one-third of each in the \$10,000 per year category, just under 20% in the \$15,000 per year category, and approximately one-fourth closest to \$20,000 annually, or higher.

Similarly, there are no marked differences in parental education between the two samples. A somewhat higher percentage of the non-students stated that their parents had a high school education or less (42% *vs.* 32% for fathers' education and 50% *vs.* 45% in the case of mothers' education). Slightly fewer of the non-students stated their parents had completed four years of college than did the students (20% *vs.* 26% in the case of fathers and 19% *vs.* 29% for mothers). In terms of advanced degrees, the percentages for the two groups were quite similar with 16% of the non-students' fathers and 7% of their mothers having earned an M.A., Ph.D., or other professional degree compared to 21% of the students' fathers and 2% of their mothers.

In summary, these three indices of socio-economic status offer no evidence that the non-students differ from the student body in any of these characteristics. This is in marked contrast to the usual finding for student activists who tend to come from higher socio-economic strata than do their student counterparts (e.g., Flacks, 1967; Watts and Whittaker, 1966a).

## Personality Characteristics

In comparing the non-students to their student counterparts in terms of their scores on the Omnibus Personality Inventory, we shall first present the overall difference across the fourteen subscales and then turn to a discussion of the individual subscales.

Table 1 shows the mean raw score results on the fourteen subscales of the Omnibus Personality Inventory, contrasting the non-students with the student sample separately for each sex. Definitions of each scale, as described in the OPI Manual (Heist and Yonge, 1969), are included in the following discussion of individual scales. As indicated at the bottom of Table 1, a generalized analysis of variance yields significant F values for both male and female non-students when compared with their respective student samples ( $F = 19.28$ ,  $df\ 13/118$ ,  $p < .001$  for the male

TABLE 1  
MEAN RAW SCORE PROFILES ON THE OPI FOR MALES AND FEMALES

		Males		Females	
		Non-students (N = 98)	Students (N = 35)	Non-students (N = 49)	Students (N = 21)
Thinking Introversion	$\bar{X}$	30.46	28.06	31.62	29.10
	S.D.	6.73	8.43	5.61	8.14
Theoretical Orientation	$\bar{X}$	22.39	21.37	21.32	21.24
	S.D.	5.09	6.50	4.67	5.23
Estheticism	$\bar{X}$	18.44	← 13.46	18.90	← 15.33
	S.D.	4.02	5.22	2.95	4.52
Complexity	$\bar{X}$	24.29	← 16.34	24.00	← 17.29
	S.D.	4.26	5.77	4.60	6.50
Autonomy	$\bar{X}$	35.43	← 30.48	37.64	← 31.29
	S.D.	5.43	8.43	4.05	8.53
Religious Orientation	$\bar{X}$	18.91	17.29	19.40	← 16.10
	S.D.	4.40	4.77	3.63	5.94
Social Extroversion	$\bar{X}$	21.72	21.66	21.18	20.33
	S.D.	6.87	9.09	6.96	7.46
Impulse Expression	$\bar{X}$	46.30	← 34.83	43.94	← 29.24
	S.D.	8.01	10.22	7.85	8.70
Personal Integration	$\bar{X}$	28.16	→ 33.23	28.12	→ 34.00
	S.D.	11.71	10.35	10.44	10.98
Anxiety Level	$\bar{X}$	11.77	12.09	10.84	→ 13.67
	S.D.	4.85	5.46	4.40	5.28
Altruism	$\bar{X}$	19.90	21.00	21.90	22.14
	S.D.	5.34	5.76	5.63	6.29
Practical Outlook	$\bar{X}$	8.60	→ 11.29	7.12	9.19
	S.D.	4.39	5.80	4.19	4.99
Masculinity-Femininity	$\bar{X}$	26.87	→ 31.23	22.08	→ 25.24
	S.D.	4.47	6.57	4.17	6.31
Response Bias	$\bar{X}$	12.10	→ 14.17	10.66	→ 14.86
	S.D.	4.02	4.08	4.19	5.29

Overall Significance Levels:  $F = 19.28, p < .001$        $F = 12.15, p < .001$

Arrows indicate significant individual scale comparisons; direction is in terms of the higher score.

comparison;  $F = 12.15, df 13/57, p < .001$  for the female comparison).

Applying Marascuilo's (1966) multiple-comparison technique to each of the subscales, it can be seen that in the case of the males, eight of the individual scales contribute significantly to the difference between the student and non-student groups. For the females, nine of the individual scales significantly differentiate the two groups.

These same data are portrayed graphically and in standard score form in Figure 1. (For a description of the norms upon

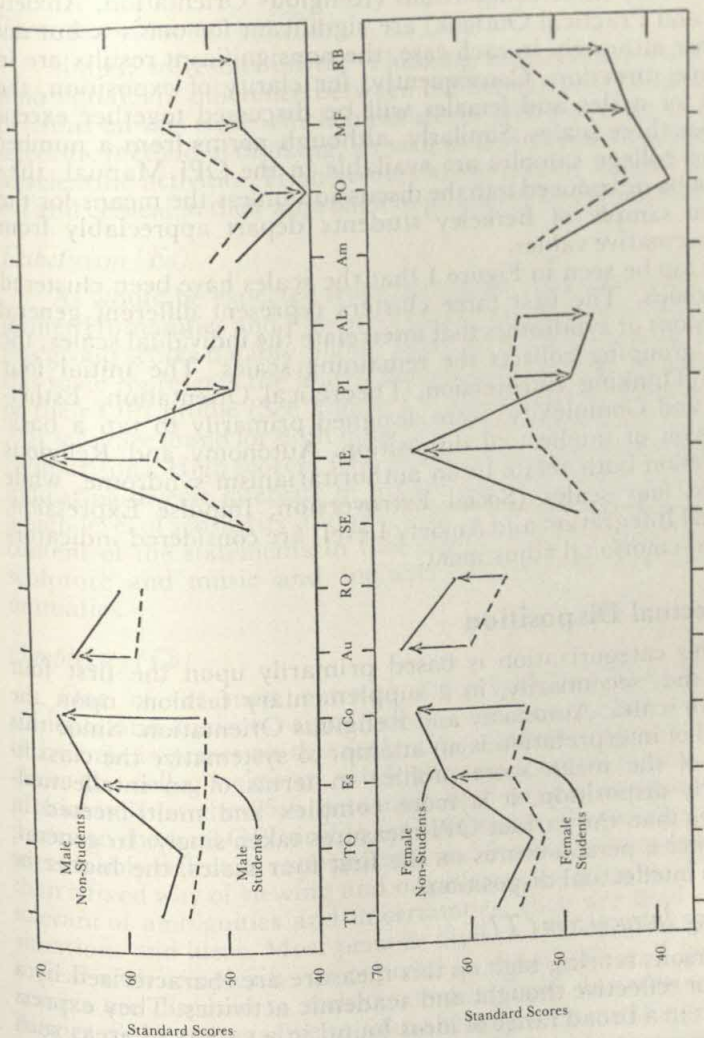


FIGURE 1  
Mean Standard Score Profiles on the OPI for Males and Females (Vertical arrows, directed in terms of the relationship of non-students as contrasted to students, indicate significant individual scale comparisons.)

which these standard scores are based, the reader is referred to the OPI Manual.)

It is apparent from the data in Table 1 and Figure 1 that the trends obtained for non-student males and females are strikingly similar. Only three comparisons (Religious Orientation, Anxiety Level, and Practical Outlook) are significant for one sex but not the other although, in each case, the nonsignificant results are in the same direction. Consequently, for clarity of exposition, the results for males and females will be discussed together except for those three scales. Similarly, although norms from a number of other college samples are available in the OPI Manual, they will not be introduced into the discussion unless the means for the random sample of Berkeley students depart appreciably from these normative values.

It can be seen in Figure 1 that the scales have been clustered into groups. The first three clusters represent different general dimensions or syndromes that interrelate the individual scales; the fourth grouping collects the remaining scales. The initial four scales (Thinking Introversion, Theoretical Orientation, Estheticism, and Complexity) were designed primarily to tap a basic dimension of intellectual disposition. Autonomy and Religious Orientation both relate to an authoritarianism syndrome, while the next four scales (Social Extroversion, Impulse Expression, Personal Integration and Anxiety Level) are considered indicators of social-emotional adjustment.

### Intellectual Disposition

This categorization is based primarily upon the first four scales and, secondarily, in a supplementary fashion, upon the next two scales, Autonomy and Religious Orientation. Since this method of interpretation is an attempt to systematize the classification of the mean score profiles in terms of an intellectual-scholarly disposition, it is more complex and multi-faceted in meaning than the various OPI measures taken singly. In general, the higher a person scores on the first four scales, the higher he rates in intellectual disposition.

#### *Thinking Introversion (TI)*

Persons scoring high on this measure are characterized by a liking for reflective thought and academic activities. They express interests in a broad range of ideas found in a variety of areas such as literature, art, and philosophy. Their thinking is less dominated by immediate conditions and situations or commonly-accepted ideas than that of thinking extroverts (low scorers) who tend to evaluate ideas on the basis of their practicality. Although

all four subgroups rank above the collegiate norms, there is a tendency for the non-students to score even higher than their student counterparts; however, this difference does not approach statistical significance.

### *Theoretical Orientation (TO)*

Similar to results on the Thinking Introversion scale, there is no significant difference between the non-student/student comparisons on this scale which measures a preference for using the scientific method in thinking, as well as an interest in science and in scientific activities. High scorers are generally logical, analytical and critical in their approach to problems and situations.

### *Estheticism (Es)*

As would be expected from the sizable overrepresentation of former Humanities and Fine Arts majors among the non-students, this group scores notably higher than the student sample. In fact, this scale represents the fourth highest score for the non-students on their OPI profile (See Figure 1.). Significant differences at the .001 level are found for both male and female non-student/student comparisons. High scorers (the non-students) endorse statements indicating diverse interests in artistic matters and activities, and a high level of sensitivity and response to esthetic stimulation. The content of the statements in this scale extends beyond painting, sculpture and music and includes interests in literature and dramatics.

### *Complexity (Co)*

One of the most extreme differences between the non-students and students, significant at well beyond the .001 level, is their mean scores on this scale. The student sample is slightly above the collegiate norm, while the non-student means are approximately at the 95th percentile and are the second highest scores on the total OPI profile for both sexes. Non-students, thus, presumably reflect an experimental and flexible orientation rather than a fixed way of viewing and organizing phenomena. They are tolerant of ambiguities and uncertainties; they are fond of novel situations and ideas. Most persons high on this dimension prefer to deal with complexity, as opposed to simplicity, and very high scorers are disposed to seek out and to enjoy diversity and ambiguity. Such persons like to take a chance on something without knowing whether it will really work, to play with new ideas even if they turn out to be a waste of time, and anticipate undertaking projects in which they have no idea about the outcome. The unfinished and imperfect has a greater appeal for them than the

completed and polished, and they believe that for most questions there is more than one right answer. They particularly dislike regulations, prefer friends who are always involved in some difficult problem rather than indulging in "pleasant" friendships, and are politically radical.

In combining these four scales into an overall index of intellectual disposition, the general assumption is made that high scores indicate an orientation toward learning for its own sake. In the OPI Manual, this dimension has been somewhat arbitrarily divided into eight categories; but, in the present paper, adjacent categories have been combined, yielding four divisions ranging from the highest intellectual disposition to basically anti-intellectual attitudes.

Categories 1 and 2 are defined as containing persons with broad, intrinsic interests, with strong esthetic perspectives, with interests oriented toward use of symbols and abstractions, and empirically defined in terms of an average standard score above 61 on the first four scales with TI and TO both above 54, TI or TO above 64, Au or RO above 54. Categories 3 and 4 contain those intellectually concerned, but given more to rational problem solving or achievement orientation and focus upon subject matter. It is categorized by the four-scale average above 53, TI or TO above 54, Au or RO above 44. Categories 5 and 6 relate to interests in academic matters hedged by means-ends emphasis, or orientation, toward the vocational and practical. This category is defined as average above 41, TI or TO below 55, Au or RO below 55. Categories 7 and 8 are for persons with non-intellectual, limited, or anti-intellectual interests and are essentially pragmatic; it is defined as those persons falling below the above scores.

When the respondents are thus categorized, 27% of the non-student males fall in Categories 1 and 2 compared to 9% of the student males ( $p < .05$ ). The corresponding figures for females are in the same direction, but do not reach significance (16% of the non-students *vs.* 5% of the students). Approximately 70% of the non-student males, as contrasted to 50% of the student males, fall in the upper half of the continuum. Similarly, some 75% of the non-student females, compared to 55% of the student females, are categorized in the top half. The interpretation of the results is apparent. The non-students are as intellectually disposed, if not more so, as are the students. However, as to actual performance, no such generalization can be made from the data. Also, Intellectual Disposition as measured here should be interpreted in the light of scores on the several scales relating to social-emotional make-up, and speculations as to achievement potential are best held in abeyance until after these characteristics have been discussed.

## Authoritarian Syndrome

The Autonomy and Religious Orientation scales are basic negative correlates with authoritarianism since they are assessments of the degree of a person's anchorage with the past or the degree of liberalness and emancipation from familial and cultural heritages.

### *Autonomy (Au)*

Although the results on the Autonomy scale show it to be the students' highest score, the non-students score significantly higher. The non-student male mean raw score of 35.43 is the third highest value in this subgroup's mean score profile; whereas, the value of 37.64, noted for the non-student females, is the highest score within their mean-score profile. The normative mean is well below that of either the students or non-students, and the non-students rank approximately at the 95th percentile. Therefore, the non-students, and to a lesser degree the students, likely reflect what the scale purports to measure—liberal, non-authoritarian thinking, and a need for independence. They, thus, tend to be mature and independent of authority as traditionally imposed through social institutions. They oppose infringements on the rights of individuals and are tolerant of viewpoints other than their own; they tend to be nonjudgmental, realistic, and intellectually and politically liberal. Such persons, for example, do *not* feel that parents are generally right about things; that youth ought to get over rebellious ideas and settle down as they grow up; or that it is the responsibility of intelligent leadership to maintain the established order.

### *Religious Orientation (RO)*

High scorers on this scale are skeptical of conventional religious beliefs and practices and reject most of them, especially those that are orthodox or fundamentalistic in nature and, thus, may tend toward agnosticism. The male and female non-students and the male students all score approximately at the 60th percentile with mean raw scores of 18.91, 19.40, and 17.29, respectively, compared to the collegiate norm of 11.8. The female students score somewhat below the three other subgroups at 16.10. No significant difference is found between the males; but the female non-students are significantly higher ( $p < .05$ ) than the female students, even though the latter also score well above the collegiate norm. Thus, the non-students, and to a lesser extent the students, tend to approach the essence of what this scale measures.

More striking differences emerge between the students and

non-students when one examines their religious affiliations. Among the students, 59% respond "none" and 29% embrace one of the more exotic systems (e.g., Kerista, Zen, etc.), whereas among the non-students sampled, 38% and 2% fall in these categories, respectively.

The conclusion to be drawn from results on these two scales is obvious: although the Berkeley students are very low in authoritarianism as compared to the collegiate norms provided, the non-students are dramatically lower. This conclusion is quite congruent with informal observation since the "life style" of the non-student (e.g., rejection of current cultural values, non-conformity, attraction to the unusual and exotic) represents the antithesis of the "authoritarian personality". Scores on these scales, along with the non-students' outstandingly high Complexity scores, suggest a readiness or craving for new experiences and ideas, the novel and the unconventional.

## Social-Emotional Adjustment

Social Extroversion, Impulse Expression, Personal Integration, and Anxiety Level are basic scales used to assess ego-functioning, and patterns obtained on these scales suggest the type and degree of non-clinical, social-emotional disturbance. Patterns on these scales, in conjunction with other score values, also relate to a person's "freedom" to compete and achieve and to his "ability" to interact socially.

### *Social Extroversion (SE)*

This measure is defined in terms of high scorers displaying a strong interest in being with people, seeking social activities and gaining satisfaction from them. The social introvert, or low scorer, tends to withdraw from social contacts and responsibilities. As can be seen in Table 1, the means for students and non-students are virtually identical on this scale.

### *Impulse Expression (IE)*

As with Estheticism and Complexity, and to a lesser extent Autonomy, this scale particularly discriminates between the non-student and student samples. The students, especially the males, score well above the collegiate norm with raw scores of 38.83 and 29.24 for the males and females, respectively. However, the non-student males score 46.30 and the females score 43.34, both of which are significantly different from the obtained student means at beyond the .001 level. This score is the highest obtained by the non-student males in their group profile and a near highest for the female non-students, both ranking above the 95th percentile. The

scale assesses a general readiness to express impulses and to seek gratification either in conscious thought or in overt action. The non-students, interpretatively, have active imaginations, can fantasize easily, value sensual reactions and feelings, and have frequent feelings of rebellion and aggression. They indicate that they often act on the spur of the moment without stopping to think, and that some of their friends think their ideas are impractical if not a bit wild. They confess to having given their teachers at school quite a lot of trouble.

### *Personal Integration (PI)*

Low scorers on this scale admit to attitudes and behavior that characterize socially-alienated or emotionally-disturbed persons. For example, they often intentionally avoid others and experience feelings of hostility and aggression as well as feelings of isolation, loneliness and rejection. Correspondingly, such people wonder who they really are, what they should really be like and, at times, they feel useless and good for nothing. Both male and female non-students fall only slightly below the college mean; whereas, the students score above the mean at approximately the 70th percentile, the difference between the male and female non-student/student comparisons being significant at the .02 and .05 levels, respectively. Thus, relatively, the non-students are lower on the Personal Integration scale but, nevertheless, are near the norm.

A somewhat similar picture emerges when Srole's (1956) Scale of Anomie is used as the measure of alienation. On this scale, which has a possible range of zero to five (a high score indicating greater anomie), the mean for the non-student sample of 2.52 differed significantly from the student mean of 1.37 ( $t = 6.76, p < .01$ ). However, a comparison of these means for the student and non-student groups with the value obtained by Mizuchi (1960) indicates that the difference is, in fact, due to the non-students being high on anomie rather than the students being exceptionally low. Therefore, although the directions of the differences obtained between the present samples are consistent when compared to other norms, the non-students' scores on the Personal Integration scale are near the norm, whereas in Srole's scale, they score well above the norm. This inconsistency may be due either to the particular normative samples, or to the fact that different scales measure slightly different aspects of alienation. The latter point is exemplified by the significant but low correlations obtained between the Srole scale and the PI scale (.38 for the student sample and .32 for the non-students).

*Anxiety Level (AL)*

On this scale, where a low score indicates greater anxiety, both male and female non-students score somewhat below the collegiate norm; whereas, the male students fall at the norm and the female students well above the norm at approximately the 70th percentile. Although the non-students of both sexes score lower than the students, only the female contrast is significant. Thus, compared to students, the non-students (especially the females) tend to state that they have feelings or symptoms of anxiety and admit to being worried or nervous. They tend to be generally more tense and high-strung, may experience some difficulty in adjusting to their social environment, and tend to have a poor opinion of themselves. Similarly, low scorers find it hard to keep their minds on a task or job, have periods of great restlessness, feel difficulties are piling up, and are inclined to take things hard.

Combinations of basically low Social Extroversion, high Impulse Expression, and low Personal Integration are considered by the test developers to be a pattern indicative of general social-emotional disturbance (Heist and Yonge, 1969). This category, which accounted for approximately 10% of the non-students and significantly fewer of the students, indicates individuals who are impulsive, rebellious, frequently hostile, aggressive, alienated and withdrawn from society in general.

A somewhat milder form of this classification might be characterized as typical of the "angry young man" type: one who is rebellious, often socially aggressive, anxious, and who may resort to behavior seen as atypical and illogical by others. Disturbance and anxiety are strong components here. This pattern also comprises approximately 10% of the non-students and significantly fewer students.

The remaining pattern found in any quantity is one characterized by high Impulse Expression as the major contributing factor. Individuals falling in this pattern are extremely active impulse expressors, seeking self-gratification or means of expressing themselves without the control of maturing self-discipline or caution. The propensity to pursue deviant activities is present. Approximately 20% of the non-students and about 10% of the students, an almost significant difference, are found to display such a pattern.

It cannot be stressed too strongly, however, that these classifications, even the most extreme, should not be interpreted as psychopathological. Rather, they are indicative of a general syndrome of alienation and impulse expression which, although deviant in terms of cultural norms, is within the realm of "normal" functioning.

## Other Personality Scales

Unlike the scales discussed thus far, the four remaining scales do not readily fit into meaningful clusters. They are, however, useful in interpreting the total profile. For example, Practical Outlook can be meaningfully related to either the Intellectual Disposition syndrome, correlating negatively with such scales as Estheticism and Complexity, or with the authoritarianism syndrome to which it should typically bear a positive relationship.

### *Altruism (Am)*

No significant differences are found on this scale on which a high score indicates an affiliative person who is trusting and ethical in his relations with others and has a strong concern for the feelings and welfare of other people. Indeed, the means for students and non-students are almost identical.

### *Practical Outlook (PO)*

On this scale, both the students and non-students score considerably below the collegiate norm and, for both groups, this is the lowest score in their OPI profiles. Although the non-students score even lower than the students, this difference only reaches significance for the males. As the title of the scale implies, high scorers are interested in practical, applied activities and tend to value material possessions and concrete accomplishments. The criterion most often used to evaluate ideas and things is one of immediate utility. Authoritarianism, conservatism and non-intellectual interests are very frequent personality components of persons scoring above the average. As low scorers, the non-students represent the antithesis of this portrait and, thus, tend to find greater appeal in the world of ideas than in the world of pragmatic facts.

### *Masculinity-Femininity (MF)*

Since this scale assesses some of the differences in attitudes and interests between college men and women, sex differences, rather than subcultural differences, might be expected to dominate. However, both factors are operative, particularly the latter. Although both male scores are higher (masculine direction of the scale) than the female scores, the more striking observation is that both the non-student scores are significantly lower than their student comparative groups. These mean scores for the male and female non-students are their second-lowest scores on the group OPI profiles surpassed only by the lower Practical Outlook means. Hence, the non-students, especially the males, relative to their student counterparts of the same sex, are more feminine in

their attitudes and interests. Besides having stronger esthetic and social inclinations, they admit to more adjustment problems, feelings of anxiety, and personal inadequacies as well as to greater sensitivity and emotionality. These lower non-student scores are to be expected considering their extremely strong interest in estheticism (previously noted) and the fact that this is a basic component of "feminine" interests as well as of the intellectually disposed.

### *Response Bias (RB)*

This scale represents an approach to assessing the test-taking attitude; high scorers respond to the task in a manner similar to a group of students who are explicitly asked to make a good impression by their responses. It is interesting that on this scale the non-students score significantly lower than the students, reflecting in all likelihood a more honest self-appraisal. Such candid responses again are quite consistent with the picture of ruthless self-analysis on the part of alienated Harvard students portrayed by Keniston (1965).

### **In Conclusion . . .**

Looking at the OPI data as a whole, it is obvious that the non-students of both sexes present more pronounced profiles. Figure 1 illustrates the fact that the non-student mean scores range across 30 standard scores, whereas the student scores tend to hover near the collegiate norms. It is equally obvious that the non-student profiles for *both* sexes are exceptionally similar. Greater homogeneity on the part of the non-student sample was also indicated by the observation that 27 out of the 28 standard deviations were smaller for the non-students as compared to the corresponding student data. Psychological homogeneity, such as obtained, might be expected to prevail in any such subculture because of the self-selection factors involved in entry and the generally-found tendency for people with similar viewpoints to be attracted to one another (Newcomb, 1962).

### *High Complexity and Impulse Expression Scores . . .*

Perhaps the most prominent finding that is descriptive of the phantasmagoric "average" non-student is the extreme height of the Complexity and Impulse Expression scores, especially together, which is apparently a basic component of nonconformity and Bohemiana. This represents the need to seek self-gratification, to "experiment" with life and new experiences, to express oneself and not to be contained by regulations and conventions. In fact, the combination of these high scores may be interpreted

to mean that many non-students may have a NEED to seek out the ambiguous—that is, more than just tolerate it.

### *High Intellectual Disposition . . .*

A second notable finding is the indication that the intellectual disposition of the non-students is stronger than their student counterparts as shown by the initial four scales. This conclusion is further supported by the higher Autonomy scores on the part of the non-students, especially in conjunction with the support of elevated scores on Religious Orientation and Estheticism, which suggests a higher degree of sophistication, greater independence of judgment, and just plain absence of conventional, rigid, authoritarian thinking.

Heist, McConnell, Matsler, and Williams (1961); McConnell and Heist (1962); Warren and Heist (1960); and Weissman (1965) discuss the OPI (in its earlier form) as an indicator of intellectuality; and the general picture of the bright youth is one who is more flexible in his thinking, more impulsive, more tolerant of ambiguity, less authoritarian, more theoretically inclined, more independent and unconventional. This portrait parallels quite closely non-student characteristics as shown by the OPI, Form F. Similarly, in rather diverse samples, the OPI scales of intellectual attitudes (Thinking Introversion, Theoretical Orientation, Complexity, and Estheticism), as well as the liberal attitude or "non-authoritarian thinking" scales (Autonomy and Religious Orientation), are generally positively related to measures of verbal ability (Heist and Yonge, 1969); and, on these scales, the non-students consistently tend to score higher than the student sample.

### *High Estheticism Score . . .*

The third basic observation is the elevation of the Estheticism scale, without Thinking Introversion and Theoretical Orientation, but along with Complexity. Such a pattern happens to show up continually in persons interested in or strong in "the arts" and in those with creative potential. High Impulse Expression and Femininity and Low Personal Integration, as again illustrated by the non-students, also represent a score pattern or combination that has been noted as characteristic of creative persons. Similarly, the high Autonomy and Religious (liberal) Orientation data are in line with the creative syndrome. All of these OPI scales correlate with the Creative Personality scale of the Opinion, Attitude, Interest Survey (OAIS) (Heist and Yonge, 1969). A general portrait of the creative person has been developed by the work of numerous researchers (Barron, 1961; Crutchfield, 1963; Gough, 1961; Helson, 1961; MacKinnon, 1961; Sanford, 1966;

Taylor, 1964). Such individuals are characterized as being, beyond having some necessary basic level of intelligence, more esthetic, more open to diverse experiences and ideas, more autonomous or independent, liberal if not radical in their attitudes, flexible in their thinking and lower in authoritarianism, freer in their expression of impulses, more open to the irrational in themselves, more complex, possibly more emotionally sensitive and introverted, and more feminine in their interests. It is apparent that the non-student OPI profile parallels such a portrait very closely.

The similarity of the non-student profile to that of creative individuals and their relatively high level of intellectual disposition suggests the potentiality for creative achievement. However, comparing non-students with youth or adults of proven creativeness, there are other indications that certain factors might hinder, in various degrees, the individual non-student's achievement. Other than the fact of their present withdrawal from formal education, which may or may not be essential for the full development and/or use of their talent, genuineness in scholarship appears to be unlikely. The non-student elevation of the Esthetic and Complexity scales of the OPI contributes to both an intellectual and creative potential, but there should be, or "must" be, higher scores on Thinking Introversion and Theoretical Orientation, which are relatively depressed, for serious scholarship to be expected. This is the general interpretation of the J-shaped curve noted in the initial cluster of scales. Obtained differences at the mean score level indicate that the non-student is generally more sensitive and expressive than he is analytical, methodical and utilitarian. Such individuals feel that scholarship and academic discipline are, as an approach, too pragmatic and specialized. The extremely low Practical Outlook and equally high Impulse Expression are in line with the above prognosis concerning achievement. The non-student has many of the intellectual and creative elements contributing to the potential, but is perhaps lacking the self-discipline needed for practical, realistic purposes as well as hindered, to some unknown degree, by the need to express impulses openly and immediately.

#### *Socio-Emotionally Maladjusted . . .*

Lastly, it is noted that there is a tendency on the part of non-students to appear socio-emotionally maladjusted as contrasted to the student sample. Although this neurotic syndrome may reflect an area of psychological conflict not yet resolved and not atypical of many youths (Erikson, 1950; Keniston, 1965; Mussen, 1961; Sanford, 1966) and which may undergo amelioration via the maturational processes over time, it is also appreciated that

such tendencies are often characteristically tenacious. The ramifications of such a condition can contribute to a vicious spiral. Similarly, Seeman (1966) reports that persons who feel powerless and alienated from society have a lowered interest in learning and ability to learn; i.e., to the extent that a student feels ineffective to control his future, he will not learn as well what he needs to know to affect it. Anomie among college students was found by Benson (1966) to be negatively related to the number of hours of studying. Furthermore, the topics to which the alienated devote themselves are not always academically required at the time, nor are they always academically respectable. Keniston (1965) describes the not-unknown syndrome of the alienated college student who experiences loss of interest in a topic by the very fact of its assignment. Many individuals share this predilection for topics at once personally meaningful and as distant as possible from the orthodoxies of the academic establishment. The academic fate of students so disposed obviously depends in large part on the outlook of their college. Generally, such individuals do not succeed. They underachieve and/or drop out.

Hence, the psychological description of the non-students suggests that they might well have had difficulty within formal education due to their alienation, propensity for nonconformity, lack of self-discipline and tendency toward maladjustive behavior.

As shown by Newcomb, Koenig, Flacks, and Warwick (1967), collegiate deviants tended to drop out at a far higher rate than non-deviants as one way of coping with the strain induced by perceived discrepancies between personal attitudes and those regarded as the norm. Those who leave have basically two alternatives before them: entrance forthwith into the adult world of work, or entrance into a deviant subculture compatible with their original attitudinal hierarchy. The non-student has chosen the latter. Some of them, perhaps, will realize their potentialities outside the Academy, as the artistic and creative always have. Others, undoubtedly, will reenter and have a sporadic and prolonged college career. The prognosis is very vague, and there are no research findings available that have attempted to follow-up the life patterns and adjustment of such individuals.

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## Poor Youth: A Study in Forced Alienation

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I'm not out to get Whitey . . . I'm just out to get out . . . They talk about gettin out . . . They carried signs about gettin out . . . Now looks like you got to burn the place down and shoot your way out . . .

The comments are those of a seventeen year old Black male who was actively involved in the Newark riots of 1967. He was not part of an organized movement. He does not believe that he has to confirm his masculinity through acts of violence. He does not explain his behavior by stressing the many years that Blacks have been exploited and discriminated against. He is not seeking vengeance. Although he has heard of Carmichael, Brown and King he knows little of their ideologies nor is he overly concerned with their intentions. He seeks neither intimate contact with Whites nor continued existence within a racial ghetto.

His actions and his words make one thing clear . . . he wants a change of status and he wants it now. He wants out of the slums. He wants out of unemployment. He wants out of a physical setting which restricts mobility and maximizes feelings of personal defeat. He sees himself as standing on the outside and he wants in.

His behavior like that of so many other ghetto youth should place him in the category marked "Alienated". He is not abiding by societal expectations. He is not following the established means of goal attainment. He rejects the laws and folkways which are traditionally employed in the airing of grievances. He is not bothered by norms which are supposed to govern his behavior and his expressed attitudes. He not only goes beyond the limits

set for adults but he also violates the special and somewhat more liberal ground rules which exist for adolescents. He is alienated.

Alienation not only takes many forms but it also touches many segments of the population. Kenniston's (1965) alienated are significantly different in both background and behavior from Black urban youth. Being a member of a racial or religious minority may enhance the probability of withdrawal but it is not a necessary variable. Yet when we talk about alienation the tendency is to include both the Harvard undergraduate who chooses the garb of the Hippie and the Harlem drop out who joins with the Black Muslims. Although both are similar in their overt rejection of traditional means and goals there are important differences.

A major difference is found in the cause of the withdrawal. The middle class adolescent rejects the dominant culture and chooses to remove himself from the established socialization process. No matter whether his assessment be realistic or not—the choice of involvement or estrangement is usually with him.

The middle class Hippie, Teeny Bopper, Beat or adolescent who is not readily identifiable by some group association but adopts a life style which we label as deviant, is not the product of an unjust economic system. He is not the victim of a social order which blocks entry into the dominant culture. The estrangement, for the most part, is the result of a voluntary act. The middle class adolescent has other alternatives. No matter how painful or absurd is the business of growing up in America he can stay within the accepted framework if he chooses to do so. He is not forced to withdraw or to take on the role of the alienated. He most often has sufficient referents who have both the desire and the ability to help him attain the good life.

Kenniston's alienated youth reject the American culture which they see as, "trash, cheap and commercial". It is a rejection of the middle class:

"I have come to experience horror at the good American way of life, namely, the comfortable middle class existence. . . . This seems to be boring me" (1965, 59).

## **The Poor Adolescent . . .**

The poor adolescent, and this is probably most true of urban Black males, does not reject the middle class style of living. He does not reject the "comfortable middle class life". Given the choice he would gladly exchange his current status with the disenchanting of Harvard, Vassar and Yale. Although he may mock the behavior and fashions of the more affluent he does not see the good life as overly phony, commercial or cheap. His brief encounters with the middle class occur through the mass media and his

own forays beyond the ghetto walls. What he sees he likes. He sees well dressed people driving powerful cars. He sees ladies and gentlemen eating in fine restaurants. He sees people who can leave their cars for others to park; he sees these same people being waited upon and catered to by others. The others are frequently Blacks.

Attempting to show him that "all that glitters is not gold" can prove a frustrating business. He is quick to tell you that he recognizes that these people have problems and they are confronted with all kinds of difficulties. He makes clear that he knows that making it is not easy and one has to work. At the same time the hardships that are related to him as being part of upward mobility cannot compare with the misery and pain he has already experienced in his own short life. If the good life means ulcers and mental stress it is a better bargain than rat bites, hunger and a rejecting society.

Certainly sociologists have given considerable attention to the study of social class and variations in attitudes and behavior. In seeking to explain the non-middle class behavior of poor adolescents, sociologists do present a variety of approaches. Although it would be difficult, in any precise fashion, to classify all orientations into neat theoretical categories, there appears to be two prevalent views (Hyman, 1953, 426-442; Hollingshead, 1949; Knupfer, 1963; Svalastoga, 1964; Warner, 1941).

The first would be "They Want In But Get it Knocked Out of Them". This approach is found in the work of Merton as well as in Cohen's analysis of delinquent behavior among poor youth (Cohen, 1954; Merton, 1957, 131-160). In contrast there is the "They Really Do Not Want In" direction proposed by Miller (1958), Warner (1941), Hollingshead (1949), and Friedenberg (1964).

More specifically the "They Want In But Can't Make It" proponents argue that "there is a common American culture which tends to indoctrinate all groups in our society with relatively high status aspirations, and the possession of material goods and high style of living are the sovereign symbols of status and success in American Society" (Cohen, 1961, 106). Ethnic, racial, and class groupings are seen as fairly similar in their aspirations but quite unequal in their abilities to attain the good life. Through everyday experiences, the poor come to learn that the combination of inadequate skills and socially appropriate means minimizes their chances for success. The end result is usually some form of rebellion or apathy.

Counter to the foregoing, the "They Really Do Not Want In" group views the behavior of lower class youth not so much a reaction to a social system which prevents entrance into the good life

but rather an outcome of a unique and different set of values held by the lower class. Poor youth are seen as having internalized a set of values which happen to be in conflict with the cultural patterns and status criteria assigned to the middle class. Apathy is not the result of failure which comes with admission that "I cannot make it" but rather it is a built in feature of the lower class socialization process. Rebellion occurs not because the system is seen as unfair but because the system demands acceptance of certain values and goals which are incompatible with the values and goals of lower class culture.

### **What Do the Poor Want?**

Given the number of studies which have dealt with social class and youth behavior and a national concern with the poor, it does seem odd that we cannot at this stage of the art answer what appear to be fairly simple questions. Namely, what do poor youth want and how do their goals differ from those youth from more affluent backgrounds? Secondly, what are the social factors which appear to facilitate or block attainment of expressed goals? While there are no doubt many factors which could account for our inability to answer these questions, I would propose the following:

In our literature, in our meetings, and in our classrooms we have talked continuously of lower class values, middle class values, and upper class values as if there were a fixed set of criteria for each of these groupings. At the same time research in the field of social stratification makes it abundantly clear that there is much overlap in the values and attitudes of respondents in each of the designated socio-economic categories. The general tendency has been to disregard or play down the similarities and to highlight the differences. When explanations are offered to account for the behavior of those in one class who act like those in some other class we resort to the reference group concept. The lower class child who either indicates an interest in higher education or does in fact go to college is viewed as an oddity who is not really a full-fledged member of his own social class but rather a person with a middle class orientation. While this interpretation may be of theoretical comfort, it does little to explain why some middle class youth do not go to college nor why once in college some of these same youth will abandon what we have come to call middle class standards in preference for a life style which we have come to associate with the lower class.

### **And What is "Middle Class"?**

Where a sociologist is bold enough to define what he means by middle class life the content is often fuzzy and the variables

difficult to measure in some precise quantitative form. An example would be in Cohen's attempt to describe the value and behavior of the middle class:

Ambition, a pattern of deferred gratification, an ethic of individual responsibility, the possession of skills especially those of potential academic, economic and occupational value; the rationale cultivation of manners, courtesy and personableness, which involves patience, self-discipline, and the control of emotional expression, physical aggression and violence (1954).

Although we have been quick to speculate on the validity of data obtained through use of standardized tests because we see these instruments as culturally biased, we have, I would propose, built similar biases into our own research methods.

In his discussion of the value systems of different social classes, Hyman utilizes survey data compiled by others (1953). He notes that, in response to a question dealing with college going preferences for their children, poor adults are less likely than other adults to indicate a desire for college. The distribution of responses, by class, is given as evidence of difference in value systems. Because of a failure to consider possible intervening variables this same distribution could be explained in other ways. It could well be that the poor hold lower educational aspirations for their children not because they devalue education but rather that they lack realistic knowledge as to the costs of higher education; that they do not consider it appropriate to make such decisions for their children; or that they fail to see a relationship between higher education and the goals they hold for their children. In any event, I would suggest, that we cannot assume from the marginal distributions that the poor place less value on education than do individuals from other socio-economic groups.

In the same manner the selection of lower status occupations by poor youth could be explained by lack of sophistication on their part as to the range of occupations which might be available.

Certainly Coleman's study of the Elmtown High School would suggest that when other factors are introduced social class differences tend to have less impact than was reported by Hollingshead in his study of the same school (1961).

Part of our bias in methodology has stemmed from a failure to differentiate between what we observe in the behavior of a respondent and what the respondent holds as important. The fact that those who live in poverty have kitchens and living rooms which are not as attractive as those found in many suburbs does not mean that the poor necessarily prefer this way of life. Observed life styles at any given time may be as much a result of contemporary social and economic conditions as they are a pref-

erence to live in a certain way. There is certainly a need to differentiate between the abilities and the desires of the individual.

### **Bias in Research Samples . . .**

In the selection of research samples we have built in yet another bias which contributes to our inability to be more precise in what we can conclude about youth from different class backgrounds.

Early studies (Lynd and Lynd, 1929; Hollingshead, 1949; Warner, 1941) took place in small communities where most adolescents attended the same high school. In this type of setting the impact of social class would tend to be greater than in a contemporary urban high school where there would be less variation in the socioeconomic status of students. More recently the tendency has been to concentrate on students in suburban high schools and those in college and as a result the research focus is on middle class youth.

Until very recently most research dealing with poor adolescents has focused on the dynamics of delinquency, drug addiction or other forms of deviant behavior. With few exceptions much of what we know about low income adolescents is based on studies of youth in the streets. By comparison there is little empirical data pertaining to a fairly significant portion of the population—lower class youth in urban and rural high schools, at work, in the armed forces or those involved in educational or vocational training programs.

Finally, in looking at the poor we have frequently failed to differentiate between the various ethnic and racial groups. Treating all youth from similar income or occupational backgrounds as if they were cut from a common cloth does not allow for the identification of important differences in values, attitudes and behaviors.

Prior to the presentation and examination of data dealing with what poor youth say they want and what they see as the barriers to goal attainment I would like to make several observations based on recent experiences in working directly with the poor.

### **“The Good Life” . . .**

First, in all of my contacts and interviews with urban youth (the personal and detailed interviews number in the hundreds) I have yet to meet one who has expressed a preference for a life of poverty or alienation. I have not heard one who has said that he would want to remain within the ghetto as it now exists. When talking about what they seek their comments bring to mind “the

good life" as presented in television shows which deal with the "typical American family". They talk about nice homes and nice cars. They talk about good jobs, jobs with a future. They talk about homes which are large enough to guarantee some privacy from others. They talk about nice neighborhoods and safe places for their children to play. They talk about lawns, trees and summer vacations. They talk about clothes, a proper spouse and educational opportunities for their children. When the urban male, especially the Black, describes the ideal occupation it is a white collar job. There is little interest in dead end jobs or sweaty T shirt employment.

How quickly ghetto youth will take on the characteristics of the middle class can be noted in observing the changes that occur among these youth when they arrive at a college campus. During the past three summers I have observed inner city Black youth who were part of Upward Bound programs at Yale, Dartmouth and Harvard.

Briefly the purpose of Upward Bound is to identify poor students in need of academic assistance. These same students are assigned to college campuses for varying lengths of time. The students being discussed here were part of a summer program.

Upon arrival the typical pattern is for a quick abandonment of the old life style and the acceptance of the perceived college student culture. Obviously initial changes will be limited to the more visible aspects of the self. Plaid bermuda shorts replace shiny tapered trousers; madras summer caps are substituted for pipe felt hats (an important part of the ghetto peer culture); pipe smoking replaces cigarettes; and there is obvious pride in the wearing of a shirt which carries the name of the college attended. No matter how brief the contact with the college it does appear to have some impact. University staff working with these students are impressed with how quickly new behavior styles are acquired. Changes occur not only in dress but there is an acceptance of the traditional with respect to how college students behave in the classroom, how they study, and how they are responsible for their living quarters. Although there is a tendency for some university officials to look to these same students when there is a theft on campus there is little evidence that they have been guilty of stealing or vandalism. On the contrary there is a general feeling that compared to typical students the Upward Bound enrollees conduct themselves as gentlemen. Other staff note with some surprise the fascination these adolescents have with words and the obvious desire to expand their vocabulary. Desire to become an integral part of the student culture includes involvement in a new set of leisure time activities. These same students will attend and enjoy concerts, foreign films and theater presentations.

Whether they were being naive or whether they were behaving as they felt campus staff would expect them to behave is not the crucial question. Nor is it essential that the observation be made that this is no doubt a selective group hence not an acceptable sample from which to generalize. It is my experience that no matter how poor, how deprived or how disadvantaged, whenever it is suggested that poor youth may in fact hold middle class aspirations there are bound to be cries of sample bias. At the same time critics are unable to indicate precisely what segments of the population might be added or deleted in order for the sample to earn methodological approval.

Nor do I believe it is necessary to speculate on the permanence of these recently acquired behaviors. Obviously without some reinforcement and support the probabilities of continuation are minimized. More important is the fact that these youth by their very presence have indicated some real desire to accept the "establishments" concept of how youth should be socialized.

### **Urban Poor Want Middle Class Status**

It is my position that poor urban youth do in fact seek entrance into a style of life which we have come to identify with middle class status. The observed alienation of the poor is not the result of a voluntary rejection of legitimate means or ends. Poor adolescents do not seek to stand on the side lines. They do not see the middle class culture as either crass or overly commercial. Nor are they inclined to reject a regulated 9 to 5 employment pattern. Their alienation is more a product of an inability to come up with the resources, material, social and psychological requirements for middle class goal attainment than is it a rejection of middle class goals and values. What poor youth lack, are the referents and interventionists who have the ability and desire to help them acquire the skills, both social and educational skills which are essential for upward mobility in our society. Unlike their middle class counterparts poor adolescents do not have access to adults who have the power and desire to assist in the socialization process. Among the poor there is a real shortage of adults who can actually show and tell the adolescent what he should be doing in order to make the grade. There are few referents who can help convince the youngster that there is a meaningful relationship between what he is being asked to do in school and his own goals. There are few who can help explain or prove the real payoff to formal education. Obviously there are few poor parents who have the wherewithal to buy off a son or daughter in order to keep them in school. Finally, there are few adults who

will intervene on behalf of the poor adolescent when he is confronted by the demands and pressures of institutional inequity.

## Winners and Losers

Not all middle class college students embrace the Hippie culture nor do all poor youth fail to gain entrance into the good life. A comparison of two samples of poor youth, one consisting of adolescents who are making it (at least at the time these data were collected) and the second of youth who were not making it (again, at the time these data were obtained), should provide a better understanding of the impact of both values and background factors on adolescent alienation.

In this case those making it will be considered Winners. Winners since at the time of the investigation these youth were following the expected and accepted process—they were enrolled in school when they should have been. The Winners are a sample of 737 low income Black and white male seniors, attending the same high schools, in three different Eastern cities. The sample of Losers consists of 3,602 Black and white urban males, between the ages of 16 and 18. They are losers in that they were neither in school or employed in full time occupations at the time they were studied. The Losers were enrollees in the Job Corps. They do not represent a random sample of Job Corps enrollees since the Job Corps deals with youth between the ages of 16 and 21 from both rural and urban areas. In order to minimize differences between the two samples only urban youth of high school age have been included in the Job Corps sample.<sup>1</sup>

## Who Are They

From the background records of some 100,000 male Job Corps enrollees we get the following profile of the Losers: he is about seventeen and a half years of age; although he has completed nine years of formal education his reading score indicates a 6.7 grade level. While the majority of male enrollees show no previous record of delinquent behavior, twenty-seven per cent (27%) had committed some minor act of delinquency and ten per cent (10%) were convicted of a more serious offense. Less than a

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<sup>1</sup>These data were not originally collected in order to conduct a comparative analysis. Both sets of data were obtained independently as part of two separate investigations. In both cases paper and pencil questionnaires were the primary source of information. In instances where comparisons are made, similar questions were asked of respondents in both samples. Despite certain methodological shortcomings the data does help pinpoint where variations exist between Winners and Losers.

fourth had some previous contact with a doctor or a dentist for a ten year period prior to their entrance into the Job Corps. Only ten per cent (10%) held full time jobs at the time they entered the program and of those employed the average hourly salary was less than a \$1.00 per hour.

Comparative data dealing with family structure are presented in the four tables which follow. Each of the tables notes comparisons between Losers and Winners as well as Black and white subjects.

Table I indicates that while Winners are more likely to have fathers with higher levels of formal education there is little difference between Blacks and Whites within each category. For both racial groups fathers of Winners are almost twice as likely as the fathers of Losers to have completed high school.

TABLE I  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE, AND FATHER'S EDUCATION  
PER CENT—FATHERS WHO COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL

WINNERS		LOSERS	
White %	Black %	White %	Black %
41 N (458)	46 (269)	24 (2001)	25 (1462)

The distribution of occupational status for fathers is similar to the table dealing with education with one important exception. While fathers of the Winners are less likely to be laborers than fathers of Losers, Black fathers in both categories hold the lowest occupational positions even though they hold the higher educational achievement. This lack of a positive relationship between education and occupational status may, in part at least, explain why Black youth, more so than whites, see other factors in addition to education as being important to upward mobility.

TABLE II  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE, AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION  
PER CENT

Occupational Category	WINNERS		LOSERS	
	White %	Black %	White %	Black %
Professional-Technical	9	6	7	6
White Collar	22	19	21	11
Skilled	46	44	42	39
Labor-Service	14	27	24	35
Other	9	4	6	9
Per Cent	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
N	411	256	2074	1453

## Family Stability

A major difference between Black and white youth is found when an examination is made of family stability. Although the Moynihan Report has encountered much in the way of criticism the data obtained from both Winners and Losers would tend to support his observation that there is less family stability in Black homes. Keeping in mind that in both samples we are dealing with fairly homogeneous populations with respect to fathers education, occupation and place of residence (again, these are all urban youth) it will be noted that Whites, be they Winners or Losers, are more likely than Blacks to come from homes where they lived with both parents. Less than half the Black Losers and fifty-eight per cent (58%) of the Black Winners come from intact families while more than seventy per cent of the whites in both groups report they lived with both a mother and a father. These differences reflect not only the greater lack of a male role model for Black youth but contributes to the fact that Black youth are less likely than whites to have access to adults who can assist them in the attainment of acceptable goals.

TABLE III  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE AND FAMILY STABILITY  
PER CENT LIVING WITH BOTH PARENTS

WINNERS		LOSERS	
White %	Black %	White %	Black %
73	58	64	48
N (426)	(252)	(2014)	(1461)

Marked differences are also found when comparisons are made in the current working status of fathers. Again, Winners do better than Losers with Black Losers most likely to report their fathers as being out of work at the time they enrolled in the Job Corps.

TABLE IV  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE, AND FATHER'S CURRENT JOB STATUS  
PER CENT FATHERS WORKING

WINNERS		LOSERS	
White %	Black %	White %	Black %
88	92	72	51
N (443)	(251)	(2003)	(1362)

It should be anticipated of course that Losers would not fare as well as Winners given the ground rules for entrance into the Job Corps. The Job Corps concentrates on those young men and women who are out of school and out of work. At the same time it is precisely these differences—a deprivation in resources and conditions required for successful mobility—rather than the holding of values which conflict with middle class standards, which play an important part in determining the current status of these youth. Clearly, Black adolescents have to have more going for them in order to make it than do whites. Yet even among the white Losers the impact of family disorganization, fathers education and employment history of the father can readily be observed.

As will be noted in the comments and data which follow there appear to be few differences in the expressed goals and desires of both samples of poor youth. There is however variation between Losers and Winners with respect to what they see as the factors which may enhance or prevent them from living the kinds of life they desire. Certainly it would be expected that past encounters and experiences will play some part in how these youth feel about themselves and their chances.

### What Do They Want

During the early stages of research with Job Corps enrollees it was found that attempting to identify specific occupational aspirations was a most complex problem. In most cases the youngster would reply that he was not really sure of the job he wanted and that a major reason for his entering the program was to obtain counseling and training so that he could make a realistic decision. In an effort to get some response, the question of occupational preference was rephrased in the following manner:

"Well let's lay aside your previous experiences and the reasons you entered the Job Corps. Now, if you could get any job you wanted, what would it be?"

Not too surprisingly such a question brought about reactions of astonishment. Many enrollees would point out, and rightfully so, that one could not disregard his past, his training and that the future, while still unknown to some extent, had to be considered. Other enrollees would strain themselves to come up with a reply since they assumed it was probably expected that all young people should know at any given time precisely what they wanted to do with their adult lives. Where answers were given, they were in vague terms saying more about the general characteristics of the job and less about a specific occupation. Finally, it became apparent that many of these young men were extremely limited in their scope of the occupation world and the types of employment

which could be available to them if they did complete their educational and vocational training. The lack of sophistication as to the range of potential occupational placements reflects once again a lack of referents who could assist the youngster in making realistic career choices. In addition this same uncertainty as to the range of career alternatives may help explain why poor youth are more likely than middle class adolescents to think in terms of less prestigious occupations.

It was primarily because of the reasons mentioned that the data dealing with occupational futures concentrate on the nature of the job as opposed to the identification of a specific career.

### Desired Job Characteristics

In the tables which follow an attempt will be made, when ever possible, to note comparisons between the Losers and the Winners. Unlike earlier data dealing with background variables the information pertaining to goals were not obtained by asking the same types of questions.

Table V shows a breakdown of certain general job characteristics. It will be noted that matching data from Winners was limited to four items. Where comparisons can be made few dif-

TABLE V  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE AND DESIRED JOB CHARACTERISTICS  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

CHARACTERISTICS	WINNERS		LOSERS	
	White	Black	White	Black
The pay is good	86	91	89	88
Sure of steady employment	93	89	89	85
If you work hard you can get ahead	93	89	92	89
Opportunity to use own ideas	66	70	70	74
The hours are good	*	*	81	83
The place is clean	*	*	82	87
You can take a break once in a while	*	*	70	73
You don't have to do the same thing all the time	*	*	46	48
Don't have to work hard all the time	*	*	49	62
You can be outdoors a lot	*	*	59	32
You can run big machines	*	*	56	60
You can do complicated things with your hands	*	*	59	69
Use your head a lot	*	*	70	82
	N (443)	(260)	(2097)	(1411)

\*Not asked of Winners.

ferences are noted between the two groups. The greatest variation is in the case of "security in steady employment" where there is a difference of eight per cent (8%) between white Winners and Black Losers.

Among the Losers there are 5 of 13 items in which the difference between Blacks and Whites exceeds five per cent. Each of these might be explained by a general occupational orientation which has been observed among Job Corps enrollees. Reports from staff at the various centers as well as more detailed analysis of existing data indicates that three variables play an important part in determining career orientation: race, age, and residence. The enrollee most likely to show a preference for the more white collar occupations are older, urban, Black youth. However, when comparisons are made between youth of a similar age and residential background it is still the Black who holds the higher level occupational aspirations.

Upon entrance into the Job Corps, Blacks express a greater desire for training in the white collar areas such as data processing, clerical, sales and general office centered work while Caucasians place a greater initial interest in training related to machinery and construction.

Black youth appear to have an initial indoor-office preference, Caucasians are more likely to seek the out-door shop setting.

In other areas there is general agreement between both racial groups. They do desire a pleasant work setting, job security and an opportunity to use their own ideas. A little less than half note that they are willing to work at tasks where there is little change in routine.

While direct occupational preferences comparisons between Winners and Losers are not available the expressed choice of

TABLE VI  
WINNERS, RACE, AND CAREER PLANS  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH TYPE

Career Category	WINNERS	
	White	Black
Professional-Technical	49	59
Farm-Ranch Owner	1	1
Manager-Official	6	7
Clerical	5	12
Sales	3	1
Skilled Trade-Craft	27	12
Machine Operator	8	4
Service	3	3
Laborer	1	1
	Per Cent (100)	(100)
	N 436	228

Winners does offer some basis for noting general similarities and differences.

Not unlike the racial distribution found among Losers, Black Winners do show a greater preference for the more professional occupations than do Caucasians. Over three-fourths (79%) of the black Winners and less than two-thirds (63%) of the white Winners select an occupation which could be considered as falling within the indoor-white collar job setting (i.e. professional, managerial, sales, and clerical). The greatest differences are found in the "Professional" group with Blacks showing the stronger preference and in the "Skilled Trade or Craft" where Whites indicate a greater interest.

Clearly there are few in the group who anticipate employment at less than the skilled worker level.

### Losers-Winners Same Job Desires

The occupational choices of the Winners seem to incorporate desired general job characteristics which are very much like those selected by Losers. There is less variation between Winners and Losers, than there is between Blacks and Whites. Both Winners and Losers seek good pay, job security, an opportunity to use their own ideas. Both share a preference for the more complex, prestigious occupations.

TABLE VII  
LOSERS, RACE AND DESIRED JOB CHARACTERISTICS  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

Characteristics	LOSERS	
	White	Black
You get along with the people with whom you work	91	89
You get along with the boss	92	89
You can work on your own	67	71
You can tell others what to do	27	35
Others believe your work is important	61	61
You can meet a lot of people	69	77
You are not always being told what to do	64	62
	N (2111)	(1475)

Table VII is a further exploration of desired Job characteristics of Losers with the emphasis on the more interpersonal aspects of the occupation. Differences between Blacks and Caucasians are few with the exception of two items. Black youth are more likely to express a need for telling others what to do and for being in a job setting where they can meet other people.

These differences fit in with the already noted observation that Black youth are more inclined than whites to state a preference for jobs that would place them within larger more bureaucratic work settings. The racial differences also reflect a desired shift away from traditional work relationships where Blacks typically played the subordinate role. The majority in both racial groups seek jobs which are perceived as important by others and both recognize the importance of getting along with superiors as well as fellow workers.

Rather than a voluntary posture of alienation the attitudes of Losers toward religion, political involvement, the mass media and leisure time activities suggests a strong acceptance of the middle class life style.

Table VIII deals with how Losers view a variety of different types of involvements.

TABLE VIII  
LOSERS, RACE AND PERSONAL PREFERENCES AND BELIEFS  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

Item	LOSERS	
	White	Black
Like to watch T.V. and listen to radio	79	80
Like new model cars	81	84
Interested in recent elections	69	72
Would vote for president if old enough	88	90
Would like to have children when I marry	87	88
Like to go to church events	77	81
Like athletic events	75	86
Religion is truth	87	86
Like to read newspapers	74	80
	N (2063)	(1392)

The majority—both Black and White certainly enjoy activities common to middle class youth. They watch television and are interested in athletics and new cars. They are probably more accepting of the proposition of religion as "truth" than would be many middle class adolescents and no doubt their involvement with the church would be greater. They say they were interested in the recent election and if old enough they would want to vote. Despite their own experiences with family chaos, few say they would not want children after they marry.

With one exception, a difference of 1% (Religion is "truth") Black Losers were more ready than white Losers to endorse each of the items shown in Table VIII. The greatest variation is found in the area of athletic events where Blacks show the stronger preference.

## Black Adolescents Want Middle Class Standing

Not unlike racial patterns noted throughout the analysis of data dealing with Losers as well as Winners the Black adolescent seems to be more activity orientated and more embracing of middle class styles and ideas. A structural situation could, however, help account for some of the variation between the two racial groups. Among the Losers, who are enrollees in the Job Corps, we have youth who could only enter the program if they met certain criteria of social and economic deprivation. A major factor between the two racial groups is the continuous discrimination which has prevented Black mobility regardless of skill or aspirations. In other words even though Blacks are as likely as Whites to possess higher levels of formal education they have been less likely than whites to obtain employment which correlates with their educational background. As was pointed out earlier Black fathers had more formal education than white fathers and at the same time they were more likely to be unemployed or when employed they were working at lower level occupations. The racial stigma is not an added burden carried by poor whites. Hence even though there is little variation in the socio-economic and geographical background of both racial groups the whites may well be suffering from a different form of relative deprivation. In this case Blacks can in part, account for their current low status, and rightfully so, in terms of a societal structure which penalizes persons because of their race. In a sense whatever progress they make is more difficult to come by than is the case for the whites. The poor white, I suggest, not having a similar reasonable and more acceptable explanation for his lack of achievement is more likely to question his own abilities and motives. As a result white poor youth, in comparison with Black youth, tend to select occupations where they are dependent upon others for supervision; they select occupations which place a heavier emphasis on physical as opposed to intellectual abilities; they are less desirous of interaction with co-workers; and they are less likely to seek involvement in social, political and leisure time activities.

A similar interpretation may be offered for the Winners. In this case we have whites who have not followed the usual pattern of exodus to other places once change in the racial composition of school and community occur. Rather here are the people who do not possess the resources required for mobility to the more desirable areas. It would seem that at times minority status can be as painful for the white as it is for the Black.

At the same time interaction with Whites in a setting where there is relative equality in institutional status has some impact on the Black adolescent as well. The results, however, appear

to be of a more positive nature. The Black may well gain added self confidence and assurance because he believes that even with societal restrictions, unique to the Black, he has at least done as well as whites who have not encountered similar barriers. The reference group coin has two sides: with the racial majority offering the racial minority a basis for comparison which tends to enhance aspirations while the reverse operates in a more negative manner for the racial majority.

TABLE IX  
WINNERS, RACE AND SELF-CONCEPT—ALIENATION  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

ITEMS	WINNERS	
	White	Black
Things have become so complicated in the world today that I really don't understand just what is going on	30	24
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	84	96
I often feel lonely	38	38
I enjoy being with people	87	91
I am not interested in school activities that most students seem to like	35	29
I am interested in my schoolwork	71	88
There are a few people who control things in this school, and the rest are out in the cold	41	35
If you want to be part of the leading crowd here, you sometimes have to go against your principles	52	36
I don't enjoy schoolwork, but I feel that I must do it in order to be able to get things I will want later	66	54
Most older people don't really understand me at all	34	36
	N (436)	(251)

Obviously more precise longitudinal and change data would be required in order to test out the validity of such a proposition. In addition there would have to be some control for the racial composition of the setting. No doubt, there would be some added impact, on both racial groups, as each shifts away from traditional status roles: the White to minority, the Black to majority.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time the comparative data available and observa-

<sup>2</sup>In an earlier study, "Racial Composition and the Social Systems of Three High Schools" (Gottlieb and Ten Houten, 1965) significant differences in student behavior were found when comparisons were made between students similar in socio-economic status in schools of varying racial compositions.

tions of Job Corps enrollees would tend to add some credence to this type of cross racial reference group interpretation.

Both Tables IX and X deal with aspects of self concept and feelings of alienation as expressed by Winners and Losers. Since different items were used the results are presented in separate tables.

TABLE X  
LOSERS, RACE SELF-CONCEPT—ALIENATION  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

Items	LOSERS	
	White	Black
Sometimes feel there is no use trying	24	18
Most people are unhappy and can't do anything about it	49	44
I sometimes feel like giving up	47	42
You have to be lucky to get anywhere	23	29
Sometimes I feel I am in a rut with no way out	52	43
Hard to do what I really want	46	57

Variations between the two racial groups goes from no difference, where in both groups over a third (38%) indicate that they often feel lonely; to a difference of seventeen per cent (17%) with Whites being less likely than Blacks to indicate a desire for school work. In each case, regardless of percentage variations the direction of the differences suggests that the Black students are more involved in school activities; are more accepting of the social system of the school; place a greater value on their own worth; and seem less overwhelmed by "their" world.

### Whites Show Greater Alienation

The responses of the white students indicates a greater alienation from and dissatisfaction with the school and its activities. Whites, for example, are much less interested in school work and as mentioned earlier, found school work at best a required but not necessarily valued activity.

The greater alienation of the white student is reflected also in their belief that others "control things in the school, and the rest are out in the cold". The greater involvement of the Black student can be seen in the fact that they, more so than the whites, do not feel that membership in the leading crowd demands the abandoning of principles. Aside from the racial differences it is worth pointing out that more than a fourth of all students agree that they do not understand the world in which they find them-

selves; that they frequently feel lonely; that they are not interested in their schoolwork; that the cost of popularity may be too great; and that the gap between the generations leaves much to be desired.

Whether these sentiments are unique to poor youth alone cannot be determined in this paper. More important is the fact that with the social-economic deprivation is added the more general problem of growing up in a highly contradictory society.

For the Losers a similar pattern is observed with two important exceptions. Table X shows that white Losers are most likely to express sentiments of personal defeat or doubts as to their own abilities to overcome. Black Losers are less inclined to feel there is no use trying or that they are locked into their current status. At the same time Black Losers know from past experience that personal desires and skill alone are not sufficient. The factor of race cannot be isolated from the matter of goal attainment. The Black senses that if he is to succeed the task will be tough and he will need added luck to go along with ability and desire. Finally, as is probably to be expected many of the Losers, regardless of race, see their chances of making it as fairly slim. Almost half in each racial group see a world in which most people are unhappy with their lives and there is little chance for improvement; many of these same youth see themselves as being in a rut with escape being no simple matter.

## The Barriers to the Good Life

At the same time these adolescents, Winners and Losers, have not given up. By their presence in school or in the Job Corps they are indicating some real commitment to finding their place

TABLE XI  
WINNERS, LOSERS, RACE AND BARRIERS TO THE GOOD LIFE  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH  
(MULTIPLE CHOICE ITEM)

Barriers	Winners		Losers	
	White	Black	White	Black
Lack of Ability	36	41	50	52
Lack of Education	81	88	69	76
Job Training	*	*	72	72
Lack of Breaks	49	59	43	55
Lack of Clear Goals	31	36	65	67
Family Background	9	16	11	24
Race	9	21	6	28
Unrealistic Goals	27	38	41	54
	N (437)	(255)	(2019)	(1416)

\*Not asked of Winners.

within the social system. From their views of the world, other people, and their own background it is clear that in addition to the usual problems encountered by adolescents these people have a multitude of barriers to overcome if they are to live the good life. Moving away from general observations a clearer picture of what they perceive as their own personal hangups can be noted from the factors which they identify as being the hurdles to goal attainment. Again, there are some sharp contrasts between Winners and Losers as well as Blacks and Whites.

With one exception, the matter of job training, both groups were asked a similar question. Specifically to note the hurdles which they saw as preventing them from living the kind of life they desired.

For all respondents education is perceived as the major variable associated with entrance into the good life. Black Winners, followed by white Winners are more supportive as to the importance of education. The greater support on the part of the Winners would be expected since their remaining in school implies some real acceptance of the importance of formal education. In addition Winners are of course more likely than the Losers to anticipate college entrance and occupations which demand higher education. Still the majority of the Losers, even though many have encountered some disenchantment and conflict with school do not minimize the importance of education.

Losers consider "Job Training" as being important as "Education". In fact few are able to separate the two since they see training for an occupation as being part of an educational process. Although, as was mentioned earlier a similar item was not presented to the Winners. I would suspect that they too would place high value on the need for training that would be related to a specific occupation, and would, as do the Losers, see this as an integral part of their total education.

Losers more so than Winners recognize the discrepancy between the life they desire and the abilities they possess or that are required for goal achievement. This would be expected since, unlike many of the Winners, these young men have already experienced not only job rejection but they have also failed in school. It should also be noted that it is the Black who places the greater emphasis on the ability barrier. This racial difference would also make sense given the earlier observation that Blacks hold the higher aspirations and hence greater skills are required.

### **Blacks Think They Must Have "More Going"**

Finally the greater stress on ability as well as education on the part of Blacks fits in with the proposition that Blacks, like

other minority groups, believe that they must have a little more going for them if they are to compete with others for desirable ends. Variations between the races with respect to the importance of getting the right breaks does support such a proposition. Blacks more than Whites select this item. The Black feeling that race does play an important role in who gets what, will see the breaks and other external factors as essential ingredients. As Table XI indicates over a fifth of the Blacks see race as a potential barrier with Black Losers being most concerned. It would seem that there are also some white youth who believe that race is important to their mobility. Not perhaps unlike some adults here are members of the majority who believe that social changes have gone so far that being white is no longer an advantage and may well be a disadvantage.

Family background is noted by almost a fourth (24%) of Black Losers as yet another barrier.

Only nine per cent (9%) of Winning whites select this item with Black Winners and white Losers falling in the middle. This distribution does reflect earlier differences noted in family organization. For both groups it was shown that Blacks more so than Whites and Losers more so than Winners were most likely to come from broken homes.

The two remaining items deal with the issue of goal identification and goal attainment. In both cases there is a marked contrast between Winners and Losers and among Blacks and Whites. Blacks more so than their white counterparts have doubts as to just how realistic their goals might be. These observed differences could be explained by recalling certain points made earlier: Blacks have the higher goals and perceive the greater interplay of external and nonindividually controllable factors. Losers are more apprehensive about the validity of their goals since they desire goals not too different than Winners even though they have already experienced failure and by their own admission lack the attributes which they feel are essential to goal attainment.

Losers are almost twice as likely as Winners to point out that a major hurdle to getting what they want is an uncertainty about exactly what it is they do want.

### **Losers Can't Express Specific Career Goals**

Earlier in this paper I attempted to point out that a major characteristic of Losers was their inability to express specific occupational or career goals. In part this inability stems from a lack of awareness as to the variety of career alternatives which might be available. More important here are adolescents who

have not had the opportunity, due in large part to an insufficient pool of referents and resources, to make an assessment and selection of future ends. The Losers know there is a better life and they want a part of that better life. They have a general idea as to the material benefits that can be derived from the good life and as already shown, some idea as to what it takes to gain entrance into the good life. What they lack is the ability to focus in on certain future goals and a belief that there is some meaningful relationship between these goals and the advertised means: education, job training, appropriate behavior, and so forth; factors which others have designated as being essential to goal attainment. Early in this paper I expressed the opinion that the poor do not choose alienation. That a major difference between those who make it and those who do not is a difference in the availability of referents who possess the desire and ability to help the adolescent identify and reach desirable goals. This means in addition, referents who can continuously, through one method or another show or convince the adolescent of the payoff relationship between selected goals and prescribed means. These are precisely the kinds of resources, referents, and interventionists that are in comparative abundance among the affluent but in short supply among the poor. Yet as has already been shown even among the poor there is some variation. The Winners while standing in contrast to middle class youth are somewhat better off when compared with Losers. Blacks, and here I can only add to what others have reported elsewhere, be they Winners or Losers fall at the bottom when it comes to having access to resources and referents required for upward mobility.

Examples of this variation in available referents who have both the desire and ability to assist the adolescent can be noted in Tables XII.

Table XII shows the distribution of responses of the Winners to a question which attempts to assess the students perception of his parents desire and ability to assist in matters of school and career decisions.

TABLE XII  
WINNERS, RACE AND PARENTAL ABILITY AND DESIRE TO ASSIST

	Father		Mother	
	White %	Black %	White %	Black %
Able and willing	74	65	79	82
Able but not willing	7	10	3	2
Willing but not able	13	18	15	12
Neither willing nor able	6	7	3	4
	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)
N	(302)	(111)	(327)	(119)

The question asked was: "In making decisions about college or a career, students often go to different kinds of people for help. Please rate your mother and father on her or his ability and willingness to help you make the right decision about college or a job".

Only those students who live with parents, step parents or foster parents were asked to answer these questions.

The portion dealing with fathers involvement indicates that white Winners can be more dependent on their fathers than can be Black Winners. Almost three fourths (74%) of the Whites see their fathers as having both the desire and ability to help in career and school decisions. This is the case with less than two thirds (65%) of the Blacks. Black Winners are also more likely than Whites to see fathers as lacking the desire to assist even though they possess the ability. These data suggest that even when in the home, Black fathers, are less inclined than white fathers to take an active part in the socialization of their children.

### Mother-Son Relationship

This does not appear to be the case when it comes to the mother-son relationship. Although the difference is small Black mothers, more so than white mothers, are perceived by their sons as being the more helpful. More important is the greater reliance on the mother over the father on the part of the Black adolescent son. Sixty-five per cent (65%) identified the father as being willing and able as compared to eighty-two per cent (82%), a difference of seventeen per cent (17%), who saw the mother in this role. The fact that mothers play the more direct role in the day to day business of child socialization is not surprising. Nor do these data conflict with the observations of others that in the Black family the mother tends to play the more dominant role because of the absence of the father.<sup>3</sup> These data do, however, suggest that even when he is not absent the Black father is less likely than the white father and far less likely than the Black mother to be involved in the guidance and counseling of his adolescent son.

Why Black fathers are less likely to be involved even though, according to the respondent, they are present in the home is not the concern of this paper. Nor am I proposing, based on these data, that this finding should or could be generalized to other Black families in other places. Rather I have attempted to point out yet another area where the Black adolescent, by comparison with non-Blacks of similar socio-economic background has less

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<sup>3</sup>An excellent summary of research related to the Negro mother and Negro family can be found in: Lee Rainwater and William L. Yance (1967).

TABLE XIII  
LOSERS, RACE, AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT  
PER CENT SELECTING EACH

Parental Involvement	Losers	
	White %	Black %
Interest and Involvement	31	36
Interest but Little Involvement	46	43
No Interest—No Involvement	19	18
Active Interference	4	3
	(100)	(100)
	N 1989	1164

of the desirable and important resource. In this case, even though there is control for parental presence in the home, Black youth do not have the same access to potentially helpful referents as do whites. Nor can Black adolescent sons be as reliant upon their fathers, as can be white sons, when it comes to obtaining assistance about matters of career and school.

Table XIII deals with responses to a similar set of questions asked of the Losers. There are however, several important differences. First, the data are limited to parental involvement in general and not mother versus father. Secondly, the responses say less about how the respondent perceives his parents and more about his evaluation of the role actually played by parents in matters of career and school counseling. In other words the respondent was not asked, as was the case with Winners, to rank his parents with regard to their desire and ability to be helpful, but rather to identify the degree of parental involvement.

Variation between the two groups are not great with the possible exception that Black Losers indicate a greater interest and involvement on the part of their parents than do whites. This difference could be explained by the Black mothers' greater involvement with her son as reflected in data presented earlier. Clearly for both groups it is evident that these youth do not see their parents as having been actively or deliberately engaged in interfering with the respondent's school career. Rather the data would indicate that here are parents who have a desire to assist their sons but lack ability. If we assume that interest is similar to desire we can make some comparisons between Losers and Winners. The earlier Table (Table XII) showed that most parents were seen as having both a desire and ability to assist the Winners in decisions of school and career. The picture is not quite the same for the Losers. Here only a little more than a third (36%) of the Blacks and a little less than a third of the Whites (31%) indicate that parental interest is matched by involvement.

## Loser and Parent

While there is not much difference between Winners and Losers in parental concern it is the Loser who is most likely to see his parent as indifferent or lacking interest. At the same time the majority in both groups see their parents as people who do care. Clearly the lack of involvement or the limited involvement of the Losers cannot be interpreted as indifference, since over three-fourths of the Losers report their parents were in fact interested in the respondents' school career. The lack of involvement on the part of the parents or Losers results, I believe, from a lack of those factors necessary for parental intervention. They lack the ability to assist their children in goal attainment. As pointed out earlier the parents of losers have the lower education; they are more likely to be unemployed; and they have encountered the greater family instability.

Clearly an inability to achieve economic and family stability in one's own life does little to enhance one's role as advisor to others. Here then is a dramatic portrayal of the cycle of poverty in operation between the generations. As if an insufficiency of salient educational, vocational and social skills required for successful competition within our complex society were not enough. The Losing parent is burdened with the day-to-day struggle of economic and family survival. It should not be too surprising then that these parents can do little despite their personal preferences and the preferences of their children to assist their children in the attainment of legitimate and desirable ends.

Unfortunately this deprivation in required resources and referents within the family is not compensated for by what goes on in the schools of the Losers. It is not necessary here to repeat what has already been documented by those who have studied slum schools. We know that most of these places are inadequate particularly in the very areas where the poor need the most in the way of assistance.

One important area, however, in which these schools do tend to fail is worthy of more detailed discussion. As I mentioned earlier a major variable which according to the Losers explains their departure from the school, is the fact that they were unable to see any significant relationship between what they were asked to do in school and their own future expectations. Interestingly enough few of the Losers suggested that their departure from school was due to hostile teachers or nonacceptance of peers. For the most part of both Black and white Losers the "Typical teacher" is pictured as the type of person who is really interested in what happens to the student. Generally the comments of the Losers would suggest that they did not find school to be an un-

pleasant experience. Nor do the available data indicate that they felt alienated from school activities. More than seventy per cent (70%) in both racial groups say they were interested in these extracurricular events and over two-thirds say they were participants in these activities.

### **Inability to Defer Immediate Gratification**

An inability to defer one's immediate gratifications is yet another explanation offered when accounting for the differential school exodus of youth from various socio-economic backgrounds. Most simply the theory proposes that poor youth are more likely than others to settle for a little less today rather than take their chances on a tomorrow which might bring them more. Again, however, data obtained through questionnaires and interviews would not suggest that this inability to delay was a primary force in leading most of these youth to leave school. As noted earlier the majority were active in school activities of one type or another. Their comments would suggest that financial limitations did not cause them embarrassment with either teachers or peers. In addition few of these youth state that it was a desire for a car, clothes, or freedom which led them to abandon school. Upon leaving school only a small number had immediate plans as to what they would do next and even fewer had a specific job. It may well be that these youth attended schools where a majority of the students came from similar backgrounds and as a result there was little pressure placed on the student to compete with peers for the material possessions which might enhance personal prestige and status. This homogeneity in social and economic background might also explain why respondents did not, for the most part, view their teachers as people indifferent to the needs of the students. Finally, a similarity in social status among students could account for the active involvement of these youth in school functions even though they were of lower class background.

What does seem to be evident and not unlike the conclusions drawn by Stinchcombe in his study of high school alienation—is an important tie in between what the student sees as going on in the classroom, his future expectations, and the school behavior (1965).

Table XIV shows that only a small number of the Losers felt there was consensus between what they experienced in school and their future goals. Forty-one per cent (41%) of the Blacks and a little more than half (51%) of the Whites saw little relationship between the requirements of the school and future career orientation. Less than twenty per cent in both groups could be classified as feeling that there was a high level of consensus. Al-

TABLE XIV  
LOSERS, RACE AND SCHOOL-GOAL CONSENSUS

Perception	Losers	
	White %	Black %
High Consensus	14	19
Moderate Consensus	35	40
Low Consensus	51	41
	(100)	(100)
	N 2016	1409

though I have no comparable data for the Winners the findings do allow for some speculation as to the impact on the Losers.

The phenomena appears to operate in two ways among lower class adolescents. As noted earlier, in the discussion of occupational preferences, these youth are far from clear as to the specific occupational goals they seek. This lack of clarity in future roles minimizes the students' chances of making some firm association between that which occurs in the school and some end goals.

In addition, these youth lack knowledge, even though they might have a specific occupation in mind, as to what in the formal educational process is required for success. Although they recognize the importance of education, they do not know how to evaluate the various components of the educational process.

Aside from the importance of the goal consensus factor, there is a lack of adult referents who have the ability to aid the youngster in clarifying goals and assisting in the attainment of these goals. The data on involvement of parents in academic affairs suggest that while most parents desire to assist their children in educational pursuits they lack the necessary skills and sophistication.

## In Conclusion . . .

My position in this paper is I hope quite clear. I believe that poor kids do in fact want to be middle class but it is far from easy for them to make the grade. While admittedly the data utilized to support my position have been stretched somewhat, they do support the basic argument. It is not I believe a question of a lower class value system or subculture which contains elements opposed to or in conflict with legitimate means and ends. It is not, as is frequently the case among middle class adolescents, an opposition to that life style which is called middle class. Rather the poor adolescent finds himself alienated because he is without the resources and referents which have become increasingly more important for goal attainment in our society. There is little variation, as was noted in the data, between Winners and Losers with

regard to aspirations and goals. The greater difference here was between the Blacks and the Whites in both groups. At the same time there were fairly sharp differences between Winners and Losers in matters of the availability of referents and resources. Both are poor, both are deprived, the Losers much more so. Finding himself without these resources and referents within the structure of his own family the poor adolescent becomes more dependent on others, outside the home. Even here, however, he finds himself deprived. There are few among his relatives or peers who can be of assistance. His alternatives are limited, for the most part, to the resources of the school. Yet here again there is little that will act to compensate for his general deprivation. The slum school, aside from its many other shortcomings, is like many other schools (both high school and college) in that it fails to provide the student with a setting which enables him to see and feel the real pay off. He cannot see meaningful or legitimate consensus between the demands of the formal educational process and the better life he seeks. At the same time, unlike his more affluent counterpart, he does not have the referents who have the power and desire to keep him within the system. There are few poor parents who have the ability to buy him off with promises of material rewards and leisure time activities. He is limited in his contacts with adults who can explain, clarify, and illustrate what the benefits of education will be. There is little that is offered him in the way of guidance and counseling much less more frequently needed intensive therapy. The deprivation is not limited solely to occupational, social, and intellectual resources. He lacks also in those who can provide him with medical and dental care.

It is interesting to note that for many years poor youth have migrated from one community to the next with little attention or assistance from others. Yet along comes the "Hippie movement" and we not only have massive media coverage but the emergence of countless spontaneous service centers to aid the rebellious middle class adolescent. It would seem that despite our expressions to the contrary we do practice the maintaining of the status-quo—the rich must stay rich no matter their preference—while the poor must stay poor no matter their personal desire.

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## Juvenile Delinquency as a Symptom of Alienation\*

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A discussion of "alienation" in relation to anything else should not begin without a declaration of the meaning of "alienation", for the word has at least three common meanings in the social scientific literature, standing for three distinct phenomena. I will briefly discuss the conceptual sense of the term before I explore whether and in what sense juvenile delinquency is one of its symptoms. My major data base is a recent study of delinquent behavior, detected and undetected, in a midwestern American city, but I will call upon other sources of data as well.

### Meanings of "Alienation"

"Not part of" lies at the core of the meaning of "alienation" etymologically and connotatively, and this dangling phrase brings us immediately to the differential question "... of what"? I believe there are essentially three answers, each with its own history and direction.

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## Not Influenced By . . .

One meaning of alienation is this: not part of those regulating systems, social or supernatural, which give structure and meaning to existence, which tame the passions, and which enable the human animal to realize his potential for humanity. *Regulating* is the key term in this formulation, for it qualifies the sense in which an individual is "not part of" a social system. I believe that "not influenced by" is the correct coding of "not part of", the reading which makes most sense out of the way alienation has been used in one body of theory.

Alienation as "not influenced by" is the thread of meaning common to Durkheim (1951), Merton (1957), and Keniston (1965). Describing "*anomie*" by its opposite, Durkheim writes:

Men must receive the law of justice from an authority they can respect, to which they yield spontaneously. Either directly and as a whole, or through the agency of one of its organs, society alone (no theologian, Durkheim) can play this moderating role; for it is the only moral power superior to the individual, the authority of which he accepts. It alone has the power necessary to stipulate law and to set the point beyond which the passions must not go (1951, 249).

There are of course degrees of influence, and alienation, in this sense, may refer to a part or the whole of that segment of the dimensions from its neutral midpoint to its negative pole. Keniston seems to be focussing on the midpoint early in his *The Uncommitted* by linking alienation with what are for him its synonyms: ". . . estrangement, disaffection, anomie, withdrawal, disengagement, separation, non-involvement, apathy, indifference, and neutralism" (1965, 1). Finally, however, he moves to a point further out on the continuum, to "alienation that involves an active rejection of the focus of alienation" (1955, 464).

There is conceptual power in specifying alienation to denote a part of the range of influence one entity may have over another; for then a large body of theoretical and empirical literature on the sources and effects of influence may be brought to bear on the alienation phenomenon and make it more accessible to scientific consideration.

## Not Able to Influence . . .

The second meaning of alienation is the converse of the first. It has to do, not with the effect of the environment on the person, but with his effect, or his lack of effect, on his environment. Alienation as powerlessness can be found in Marx and traced from him through C. W. Mills (1953, 159-160) to Rotter and Seeman (see Jaffee, 1963). When it characterizes the feelings of individuals

rather than their objective conditions, its synonyms are variously "fatalism", "impotence", "incompetence" and "disenfranchisement". The Srole scale for anomia (Srole, 1956) includes items which measure it (e.g. "There's little use writing to public officials nowadays because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man"). It may lead to resignation or revolution.

### Self-estrangement . . .

The third meaning of alienation is quite different from the first two. Here, the individual is *not part of himself*, and the concept of influence is irrelevant. This meaning can be traced to Hegel (1899), through Marx (1959) to Erich Fromm (1941, 1955). Hegel describes a mind alienated "from its own essence"; Marx, "alienation of self-consciousness"; Fromm, "Man alienated from himself".

The social scientist uneasily suspects mysticism. For alienation as self-estrangement is hard to grasp. While one feels intuitively something of what this is all about, this is not enough for a scientific inquirer. His legitimate tendency is to conceptualize and operationalize, making the mystic philosophers uneasy as a rich and complex connotation becomes distorted into a limited and superficial variable. Thus cautioned, the social scientist nevertheless goes on with his work, settling for a hard hold on just a part of the meaning.

Marx, it seems to me, offers the social scientist his best hold. A worker, he says, is alienated when

. . . the work is external to the worker, it is not part of his nature; and consequently, he does not fulfill himself in his work but denies himself, has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker feels himself at home only during his leisure time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary, but imposed, forced labor. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. External labor, labor in which man alienates himself, is a labor of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Finally, the external character of work for the worker is shown by the fact that it is not his own work but work for someone else, that in work he does not belong to himself but to another person (Fromm, 1941, 98).

For our purpose here, we should assume that Marx's reference to "worker" is to a particular role in a social organization, that is, to a disembodied set of shared understandings about the proper behavior of a person in a certain relationship with others

and with things. On the other hand, let us take Marx's references to self to mean the individual personality, the whole psychological person. From these premises, I believe we may understand alienation as a condition in which *the personality, especially the will of the individual is not expressed in the particular role*, that is, his motivations do not coincide with the prescribed goals of the role he plays. The work is not intrinsically satisfying to him, he performs it because he must; only by doing so can he fulfill his own wishes as a husband and a father and assure his survival and satisfaction as a person. The individual does not experience his work role as part of himself; yet, inasmuch as it is his action which is the work, it is himself working. Hence, he feels alien to a part of himself.

### Fromm's Indictment . . .

Marx's polemics seem the more angry but Fromm's indictment is the stronger. Marx concedes the worker satisfaction and selfhood in his leisure; Fromm asserts that the alienation generated in the marketplace and in the factory pervades all of a man's life. The individual's whole character may become subservient to the will of others, or more precisely, to the collective will, to the consensus. A society which alienates a man from his dominant, his economic role, inevitably alienates him from all of his roles and thereby from much of himself.

Insofar as nothing of his own motivation directs the roles he plays, but each is played out according to expectations external to him, a man feels no integrating substance to his life. He experiences no sense of a stable self, but rather is a series of separate actors, doing the will of others. It is this postulated sense of separateness which has led me to read alienation also as "fragmentation".

One need not accept as valid Fromm's concept of an essential, creative self to make sense of alienation as "fragmentation" or "self-estrangement". One may even adopt the radical position that a self is nothing more than an organization of roles (Brim, 1965) and then identify this fragmentation as the absence of a sense of coherent organization. I myself believe that neither formulation is useful here. I find Erik Erikson's concept of *identity* best suited to my social psychological purposes.

Erikson (1959) proposes that one aspect of psychological development is the integration of the roles one is called upon to play with one's unique endowment and personal history. This is a continuing process throughout the lifespan, but this aspect of development, like all others, has its crucial moment. Erikson assigns this crisis to adolescence, when centrifugal social psychological forces pull the individual out of his family and involve him

more completely in a wider and more impersonal social network. The critical consequences are identity or role diffusion. The latter is the self-estrangement and sense of fragmentation which is in one sense, alienation. Identity, its polar term, refers in part to the sense of self-in-roles, the feeling that what one wills to do corresponds to what one is variously expected to do.

This formulation of alienation is useful because it makes contact with a body of theory and because it is at least specific enough to open the way for research. There is here, in contrast to the first two meanings, none but the small beginnings of an empirical literature (e.g. Block, 1961; Heilburn, 1964).

We may turn now to considering juvenile delinquency as a symptom of alienation in each of the senses defined.<sup>1</sup>

### Delinquency and Alienation: "Not Influenced By"

Delinquent behavior is *ipso facto* evidence of the ineffective influence of those who create, advocate and stand behind the law. Students of delinquency are quick to remind us, however, that delinquency may also testify to the effective social influence of those who encourage it. Indeed, Sutherland, Cohen, Miller, and others argue that most delinquency is a symptom, not of alienation, but of its opposite, that is, of embeddedness in a field of subcultural forces without whose influence delinquency would less often occur (Sutherland, 1939; Cohen, 1955; Miller, 1958). Their challenge makes clear that alienation in this sense is not in the first instance a characteristic of an individual but a characteristic of his relationships. The individual may only secondarily be characterized by the alienated pattern of his relationships, taking into account not only the sum of his relationships, but their relative salience as well.

Further, even were we to characterize individuals as alienated by the pattern of their relations, we should recognize that alienation, as it pertains to influence, is a matter of degree. So the characterization must take into account not only the number and salience of alienated relationships but their degree of alienation as well. All these considerations introduce so much variation among individuals that "alienated" and "not alienated" become only gross categories.

<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Seeman for the stimulation his article "On the Meaning of Alienation" (1959) gave to my analysis. Where Seeman distinguishes five meanings, I find his "meaninglessness", "normlessness" and "isolation" to be variations of "not influenced by". I believe that the organization of two of the meanings of alienation around two directions of influence makes for greater conceptual clarity, but of course Seeman's additional distinctions may be useful for some purposes.

## Delinquency is a Matter of Degree

We should recognize too that delinquency is a matter of degree, that youngsters vary widely in the frequency and seriousness of their delinquent behavior as well. We have been led to think in terms of "delinquents" and "non-delinquents" because this has been the form in which the data have come to us, as youngsters either apprehended for delinquency or not. Techniques for measuring delinquent behavior irrespective of apprehension have been developing over the last decade, and so we can now begin to treat delinquency as a dimension. (For a fuller discussion of the measurement of delinquency see Gold, 1966, and in press.) The importance of this methodological development for our present purposes is that we may consider the degree to which delinquency is, in the case of any one youngster, a characteristic behavior and an index of his alienation from certain sources of influence.

Thus, to speak of "delinquent" youngsters and "alienated" youngsters are figures of speech. These are relative terms, and their most appropriate referents are to the set of youngsters at the most delinquent and perhaps most alienated ends of the continua. I have in mind, not the 60 per cent of Flint, Michigan, teenagers who commit at most three or four delinquent acts in all their teen years, and most of those, minor acts of trespassing, drinking, and such, but the most delinquent 17 per cent, mostly boys, who alone account for over half of the delinquent behaviors, many also minor but frequent instances of major theft, property destruction and assault.

## Alienated From Parents

These heavily delinquent teenagers are obviously not strongly influenced by the dominant elements of their society for whom the law speaks. There is evidence too that they are alienated from the primary transmitters of social standards, their parents. A group of Flint teenage boys, caught at least twice by the police for delinquent behavior and therefore probably heavily delinquent in general, gave indication that they were less under the influence of their parents than boys never caught and who therefore are probably much less delinquent as a group. These recidivists showed signs of being especially alienated from their fathers, with whom they less often "did things", with whom they less often discussed personal problems, and with whom they less often agreed about proper behavior. The fathers of the repeated delinquents themselves reported having less influence over their sons' choices of friends than the other fathers, although more of the former tried to exert some influence over what fathers agree is an important issue (Gold, 1963, 130-134).

Data on a random sample of teenaged boys and girls in Flint demonstrate more thoroughly that delinquency is a symptom of alienation from parents rather than adherence to parent's anti-social standards. The more delinquent boys and girls report *more* frequently that their parents took some positive steps to prevent further delinquency when they learned of their youngsters' misbehavior. Less delinquent youngsters more often reported that their parents did nothing about it.

While these data do not conform to the common image of the criminal, neglectful and irresponsible parents of delinquents, they seem quite understandable nevertheless. A parent may tolerate a youngster's occasional delinquent act, chalking it up to adolescence and reminding himself of his youngster's generally positive behavior. It is when frequent delinquent acts exceed levels of reasonable toleration that a parent is worried into action, usually to deprive his teenager of some privilege, often to scold, infrequently to reason and explain. These parents do care about delinquency, but their heavily delinquent sons and daughters do not care that their parents care.

The alienation of most heavily delinquent teenagers is only partial. While they are not positively influenced by their parents, and in the absence of that link, alienated from conventional elements of their society, they seem to be firmly integrated with some of their peers. A large proportion of delinquent behavior, over three-fourths, is group behavior, and most of the delinquent behavior committed by a lone teenager is quickly reported to friends. Indeed, one of the variables most closely associated with the frequency and seriousness of delinquent behavior is teenagers' perceptions that their friends are heavily delinquent.

This relationship between a youngster's report of his friends' delinquency and his own is undoubtedly complex. Some of this relationship may be due to a self-justifying exaggeration of friends' delinquency; some may be a matter of friendship selection; and still more may be due to youngsters daring, encouraging and supporting their friends' misbehavior. But whatever the nature of the relationship, it is clear that delinquent behavior is not characterized by isolation or by indifference to the influence of all others. Heavily delinquent youngsters are not alienated in that sense.

### **And the Image of the Delinquent Gang?**

There is a popular image of delinquency which suggests a form of collective alienation, the image of the delinquent gang. While gang members are conceived to be strongly influenced by one another, a postulated gang norm is to reject outside influence, especially the influence of conventional society. This notion rests

on two questionable assumptions: first, that most juvenile offenses are committed in the company of a stable and somewhat organized gang; and second, that this group identifies itself as delinquent.

First, the data raise some doubt about the reality of the gang. The image of the teen gang is a potent part of our thinking about juvenile delinquency, but this image may be misleading. While it is true that a large proportion of delinquent behavior is the joint activity of several youngsters, these youngsters seldom deserve to be called a "gang", in the sense that they form a fairly stable, organized group of teenagers who frequently misbehave together. Data from Flint indicate that even the most delinquent boys and girls commit on the average only a third of their recent delinquent acts with the same other youngsters. In reality, their companions in crime vary widely. Mostly, it depends on whom they're with when the opportunity and the motivation coincide. The delinquent group seems no more of a gang than the circle of friends, running buddies and intimates which surround most adolescents. And while more delinquent youngsters report that their friends are more delinquent, I suspect that there is in any group of companions in a particular crime a wide range of previous delinquent experience and a wide range of alienation.

Second, most of even the most delinquent youngsters do not think of themselves and their friends as especially delinquent. It is a curious and interesting finding that the majority of the representative sample of Flint teenagers believe that teenagers in general are more delinquent than their own circle of friends. These youngsters seem to have accepted the widespread stereotype of the Teenager as Hood(lum). However much he engages in delinquent acts with his friends, a teenager is likely to report that "the others" are much more delinquent than they. This finding suggests that even the most delinquent youngsters do not imagine themselves members of a youth group set apart from and standing against the world.

Outside observers may identify certain groups of teenagers as alienated—isolated from others and characteristically rebellious. The pattern of companionship in delinquency among Flint teenagers and their image of themselves do not, however, suggest collective alienation.

A summing up of these reflections on delinquents as alienated (not influenced by) should start I think with the recognition that American adolescents are drawn into the power field of the regulating society largely through three roles they are expected to play: son/daughter, friend/peer, and student (Douvan and Gold, 1966). The son/daughter role is primary in the interrelated senses of being earliest, prototypic and most potent; and the most heavily

delinquent youngsters fill this role poorly. We have also seen that the friend/peer role qualifies the alienation of delinquents; for it may dilute the regulation of the dominant society while at the same time it integrates delinquents into a loose, even ephemeral confederation of teens. The student role functions differently from the other two relative to alienation stressing as it does achievement more than moral prescriptions; it becomes more relevant later in this discussion.

### **Delinquency and Alienation: Not Able to Influence**

There is something anomalous in considering the influence of adolescents on their environment. For while children should be seen but not heard, adolescents may be seen, heard but not much listened to. There is hardly any social parallel to the physical change in potency that marks adolescence off from childhood. What shift occurs is restricted almost entirely to the adolescents' freedom to shape within limits his own peer relations and activities; that is, in regard to the use of power, he is told to go away and practice a little. Adolescence then seems irrelevant to discussions of alienation—powerlessness which characteristically revolve around grown-up concerns with political and economic efficacy.

But it is precisely this fact of adolescent powerlessness which Marwell (1966) indicts for encouraging delinquency. Positing a widespread motive for social power, Marwell asserts that adolescents are especially powerless, having lost the childhood propensities of having others do for them and not yet having gained the adult power to do for themselves.

Faced with powerlessness and a need for power, individuals can respond in several ways. Passive acceptance, with compensatory psychological mechanisms, covers a number of types of responses. The thesis of this paper, however, is that classic delinquent acts are part of an *active* response to this situation. They are part of an attempt by adolescents to augment their personal power by manipulation of their situation. Specifically, classic delinquent acts may be interpreted as attempts to accrue power in relationships among peers. (p. 40)

It is difficult to test Marwell's thesis precisely because, as he makes clear, the theory he is proposing is as inextricably intertwined with theories of delinquency as status-striving as power and prestige are intertwined in American ideology. All of the data on delinquency which support the hypothesis that delinquent behavior is intended to enhance reputation—the social nature of most delinquency, the provoking effect of loss of status (Short and Strodtbeck, 1965), the relationship between delinquency and low self-esteem (Massimo and Shore, 1963; Shipee-Blum, 1959), and so on—can as readily point to power-building.

## **Delinquent Activity Exerts Power Over Peers**

One piece of our Flint data is relevant to this issue, and it suggests that boys may regard delinquent activity as an arena in which to exert power over their peers. We asked them whose idea it was to commit each of the delinquent acts they confessed to our interviewers. Boys claimed they had thought of 47 per cent of the misbehavior and had shared authorship in 22 per cent; girls said they had initiated 37 per cent and had helped initiate 23 per cent. Given two or three youngsters in most delinquent groups, it appears that boys are claiming a somewhat disproportionate share of the leadership but the girls are not. It seems plausible that boys are more concerned with power than girls; and that boys perceive delinquent activity, undoubtedly among others, as a vehicle for acquiring and displaying power over their peers.

However, it does not seem that heavily delinquent teenagers are especially attuned to the power potential in delinquency; for they claim leadership neither more nor less than the slightly delinquent. Delinquent activity seems to be perceived as a vehicle for asserting power with peers about equally across degrees of delinquency. There is no evidence here that the more delinquent boys (or girls) are, or represent themselves as more often the leaders. This suggests that a motive for power may direct boys in general to delinquency. In order then, to account for varying degrees of delinquency, we are led to the possibility that the more delinquent boys feel more powerless and have more need to turn more often to delinquency as an arena for displaying power among peers, as well as a way to make things happen in their environment.

## **The More Powerless the More Delinquent Prone**

One might hypothesize thus that youngsters who feel relatively less potent would more often engage in delinquent behavior. Jaffe (1963) contributes supporting data, reporting that junior high school boys who scored as more delinquency-prone on the Gough Delinquency Proneness Scale also scored as feeling more powerless on the Rotter and Seeman Powerlessness Scale. Delinquency proneness is, of course, not yet delinquent behavior, and our own studies of delinquent behavior have not measured powerlessness. But Jaffe points out that the Gough scale does predict fairly well to eventual appearance in court and to teachers' ratings of misbehavior; and 70% of his delinquent-prone boys had been in court cases, and none of his control boys. Furthermore, their involvement with the court could not account for the delinquents' feelings of powerlessness; the relationship between powerlessness

and delinquency-proneness held also for those who had not been court cases.

Some as yet unpublished data of my colleagues at Michigan's Institute for Social Research also suggest that powerlessness is related to delinquency. Bachman, Kahn and their associates (1967) have administered both the Srole Anomie Scale and a delinquent behavior checklist to a cross-section of over 2000 American tenth grade boys. They find that the two measures are reliably but only slightly related ( $r = .17$ ,  $p < .05$ ). These data are only suggestive because on the one hand a checklist of delinquent behavior represents a substantial proportion of trivia as delinquency (Gold, 1967) and on the other hand, the Srole scale measures other components of alienation besides powerlessness. In this situation, one might assert that the relationship between feelings of powerlessness and delinquency must be fairly strong to have shown up even so slightly; or that a refined measure would demonstrate that the relationship depends on extraneous factors. Clearly, this is a promising opportunity for further research.

### **Delinquency and Alienation: Self-Estrangement**

Here the question is, to what degree do juvenile delinquents feel that their own motives do not find expression in the prescribed goals of the roles they are expected to play. I have already asserted that certain roles seem especially salient to adolescents and are most likely to be problematical for them: son/daughter, peer/friend, student, and infusing and shaping all the rest, male/female. Other sets of obligations are also laid upon American adolescents to be sure, as citizens and as some sort of believers in the religious sense; but a recent review of the literature on adolescence (Douvan and Gold, 1966) leaves the impression that teenagers are primarily concerned about their relationships with their parents, with their agemates, with the people and the tasks involved in their formal education, and about the appropriateness of all of these relationships to their sexual endowment.

Many of the heavily delinquent youngsters find themselves or place themselves in significant role conflict, given their perceptions that their parents want them to behave, but having or choosing friends who frequently engage in and, by implication, require of them that kind of behavior which disturbs their parents. Their frequent and serious delinquent behavior suggests that these youngsters do not merely follow the forms of both son/daughter and peer/friend roles but rather reject the expectations of the former and accept the demands of the latter. It does not seem likely that their delinquent peer-ship represents an alien role into which some teenagers have somehow been forced, like Marx's

weaver to his loom, but rather a commitment, for good or ill. On the other hand, to the degree that they act as dutiful sons or daughters, *that* role may be alienating for heavily delinquent adolescents.

### The Silent Alienated

This line of thinking raises some interesting questions. How many teenagers behave like dutiful sons and daughters, all the while feeling that this filial role is alien to them? Again, I suspect that there are few of these. Several studies on adolescence (Douvain and Gold, 1966) indicate that teenagers generally welcome their parents' advice and help, and believe that their parents' standards and beliefs are correct. For the most part, adolescents seem to want to do what is expected of them as sons and daughters. Nevertheless, any discussion of whether youngsters may feel alienated as delinquents also raises the correlative and equally conceivable possibility that some youngsters may feel alienated as non-delinquents.

I turn now to the question of whether heavily delinquent teenagers are characteristically alienated students, that is, feel that the goals which their schools prescribe for them are not their personal goals. The answer, I believe, is clearly no. Adolescents generally regard their studenthood as preparation for the future—for better jobs, better pay, and greater job satisfaction. (Going to school may be intrinsically satisfying for some high schoolers, but Coleman's (1961) and Gordon's (1957) data demonstrate that the academic side of school life seldom satisfies teenagers as much as the social side). Most of them believe that a successful education is the key to a successful life. Repeatedly apprehended delinquent boys in Flint are indistinguishable from non-apprehended boys in their testimony on the relevance of school to their own aspirations (Gold, 1963, 160-161).

### Poor Grades—Greater Delinquency

Still, the student role seems heavily implicated in delinquency. Poor grades have a marked association with greater delinquency among Flint's teenaged boys. No matter what their age or social status, or how delinquent they believe their friends to be, or whether they come from broken or intact homes, boys whose school grades fall well below their class average are significantly more delinquent than their fellows. Palmore and Hammond (1964), studying youngsters supported by Aid to Dependent Children funds, children reputedly among the most vulnerable to delinquency, also found that grades in school was the variable

which, after sex and age, most significantly related to acquiring a juvenile record.

I suspect that the association between academic failure and heavy delinquency is not evidence of alienation in the sense of self-estrangement, but rather of its opposite. Neither the goals of studenthood, nor their failure at studenthood is alien to them; the goals are among their most salient motives, and their failure is most significantly their own.

Delinquency may be generated from teenager's involvement with studenthood. Delinquent behavior may constitute a solution to the problem of a derogated self, an effort to satisfy the requirements of at least one important role. For delinquency is a way of being "one of the boys", which has the double connotation of being a good companion and in such a way as to be an adequate male. If those boys who give up on being students, in deed by truancy and dropping out, or in mind by making no effort, are more heavily delinquent, it is not because school is irrelevant but too relevant.

## In Conclusion . . .

If we take alienation to mean that an individual or a group ignores or rejects the influence of some other individual or group, then certainly heavily delinquent teenagers demonstrate in their delinquency the ineffectiveness of their parents' influence and the influence of the wider society which their parents represent. However, these youngsters are not *generally* alienated. Quite to the contrary, there is evidence that they depend on the influence and support of their peers in order to be delinquent. Nor are these groups of peers identifiable organizations of isolated, alienated youngsters. Rather they seem to be only loosely knit and shifting congeries of friends and acquaintances, probably variously delinquent and alienated. Alienation, in the sense of being unregulated by social influence, does not seem to describe accurately most delinquent youngsters. Rather, alienation applies directly to some, but not all of their important relationships.

There is some evidence that delinquent behavior is a mechanism for countering alienation as the feeling of powerlessness, a way an adolescent proves himself efficacious to himself. But this issue requires some careful empirical work. First, status- and power-striving must be split operationally, if this is possible in a society where they are so closely related. Second, measures of powerlessness need to be applied along with measures of delinquent behavior rather than measures of being caught by police. Without these distinctions, relationships may be attributed either to attempts to gain reputation rather than control; or to the con-

sequences of encountering police authority rather than to the behavior which prompted the encounter.

Finally delinquent behavior may resist alienation as self-estrangement. Few of even the most delinquent teenagers seem alienated in the sense of fragmented. The heavily delinquent are not characterized by a general lack of commitment to the roles they are asked to play in our society. Indeed, their delinquency is a demonstration of commitment to a kind of age-appropriate role, one which is endorsed by agemates and, I suspect, is recognized, and not without some legitimation, by grownups as well. Furthermore, a fairly stable pattern of delinquent behavior may be generated by another commitment, a failed commitment, to the role of student. In this perspective delinquency is not a symptom of alienation but rather a youngster's attempt to develop a sense of self with which he can be comfortable to replace a sense of himself as a failure.

### The Reality of Negative Identity

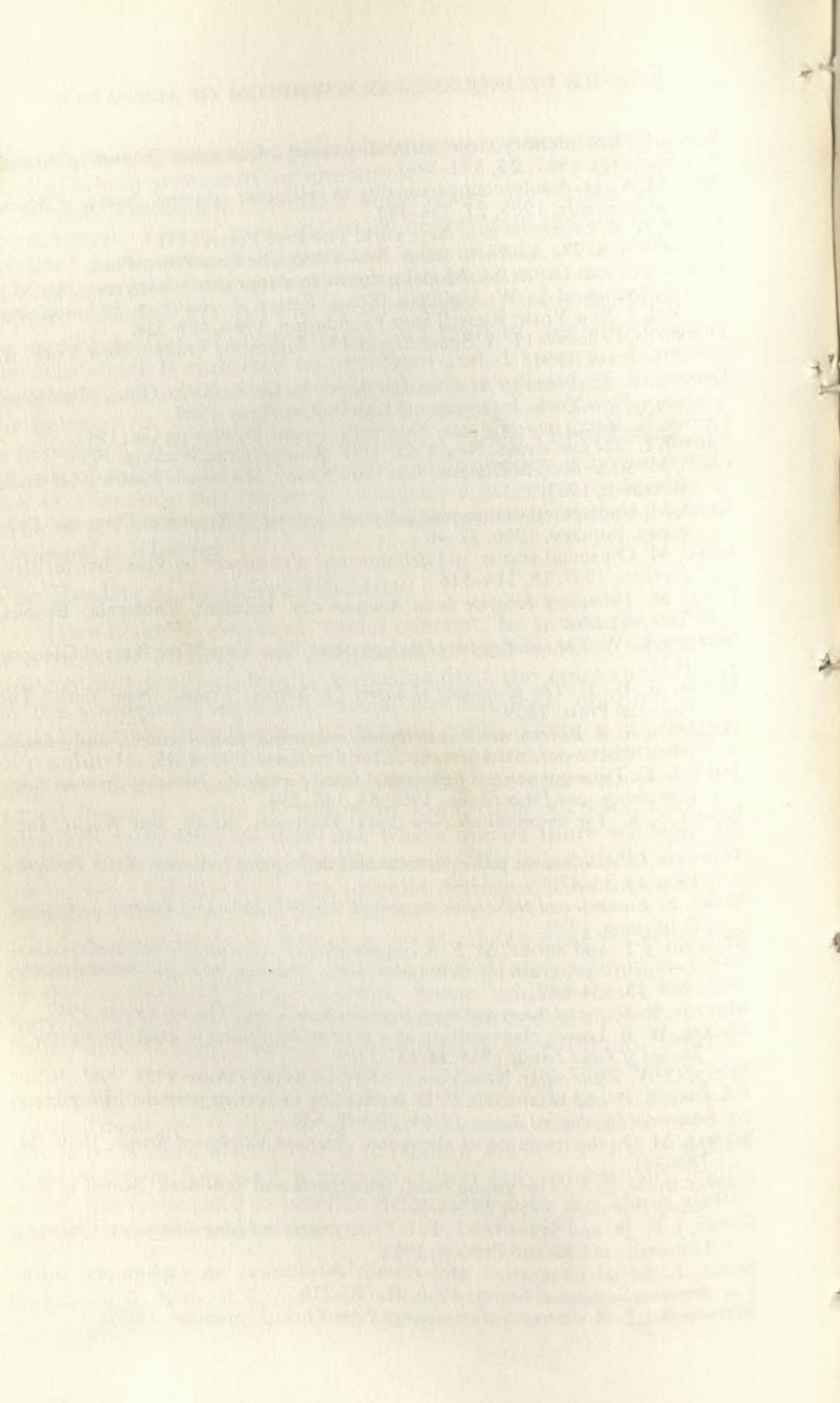
Here Erikson provides a useful concept: he posits the reality of a negative identity, an integration of self-in-roles which in contrast to a positive identity stands against the roles prescribed by the youngster's legitimate social environment, defining itself in its departure from the acceptable and good. There is a measure of resolution of the adolescent identity crisis in the adoption of a negative identity, but inasmuch as it must contend with powerful social forces in order to maintain itself, this identity may be generally more tenuous than one which merits more widespread respect. However, a negative identity may dig in and hold against the current. Erikson cites the juvenile delinquent as an example of negative identity (1959, 129-132).

One of the characteristic features of adolescence is deepening commitment to the sexual, familial, social and economic roles in the repertory of their societies. Some adolescents find that they are unable to cast themselves into the set of roles they are called upon to play. One alternative then is to withhold commitment, that is, to withhold oneself but to play the role; this is the road to self-estrangement. Another alternative is to withhold all commitment and to play at all roles and none; this is the road to nowhere. A third alternative is to commit oneself to a role which is more fitting, however, it may be at best only marginally legitimate; this is the road to juvenile delinquency. In this sense, delinquency is counter-alienating.

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## **A Greater Space in Which to Breathe: What Art and Drama Tell Us About Alienation**

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Some men look upon the existing social system and feel a lack of commitment to its values. Of these, some attempt to destroy the existing system, some become alienated and a few struggle to create a new way of living, a new way of thinking, a new code of values. One of the ways these individuals share their search with the mainstream of society is through the art and theatre they create, the literature they write, the songs they sing. That the artist does not communicate at all times is not surprising for his is the task of building a road where no road exists and his is the fear that he will be unequal to the work and that even if he succeeds few of his fellow men will be interested or able to follow him. In the past it seemed that this revolt, this quest was undertaken by adults. Now we are faced with the fact that our youth are engaging themselves in the same struggle.

### **The Cry for Action . . .**

In the midst of us they cry out for change, for involvement, for action. As described by John Gruen in *The New Bohemia* (1966), these youth find the action while dancing at The Electric Circus on St. Mark's Place in New York City, while becoming involved in "hip talk", drinking, "turning on", or in "connecting". They may find the action as they search for a hero to believe in, while searching for love, for a cause, be it Civil Rights or Vietnam or

freedom in sexual expression, or freedom in the underground movement of art, poetry, drama, cinema. Above all else, however, there is the search for some kind of new day which has broken contact with the past.

The present system, political, economic, military must change they say. New involvements reflective of explosive attitudes about convention, morality, sex are part of the action of "togetherness" of "loving in". They tell us, out of their thirteen year old mouths, that they are *there*, that they are looking at the adult world with impatience, with disbelief. Father's faith is not enough, they say. They cannot play the moralist's game of all fair and square when you abide by the rules. They suspect the politicalist who wants them to serve society, for they believe that they are being asked to serve a power structure, not society. They reject materialism which to them spells out the "American Way of Life". God asks of them obedience, devotion, discipline. They revolt. Religion, as with so much else, has for these youth become an impersonal system to which they will not submit.

They desire a community of shared concern, of love. To them adults are (at best) hypocritical for even if the adult understands he still continues to conform outwardly, and the youth say they will not. These youths are calling out for a new "faith" . . . a creative purpose to life. They have not rejected the notion that goodness is better than evil. They try to believe that all men are brothers. As Kenneth Keniston has reminded us,

for them, alienation is not part of a deliberate effort to locate and systematically oppose basic values of our culture, but rather a set of conclusions about life that grew relatively unselfconsciously out of their own experience, that appears to be confirmed by it, that makes sense of the way they experience the world (1965).

## What Art Tells Us

The artist often has been characterized as one in search, often as one set apart from the rest of society, nonconforming, breaking conventions, frustrated, lonely, strange. The personal histories of many artists will support some of these generalizations, but surely not all artists may be described in such terms. What might be said, more cautiously, is that artists are individuals who are unable to walk the step beside the average footprint upon the average sidewalk. They have seen other visions, have heard other sounds and have taken other paths.

It is then appropriate for the artist to interpret existing matter according to his own perceptions. And this is what youth is attempting: the interpretation of life in terms of its existing

manifestations, the giving to it of their own perceptions in terms of their own behaviors.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that these youths are much like the artists and dramatists in their reaction against many social patterns as well as against many of the artistic beliefs of their time. In so doing I suggest that there are elements in this revolt of today's young which are both creative and dynamic and, moreover, a much needed ingredient for our society.

### **The Right to be Free—The Right to Fail**

Above all, the artist throughout the ages has demanded his right to be free: free to experiment, free to fail. Today's youth makes the same demand.

When, in 1924, the surrealist movement was formally organized in André Breton's "Manifesto of Surrealism", there could be seen the intention of systematically disintegrating conventional concepts while attempting a combination of some elements in the theories of Einstein and Freud. The purpose was to free the artist from the traditional association with pictorial ideas and from all accepted means of expression. Hence, the artist would be released to create according to the irrational dictates of his subconscious mind and vision. As expressed by the leaders of the movement, Dali and Miro, the surrealists reached out toward new worlds of reality, tried to find access to the subconscious. They were tired of reason and their focus was directed inward. They like the young of today felt that only in an exploration of the unconscious driving forces could they find the data they needed to come to terms with the sick and miserable conditions of their world.

### **Abstract Expressionism . . .**

Abstract expressionism came to be viewed as the artist's private vision. The movement developed soon after the cubist revolution in Europe. The cubists, led by Braque, Gris and Picasso distorted reality to make the observer look at it in a new and more perceptive way. They shattered form in order to make reality more real. By the 1940's and 1950's, however, the abstract expressionists turned to pure form as their main purpose. They looked at the relationships of color, shape and texture as artistic ends. The emphasis was upon *why* the artist used particular forms, and *what* message their forms might contain. Abstract expressionism searched for the meaning of human experience. As in the work of Pollock, Gottlieb and Kline, both critic and public alike felt that there was a hidden meaning in what the artist might have conceived as an experience in form and color. There were

those who felt that abstract expressionism first anticipated and later mirrored the chaos of World War II and the early 50's. For the art produced spilled off the palettes of men and women who saw a highly organized, dedicated society arm first to kill and then to obtain economic world power. Furthering this movement was "action painting" which was an attempt at a violent overthrow of all elements of aesthetics. One artist painted by riding a bicycle through pigment and onto and over his canvass while another shot paint from a gun at his canvas. And it seemed that the artist appeared to have lost touch with what was thought to be common reality—not only in painting but in letters and the theatre. Man's presence in a chaotic world filled the works of the creative. Such feelings set the stage for pop art.

### Pop Art . . .

Pop art points up man's position in an absurd world. Of all objects he is the most absurd. As an interchangeable cog in the technological age he is a worshiper of the God of the manufactured item—blown up to a gigantic size. In the fears of the computer, in the incongruities within the assumption that technology would give man a better life while the bitterness of an arms race grew as the turmoil of a world in unrest and want continued, pop art came to be an expression of a period thrown into increased automation and decreased personalization. Artists came to see in the proliferation of consumer goods and the symbols of modern living an indication of the true nature of our social structure and values. They came to see that men in search for a "REAL PURPOSE" had become blinded to their real purpose and the world had become a meaningless world of things. Pop art became a symbol of man's emptiness. Roy Lichtenstein's giant comic strip characters and Andy Warhol's soup cans presented images of reality as seen by the "cog" men.

### Op Art . . .

Pop art led to op art with abstract design being substituted for realistic content. Whereas pop realism expressed itself from the canvas to the viewer, op art brought the viewer into the canvas. The viewer became a part of the artistic world because his optical senses were manipulated by the painting. Artists like Richard Anuszkiewicz, Ben Cunningham and Larry Poons seemed to reflect the kind of world in which they lived, perhaps the world of the future as well. By aiding our senses to perceive "Reality" expanded beyond our usual visual limits, the op artists presented challenge to our feelings of desparation by demanding that we

become more alive. This is the same type demand that the youth today with their psychedelic culture are making—only they use “mind expanding” drugs.

Pop art is cool and detached. Alienated youth is trying to be cool and detached. An Oldenburg stands “for an art that takes its form from the lines of life, that twists and extends impossibly and accumulates and spits and drips and is sweet and stupid as life itself”. An alienated youth attempts an impersonality toward the world, a world he says that had become impersonal long before his detachment from it. In doing so he tries to create new lines, tries to create a new sweetness, create a new meaning.

### Youth and the Artist

As the artist reflects that which he perceives and responds to, is it not appropriate for youth to do the same? Perhaps the difference is found in the fact that the artist deals with media which viewers may objectively elect to observe or not to observe, while youth is creating cultural forms that act upon existing conventions which cannot be treated as dispassionately as an artistic work. Thus the “adult” world feels that it must monitor the happening. Not able to understand it, anymore than they often are able to understand the expression of the artist, they, nonetheless, see themselves in the role of protector of youth, and the only way one can protect (many say) is to stop—with force if necessary. And youth has been stopped in Washington, at Columbia, in Chicago, at Harvard.

Can we take the notions of action, desperation, freedom, impersonality and technology and isolate them within art or within youth? It seems naive to do so when, in fact, the conditions contributing to the alienation of both the artist and youth spring from the same tap roots. If we like to think that life has an order about it, that societies create rules to help individuals function within this order, we see that the artist can break and has broken the rules of art. Perhaps, then, we must expect youth to break the rules of accepted living, and yet, without rules we see that people drift into chaos. The artist's example may calm our fears, for in the breaking with current rules, artists after expanding the space in which they choose to work have then prescribed a new set of limits for their medium. The painter rebels within his own medium of expression. What is the medium in which youth can rebel? The real world is just as difficult for youth to deal with as it is for many artists. The artist, youth has been told, contributes to society through his rebellion. Cannot alienated youth do the same, contributing out of the seeds of their own rebellion? Cannot society go beyond its anger at youths' acts of rebellion and hear the

cry such young people are making for more space for themselves and all men to live in, for the setting of new rules, new limits.

## What Drama Tells Us

One function of literature has long been that of reflecting the times, of commenting upon them, of interpreting them. When this becomes a conscious intention of the writer, it offers the reader evidence regarding contemporary phenomena. When it is not intentional but nonetheless demonstrates thought patterns attributive to the events of the moment or styles that appear to emerge right out of the history of that moment, though the reader may be more confused by less explicitly stated intentions, he is able to probe within the matter and come out with his own answers.

Formal writing concerning the nature of the artist is not a new concern to author, essayist and poet. Going back to Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, or to Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, the artist has been the dominant figure. So too, the artist is the major concern of Emerson in *The Poet*, of Hawthorne in *The Artist of the Beautiful*, Mann in *Death in Venice*, Wolfe in *Of Time and the River* and Proust in *Remembrance of Things Past*, and who can forget Browning's figure of *Andrea del Sarto*, of Byron's *Manfred*?

These works were conscious attempts at representing the man society calls the artist. But what of another type of writing, the type that communicates the condition of man living in a world that is seen as being harmful toward both the artist and mankind itself? What of the writing of those who have tried to express their own anxieties as these relate to the macrocosm of life? Here we do not have character study nor descriptions of actions and motives. Here we have manuscripts that are the fiber of today scrawled with the strokes of horror, sadness and emptiness that pervade much of the world.

## Theater of the Absurd

Nowhere is this done more powerfully than in the work of the Theater of the Absurd. Talk about youth and his rebellion, nowhere is the poignancy of this rebellion given voice more sardonically. Nowhere better can one see the meaning of all the non-meaning than in Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* with its statement of the tragedy of human life. Here behold man waiting for a new world when all the while the old world cries out to him to be remade in the moment given to every man and every nation.

The absurdist theater emphasizes self-estrangement and meaninglessness, two of the themes in youth's own alienation. While this theater does not pretend to speak for youth, it too gives

us greater insights into the conditions out of which youth's problems arise.

Self-estrangement, pronounced in most absurdist drama, is the individual's awareness of the discrepancy between his ideal self and his actual self image. Meaninglessness is reflected in the individual's lack of certainty as to what he ought to believe. In most basic definitions of alienation we find the common element of an individual's feelings of rejection, of not being able to live within the code his society has set, of not being able to contribute meaningfully to his society.

### Ionesco . . .

While creating a new form of dramatic expression, alienated from more comfortable expectation for drama, Ionesco was feared by some, including Kenneth Tynan of the *London Observer*, as being an enemy of realism in the theater. As an advocate of anti-theater, anti-realist and anti-reality as well, Ionesco, from the early *The Chairs* to his later *Rhinoceros*, shows that he feels words to be meaningless and that communication between human beings is impossible. For the most part, youth could echo these sentiments. After all, although distant from 1942, today's youth is repeating an Albert Camus idea that the world shattered by war had lost all meaning. This feeling is shared by youth in this present world of turmoil and automation. They sense that man's beliefs and his life have become separated. More than any other single quality, this is the feeling of "Absurdity", Camus said. This meaning of Absurdity refers to "out of harmony". So it is, then, that Ionesco defines absurd as something devoid of purpose, as man cut off from his religious roots, lost, and all his actions senseless.

Such feelings permeate the plays of Beckett, Genet, Albee and Pinter. They are plays that certainly, as in the case most especially of Pinter, have become a voice for today's youth, an expression of his attitudes toward life and of his willingness to break with old forms in order to create new arrangements more suited to reflect his values and attitudes.

In the Theater of the Absurd, the writers alienate themselves from the more traditional theater crafts and techniques in order to intensify their own visions of the absurdity of the human condition in a confused world where a decline of religious belief has deprived man of basic certainties. They, like many other artists in other media, express an awareness of man's hopeless pessimism in the midst of the threat to his self worth at the hands of the machine, and his need to accept his humanity if he is to seek, to find and to face the unavoidable truths about himself.

In the Theater of the Absurd, as pointed out by Martin Esslin

(1961), we see a world of the senseless, lacking a unifying principle. Hence, this type of theater expresses the anxiety and the despair that spring from the awareness that man is surrounded by an impenetrable darkness, that he is destined never to know his true nature and purpose, and that he will never be provided with ready-made rules of conduct. The absurdist believes, however, that this anxiety and fear can be overcome by facing it. Hence, the dramatist attempts to help his audience face up to that human condition as it really is, to free itself from the illusions that cause maladjustment and disappointment.

### Sense of Senselessness . . .

So it is then, that the Theater of the Absurd strives to express the sense of senselessness in the human condition and the inadequacy of the logical approach by abandonment of rational devices and use of discursive thought. The action in an absurdist play is usually not intended to tell a story. Its intention is to communicate a pattern of poetic images. It neither poses an intellectual problem in its exposition nor provides any clear-cut solution. It confronts the audience with actions that lack apparent motivation, characters that are in constant flux, and happenings that are often clearly outside the areas of rational structure. In what is commonly a circular structure, the endings are exactly as the beginnings, progress being experienced in an intensification of the initial situation. The audience is challenged to formulate questions if it is to approach a comprehension of the play. Instead of proceeding from point to point, complex patterns of poetic image emerge with the spectator waiting for the eventual completion of the pattern in order to enable him to see the image as a whole. When that image is assembled, at the curtain's close, he can begin to explore its impact.

One trend in the Theater of the Absurd is to show the breakdown in the basic communication of language. The absurdist believe that language conceals rather than expresses one's thoughts and emotions. The audience is made to experience this by listening to characters speak apparent nonsense such as in Ionesco's *The Bald Soprano*.

The dramatists of the Theater of the Absurd show modern man that one of life's tragedies is that man insists upon maintaining the false side of himself, that he needs to sharpen his awareness of his common need for his fellow humans and their common need of him. But is modern man capable of meeting this need? Our youth are making an attempt.

Beckett's search for the self could well be a documentation for youth's search for itself. Ionesco's people in *The Bald Soprano*

who are bored, who can no longer talk because they can no longer think, who cannot be moved, can no longer feel, who could be anybody or anything in their loss of identity, could well be upon a Warhol canvas, but equally, could well be youth's own critique of the world around.

Genet has shown us that in "the language of evil, good is only an illusion; Evil is a Nothingness which arises upon the ruins of Good". Moreover, Genet, in expressing his feelings of helplessness, his loneliness "caught in the hall of mirrors of the human condition, inexorably trapped by an endless progression of images that are merely his own distorted reflection", could be the voice of many a young person who finds himself caught in a world of "lies covering lies, fantasies battenning upon fantasies, nightmares nourished by nightmares within nightmares".

### Why Not . . . ?

Why not a Genet? His is a theater of social protest. His is a theater that, as described by Martin Esslin, "explores the human condition, the alienation of man, his solitude, his futile search for meaning and reality" (1961).

Why not an alienated youth? There is a world that has been its father, its mother, that has been father and mother to an art in alienation, to a theater in alienation. Desperation in art, desperation in theater, desperation in living, in dying—where will it end?

Alienated youth is not to be confused with unproductive youth. Through the action that characterizes his state, he shares with many a creative person the caution of Camus in *The Stranger* that it takes courage to live in an absurd world. As he looks with desperation at the havoc created by the adult world, he looks at the desperation of his own life and while rejecting the acquisitiveness of middle class values, he demands the freedom to remain young. Like a Jules Pfeiffer commentary, he shows his maturity by not wanting to grow up. If there is an impersonality in his art and his theater, even a sickness about it, as in a *Ché*, there also is a symbolic posture that stands for a disillusionment with life as it exists. His iconoclasm goes beyond a breaking with traditional concepts of culture, of art, of theater and goes into a pervasive life force that risks self-estrangement in the land of the Hippie, of the Yippie of the New Left while attempting new relationships with human-kind through expressions of live without the fears of sex.

### Regaining Humanization . . .

Even in the midst of the happenings of the flower people, there is a motif of regaining humanization. America is over half

youth and as this corps faces the faceless world of bureaucracy, of machines, it does speak out against social injustice and force social change. A Vietnam Teach-In, such as that conducted by a Staughton Lynd, tells the adult world that this is a youth who will be heard. The Vietnam rallies in the summers of 1967 and 1968 fighting the draft with their slogans, "Hell no! We won't go!", say that they will be heard. They may not surround the adult world with an art that all will see nor a theater that all will experience but they will be heard for their product is not canvas or a production. It is a march, a confrontation on the street with the police, a commune for working out the problems of living with other people. Out of the despair grows action. Action sometimes destructive, but action which attempts to move the limits placed on their lives so that they and we have a greater space in which to breathe.

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## Biographical Sketches

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG is Professor of Education and Sociology at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He has taught at the University of Chicago, Brooklyn College and the University of California, Davis. His most recent books are *The Vanishing Adolescent*, *Coming of Age in America* and *Society's Children: A Study of Ressentiment in the Secondary School*.

MARTIN GOLD received his B.A. (1953) from Dartmouth College, his M.A. (Psychology, 1955) and Ph.D. (Social Psychology, 1961) from the University of Michigan, where he remains as a Program Director of the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the Institute for Social Research and an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology. His major interest is in cultural and social structural effects on personality development. He is currently working on the National Survey of Youth, a continuing study of American adolescents and on a study of the social context for achievement among elementary school pupils.

DAVID GOTTLIEB is the Director of the Division of Community Development and Professor of Human Development, Pennsylvania State University. He was the Director of Research and Education for the Job Corps, OEO, and was Study Director for Michigan State University. He is a member of the Presidents Council on Youth Opportunities. A few of his books are *Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas*, *The Alienated Adolescent* and *The Emergence of Youth Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Approach*.

LAURENCE J. GOULD is Assistant Professor of Psychology at the City University of New York. In 1963-64 he was U.S.P.H.S. postdoctoral fellow in child development at Yale University, and since 1964 he has served as the Assistant Director of Research for the Yale Summer High School. In addition to his continuing interest in alienation, he is currently conducting a program of research on small group and organizational behavior.

ROBERT E. GRINDER is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. He has published two editions of *Studies in Adolescence*, in 1963 and 1969, and has published *A History of Genetic Psychology The First Science of Human Development* in 1967. He has also published in numerous scholarly journals on adolescent development.

SANDFORD REICHART is an Associate Professor of Education at John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio. He is Coordinator of that University's Master of Arts in Teaching Programs. In this latter role his major responsibility is the developing of new teaching techniques for inner city schools. He is presently the Acting Director of the Self Instruction Project for the Emotionally Disturbed at the Research and Demonstration Center of Teachers College, Columbia University. Also, he is Consulting Editor of Special Education at the Thomas Y. Crowell Company. He received his Ed.D. from Western Reserve University and his M.A. from Teachers College Columbia University. His book, *Change and the Teacher*, has just been released by Thomas Y. Crowell and a second book, *Teaching The Disadvantaged: A Practical Guide*, is due for release later this year.

WILLIAM A. WATTS obtained his Ph.D. in social psychology at Columbia University in 1963. He is now Associate Professor in the Department of Education, University of California, Berkeley, and also holds a part-time appointment as a project co-director with the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at Berkeley.

DAVID WHITTAKER is a Co-director and Assistant Research Psychologist at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley. He received his Ph.D. in 1967 from the University of California at Berkeley and is presently engaged in longitudinal research on student socio-psychological development and student subcultures on a number of diverse university campuses.

EDGAR Z. FRIEDENBERG, Current Patterns of a Generational Conflict. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 21-38.

There is a difference between this generation's conflict with its elders and other such conflicts. No longer do the young want to replace the older generation and do it one better. Many young people want to leave the middle class system altogether. They are convinced that they never will want to be like their elders and that they must fight for their and other's rights to live outside the system. The communication system of the young (Folk Rock Records) are described.

MARTIN GOLD, Juvenile Delinquency as a Symptom of Alienation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 121-135.

Conceptual and historical analysis of the term "alienation" yields three essential meanings: (1) not influenced by; (2) not able to influence; and (3) estranged from one's self. Such analyses allows useful reference to relevant theoretical and empirical work not usually considered pertinent to the study of alienation.

Inferences are drawn about the relationship between juvenile delinquency and alienation from data on delinquent behavior. It is concluded that heavily delinquent adolescents are not truly alienated in the first sense; that they may be in the second sense, but that the data are especially inadequate on this issue; and that delinquency seems to be counter-alienating in the third sense.

DAVID GOTTLIEB, Poor Youth: A Study in Forced Alienation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 91-120.

The adolescent who is poor is alienated in a different way than the alienated middle class youth. The young who come from a disadvantaged background whether they be white or black "want in but can't make it". This study shows that these youths are alienated because they are without the resources and referents which have become important for goal attainment.

There is a significant difference in the way in which the two groups of subjects have been treated. The first group, consisting of 100 subjects, has been treated in a manner which is consistent with the principles of the scientific method. The second group, consisting of 100 subjects, has been treated in a manner which is inconsistent with the principles of the scientific method.

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LAURENCE J. GOULD, Conformity and Marginality. The Two Faces of Alienation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 39-63.

A 20-item manifest alienation measure (MAM) and a battery of attitude and personality measures was administered to a group of 429 college students. In addition, a subsample of high alienated (HA) and low alienated (LA) students were tested in an Asch-type group pressure situation. It was found that HA Ss conform significantly more than LA Ss. In addition, it was discovered that there was a significant tendency for HA Ss to be first-born or only children. Utilizing this finding as a starting point some tentative notions are developed to account for both the content of the alienation syndrome as well as its major attitudinal and behavioral correlates.

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ROBERT E. GRINDER, Distinctiveness and Thrust in the American Youth Culture. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 7-19.

Peer resources, values, and traditions are shown to constitute a separate youth culture in America. The innovations and ambiguities in changing patterns of socialization are assumed to lead youth to cohere and the viability of their cohesion makes plausible the assumption of youth-culture distinctiveness. Further, whether one interprets youth's activities or thrust as either facilitative or subversive of adult values is regarded as a function of subjective feelings, particularly toward human nature. Empirical data based on an investigation of relations between youth-culture involvement and academic orientation of 2,220 boys are also presented. The results revealed significant relationships between high youth-culture interests and low commitment to high-school objectives; however, the data also showed that some adolescents depend upon the youth-culture for a reward system alternative to that of the adult society and some use the youth-culture to support their transition to adulthood.

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SANDFORD REICHART, Because We have Left Love Behind. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 137-146.

Man's reactions to social change may be seen best in his cultural expressions. Youth demonstrates this in the art, theater, literature and music he creates. This process is as old as is the history of man's story of change. Through his art and drama man has recorded this change. In doing so, man has expressed his alienation toward existing traditions through the content and structure of his art forms and most specifically his dramatic forms. This paper suggests that there are elements in the alienation of youth which are both creative and dynamic. Moreover, it is the position of this paper that these elements may be identified as being a part of some of the world's greatest creative efforts. The elements are presented as being: action, desparation, freedom, impersonality, iconoclasm, self-estrangement, and absurdity.



DAVID WITTAKER and WILLIAM A. WATTS, Personality Characteristics of a Nonconformist Youth Subculture: A Study of Berkeley Non-Students. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 2, 65-88.

A total of 151 members of the Berkeley non-student "fringe population" was compared to a random sample of 56 members of the student body of the University of California, Berkeley, on the basis of the Omnibus Personality Inventory and several questions of a general biographical nature.

Compared to the students, the non-students were far more oriented toward the Creative and Fine Arts or Humanities and less interested in the more pragmatic fields.

In terms of their OPI profiles, the non-students, as compared to the students, were characterized by their markedly higher scores on Complexity, Impulse Expression, Autonomy and Estheticism and their lower scores on Personal Integration and Masculinity-Femininity. The non-students also scored higher on Religious (liberal) Orientation and indicated higher Anxiety Level than the students, but these differences only reached significance for the females. Although the direction was the same, male non-students, but not the females, scored significantly lower on Practical Outlook than their student counterparts.



## The Activists' Corner

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In the October 1968 number of the JSI, in our neighboring column, "Comments and Rejoinders", Robert R. Rodgers took us to task for perpetuating the JSI as a house organ. He feared that even in our very new and very self-consciously activist "Activists' Corner" we and our fellow social scientist contributors would be writing informally the same kind of academic stuff which we had previously been writing formally. He saw our column as introducing only stylistic or cosmetic changes without altering the substance. What was needed, he argued, was a "... kind of clearing house for the presentation of social issues to scientists ... by persons who face these issues in their lives. ... The accounts would often be in the first person ... should contain facts ... may also be as deep or as inferential as the writer can manage". We suggest you reread Rodger's "Comments" for a fuller statement of his position.

Joshua A. Fishman, the Editor of the JSI, jumped to our defense in his "Rejoinder". Actually, it was to his own defense more than to ours to which Fishman jumped, since reader Rodgers had levelled his attack more at the JSI than at us. Nevertheless, in the course of defending the JSI Fishman did put in a plea for us. We much appreciated Editor Fishman's help, and yet

we felt that Rodgers did have a point—at least good enough a point to merit giving his suggestion a try.

We are writing this column on the day that Governor Reagan of California has declared the University of California at Berkeley to be in a state of extreme emergency, and has placed the California State Police in virtual “Lawnorder” command of the campus—following some vandalism and violence in connection with the Third World Student strike. What the situation will be in Berkeley after the weeks and months it takes an issue of the JSI to be printed we cannot tell, but we suspect that all of us will still be interested in the problems which eventuated in Governor Reagan’s action.

### A “Robert-Rodgers-Type” Article

In any event, it was our concern with these problems which had led us, a few weeks previously, to ask Mr. Bill Somerville to do a “Robert-Rodgers-type” article for us on Berkeley and minority group students. Mr. Somerville had been in on the very inside of the University’s concerns with minority group students almost from their beginnings three years ago when psychologist Roger Heyns (who is Chancellor at Berkeley) foresaw the difficult days ahead and foreseeing sought to forestall by providing a full-time appointment for Mr. Somerville to “do something” about minority students at Berkeley.

Mr. Somerville listened to our request and graciously consented to look back three years to the time of his appointment, to take thought, and to write an article for the “Activists’ Corner”. The manuscript he brought to us met, in a most satisfying way we believe, all of Mr. Rodgers’ criteria. However, being very active editors of the “Activists’ Corner” we could not keep our hands off his manuscript entirely. But rather than “edit” it, we interposed editorial questions, we asked for clarifications, for further discussion, or we just interjected some gratuitous snide comments. Again, Mr. Somerville was very patient and gracious with us and permitted such interruptions, and answered our queries. (All of this is set off in italics in Mr. Somerville’s article.) Beyond that his first-person, first-hand report of the early stages of the Berkeley Happening has not been tampered with. We commend the article to our readers. But first, a brief word about Mr. Somerville.

Bill Somerville did undergraduate (political science) and graduate (criminology) work at Berkeley. His training was in race relations, small groups and community development. For three years (66–68) he held the title of “Assistant to the Chancel-

lor for Special Projects" on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. He initiated and directed the Educational Opportunity Program which was the first such effort in the state. The Berkeley program was one of the largest in the country and has been highly publicized in the news media. A complete description of this program appears in Somerville's article in the *College Board Review*, Fall 1967, No. 65.

Somerville is now a Fellow with the Wright Institute in Berkeley. The Wright Institute was awarded a \$120,000 grant by the U.S. Office Education on January 1969 for a National Training Program for college officials responsible for the recruitment and support of minority group students. Mr. Somerville will direct this program. He tells us that he would welcome correspondence with concerned people. His address is Mr. Bill Somerville, The Wright Institute, 2465 LeConte Avenue, Berkeley, California 94709.

### Somerville's Remarks

In reading your articles in the "Activists' Corner" I am impressed that you are concerned with people "being involved" and the fact that there seems to be such a paucity of those to whom you speak who are involved. As one who has just come from three years on the "firing line" I am eager to accept your invitation to tell you what it's like.

In January, 1966, Roger Heyns, Chancellor of the Berkeley campus, said to me, "Bill, you are the first man I have hired whom I am asking, What are you going to do for us"? It was made clear that I was supposed to do something to increase the number of minority group students on campus but no one had any idea of how to proceed. I guess the first thing that happened was the story in the local newspaper with headlines "UC's Negro Drive", and a phone call from the local Mexican-American leader saying "God Damn it, what about us"? And I was off and running.

It was an assistant to the Chancellor who told me at the start that in my job I would come under pressures I had never beheld before. I was beginning to see what she meant.

Three years and 700 students later I have mixed emotions about what has happened to me and to the University. I guess they are mixed because there were so many times when people who were there to help resolve problems, became a part of the problem, and because in working with minority group persons I became sensitive to weaknesses in the educational system which I had not been at all aware of before. I would like to describe some of these situations.

## The Racial Survey at Berkeley

I remember when I undertook a racial survey at Berkeley—the first racial survey at a major academic institution—and not having anyone to whom I could turn for advice. It was my feeling that such a survey should be taken to show publically how bad things were. An assistant to the Chancellor felt all hell would break lose with such a survey and that it should not be undertaken. A senior faculty member (Jewish) said this is how Hitler got started. The Academic Senate decided to vote on the plan and by a narrow margin I was allowed to make the survey.

I had no idea of how to proceed so I called the Fair Employment Practices Commission and got their sanction; I went to the faculty committee on academic freedom and got their approval; I met with the chairman of the Chancellor's committee on discrimination and got his OK and then I designed an IBM questionnaire card for the first time in my life.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Why didn't you go to the psychology department for help?*

*SOMERVILLE: I didn't think of it and no psychologist came to mind nor did any offer their services, but I doubt if I would go now if I were repeating the survey. I could see the survey becoming a major scientific undertaking with psychology department sponsorship when all I wanted were some basic facts—and those, immediately. I recall a similar and subsequent survey at the University concerning minority group employees undertaken by the Personnel Office. This survey was never completed because academic departments refused to make a determination of who was black, Mexican-American, etc. The Anthropology Department, for one, claimed such categories were not valid.*

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: !!*

Things went well, almost all the 26,063 students returned the card. There was no upheaval, no grumbling, no accusations, nothing but the evidence that the Berkeley campus almost totally excluded minority persons from its student body. Of the Mexican-Americans, Negroes and American Indians who represented over 17% of the state's population, less than 2% were in the UC student body. We all had a good idea that higher education was a white middle class undertaking but this was the first time it was down on paper.

## The High Schools and Junior Colleges

To get the program underway, I decided I had better get out to the schools. I wrote every high school and junior college in the Bay Area including San Quentin Prison and California Youth

Authority schools and started meeting with counselors and students "regardless of their achievement records". I met with thousands of students and gave talks at over 125 high schools in the state. I was stunned at how easy it was to turn kids on—bitter kids. I had yet to learn that they turned off just as easily as soon as I left. With student-counselor ratios, in some cases of 750:1, there was no one to sustain their interests.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Did you feel that the counselor was the key person responsible for the student's academic preparation—I suppose that I really want to know whether you found support for the notion that the counselor is the "white man's lackey" and is responsible for directing the Black and Mexican-American students away from college preparation courses.*

*SOMERVILLE: I think the role of the high school counselor has been overemphasized. In some cases the counselor saw the student only a few minutes a year because of the number of students each counselor counseled. I began to feel the counselor was used as a scapegoat and her deficiencies became the main reason given by all kinds of "well-meaning" people for a lack of student achievement. Most counselors I met didn't counsel, they programmed students. There are two basic questions I was concerned with: did the student have the opportunity to take academic courses and if so what factors accounted for his low performance in the courses. I felt that too many people held the counselor accountable for both of these things.*

## **Blame—A Preoccupation . . .**

When I found I couldn't visit high schools as often as necessary to give the attention needed by students, I established the College Commitment Program using college students as assistant counselors in the high schools on a part time basis. A pilot effort showed that this kind of attention produced results in terms of black high school student achievement. When we ran a full scale program using college students in thirty high schools with a full time director, we expected even better results. We found, however, that we could not even duplicate our original results in the six schools. I found that many of the black college student assistants felt it was their job to set up black student unions one of whose main objectives was to figure out who was to *blame* for their predicament.

I became very interested in this preoccupation with blame and found that I was to come across it time and again. It seemed that the more desperate a person was the more he seemed to be preoccupied with his problems and how he got them rather than with how to resolve them.

An example of one's preoccupation with problems came to me when a local Negro spokesman who was critical of the University Educational Opportunity Program and often accused me of being unavailable to people called me two times at home around 10:00 P.M. to discuss how her son (age 26) could get into UC. There was no communication or access problem between us, yet this woman and some others seemed preoccupied with a "communication problem"; they seemed to *need* a communication problem, but yet when they wanted to communicate, nothing stood in their way.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Why do you think this woman acted this way?*

*SOMERVILLE: I'm not sure I know. She impressed me as wanting to do battle and I found it was impossible for the EOP to do something positive in her eyes. I got the feeling that status was involved in her criticism. At first I felt this was a black vs. white problem until I found black persons were criticized also. I think of the term "crabbing" which a black man told me meant tearing down another person; crabs in a barrel are always pulling each other down in their effort to get out.*

One of the first things I tried was to urge the University to enroll persons regardless of whether they met the entrance requirements; and 60% of the EOP students were admitted in this fashion. Their dropout rate was lower than for regularly admitted freshmen students.

The interesting point was that in our efforts to reach minority group students everyone had a different suggestion: have literature written in Spanish, use the "black" radio stations and newspapers, condemn the high school counselor, etc. I soon found that suggestions come more readily than cooperation. The editor of a Bay Area Negro newspaper refused to give publicity to the program claiming that the University was interested only in window dressing and didn't really mean to recruit large numbers of black youth. A Mexican-American spokesman sent back our literature claiming it wasn't translated "right". I began to think that if in running the program I was going to wait for a consensus on what to do next I would end up waiting for Godot. There is no such thing as consensus in race relations work and I found out the hard way.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Did any psychologists offer any suggestions of help?*

*SOMERVILLE: No.*

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Did the Berkeley social psychologists know about this program?*

*SOMERVILLE: I think so with all the publicity we got. We had no trouble in getting the Bay Area community to know about us.*

## The Athletic Program . . . A Guide?

I was impressed that when colleges really wanted to achieve something, bureaucratic procedures did not stand in their way. One such program, which I used as the basis for my work, was the athletic program allowing for the admission of students regardless of their previous academic performance. For many years students have been admitted because of their athletic prowess. They were given special tutoring and total financial aid and often they finished college. Why not the same thing for minority group youth?

Almost as soon as I got started at the University the athletic department and various coaches were looking to me to enlarge on their efforts and bring in even more athletes. This was the last thing on my mind since I felt the Negro had been "used" in the past and it was time to offer opportunity with no strings attached. I thought on this note I would find strong support—not so. I remember well the time a Negro coach in a local junior college came in to see me (we had met only once before for a brief time) and said, "Somerville, I am going to get your ass and get you out of that job as soon as possible. I think you discriminate, etc., etc." It was later that I found out the University had turned down the application of one of his black athletes.

This coach was doing what any vigorous coach would do in looking out for his players only this time his vigor dovetailed with the exploitation all too often seen with college athletes, especially blacks. (A few months later this coach was hired by the University to reply to charges of "white racism" in the athletic department.)

Unfortunately this wasn't the end of my difficulties with athletic concerns. In one case a Negro student applicant was advised by the dean of instruction at his junior college not to tell us he was going out for sports (even though he fully intended to go out for sports), in order that he would get admitted to the University under the EOP. It was the EOP policy that if a student was to be enrolled and was deficient then he should give all his energy to his studies and not go out for a major sport. This particular student was weak in his academic preparation as were many other students admitted as athletes and was advised to take agricultural economics by his coach (one of the few majors not requiring a foreign language) and other courses which were thought to be easy. I often pondered about how many urban Negroes were going to be agricultural economists.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: From the way you have talked, it appears that the charge that the Negro athlete is used by the University as a sort of gladiator is justified.*

*SOMERVILLE: I think this description is correct. But I want to emphasize that it isn't only the white athletic buff who is exploiting the black athlete; many Negroes also are ready to exploit them. I also think it is wrong when the University, through its recognition of athletic prowess in Negroes, encourages an overemphasis on sports in black high schools. The University says to the black youth, "This is the way to get ahead". And thus I found in visiting high schools that the blacker the high school the greater the number of boys in sports. Academic work in these high schools seemed to be "for girls only". The girls however, usually don't go on to college, and the boys can't unless they are outstanding athletes.*

### **"Mr. Somerville Do You Only Work With Negroes Or Do You Also Work With Americans?"**

The junior colleges presented a serious dilemma. How could they possibly be so ineffective? Their dropout rates were very high, morale very low, virtually no minority group persons were coming to the University from the junior colleges, and there appeared to be nothing happening to change this state of affairs.

In one session with all the counselors at an urban junior college (my second meeting with them), after fully describing the project at the University one counselor looked at me and asked, "Mr. Somerville, do you only work with Negroes or do you also work with Americans"? Her colleagues seemed to show little discomfort with this question and I said I didn't know what she meant by her question. She replied, "I mean, do you also work with regular people"? Tragically, this isn't the only time this question has been asked of me.

When I told this story to a newspaper and he published it in the paper, I had a phone call from the head counselor at a local high school. He was very angry and said none of his counselors had said any such thing. I pointed out that the news story stated only that a counselor said something, it didn't mention what school. I came across this kind of defensiveness innumerable times on the part of both black and white people.

### **With the Militants . . .**

Working with militants was a perplexing experience. Some seemed to see their job as accusing others of not doing enough for them, at the same time for total autonomy. I came to see the statement, "You're not doing enough" as sort of a compliment because it was evident that the speaker couldn't suggest any means for doing more. This negative frame of reference presented

me with the biggest challenge I was to come across. Since some of the militants thought entirely in the negative, they did not allow themselves to be creative and they usually boxed themselves into a corner. The only way I came to deal with them was to come up with an idea and results, and challenge them to come up with some themselves. I tried to get people to focus on what we could do but this wasn't easy.

I refused to allow myself to be maneuvered into a position where I would see the black man as a "Cause" or think of myself as "helping" him or feel sorry for him. My job was to create opportunity and open doors, to make it such that once a man decided he wanted to move ahead, nothing would block his way.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: You sound as though someone were attempting to maneuver you into a position where you would treat the Black man as a "Cause". Who would do that?*

*SOMERVILLE: I think some militant Negroes made themselves into a cause, and saw themselves as a cause, and wanted me to play their game, which I wouldn't do. I found I had constantly to remind myself not to play the game.*

After one year on the job with about 300 students in the University and things seemingly running smoothly I remember being accused by some Black students of not giving financial aid to militant students and making their entry into the University difficult. My answer to this was to say to the speaker that I guess this meant that he wasn't a militant and usually that was the last I heard of it.

After two years, I was accused again by some black students of not giving money to blacks who dated white girls. I offered to go over with them all financial records of students who claimed their money had been cut back, but I found that facts weren't what was important. No student was willing to go over the records with me. The irony here is that the students saw themselves as militants for making such claims and I tried to point this out. This only seemed to aggravate them all the more and I saw this as another tension of working with students. I didn't know whether this was white vs. Black, student vs. administrator, young vs. older, or what?

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: What do you make of this?*

*SOMERVILLE: I take this as an effort to create an issue. Since it is a weak effort, no real issue evolved and some students seemed to be all the more aggravated. It seemed that whenever some publicity came out that described how well the program was doing, criticism of the program was stimulated on the part of the persons who didn't (or felt that they couldn't—politically) allow themselves to become in-*

*volved in the program. Their job, as they saw it, was to criticize and I feel they found this very frustrating and I also found it very hard to deal with these persons. The "crabbing" phenomenon is applicable here and helps describe what is going on.*

## The White Commitment

I guess, in looking back, I found that the most overlooked point in race relations work is that I was mostly involved in developing a new commitment from white people. I think as things stand now race relations is seen as working on "The Negro Problem" and only Negroes should work in the area. Unfortunately this allows for a default on any white commitment. I think this is why I am disturbed by present thinking that race relations jobs should be filled only by Black people.

*SOMERVILLE: I think the black militant is saying, "leave me alone, give me autonomy and give me some resources"; the white racist is saying, "fine, this is what I wanted all along, the Negro off by himself—as long as he is under my thumb"; the white liberal is saying, "although it is repugnant to have separatism it seems to be a necessary phase we must go through". In a sense the three are in agreement on separatism and the end result is that the Negro is given some resources to go off and solve "his problem". Naturally, nothing usually happens because there is no "Negro problem" nor can Black people alone solve the race relations issue. I think this is at the root of the current unrest on many campuses.*

My concern isn't in what color the person is but I look with doubt on the re-establishing of "Negro jobs". In the past, the Black man was relegated to being doorman, janitor, etc.; now it seems he is the race relations man on campus or the human relations specialist, or special employment officer, etc. In both instances the Negro's jobs are decided *for* him and certain jobs (researcher, faculty member, dean) are denied him.

Another example of boxing oneself in is becoming evident with the present emphasis on Black curricula. At present almost 95% of the Black students at the University go into the social sciences, namely social welfare and sociology. There are virtually no Black students in any technical areas, natural sciences or any fields requiring advanced mathematics. (This is true throughout the country.) The emphasis on Black curricula appears to guarantee that Negroes will stay in the social sciences and not become doctors, economists, engineers (at Berkeley four Negroes seems to be the greatest number of Black persons enrolled at any one time in engineering, one of the largest such colleges in the country),

chemists, physicists, architects, foresters (according to Berkeley's dean of forestry, there is one Negro professional forester in the United States), zoologists, botanists, mathematicians, etc. Seen in this light Roy Wilkin's stand against Black separatism in colleges is not only courageous but practical.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: Why, in your opinion, are Black people not in the technical and "more competitive" fields?*

*SOMERVILLE: First of all let's be clear about one thing. It is a myth that verbal skills are the main stumbling block. Black youth are entirely capable in their verbal skills. The universal deficiency is in science and math. I discovered that public schools are good at teaching mathematics to youngsters who catch on the first time but the schools are a failure with those who don't. For the child who doesn't catch on immediately, his academic problems get geometrically worse as the school time schedule pushes him along to the next thing. For example, if he does not do well in the eighth grade math placement test he doesn't take ninth grade algebra, the keystone to college preparation courses. If he goes through high school without the college prep courses but somehow gets into college he almost necessarily ends up in the social sciences. Often the reason given in response to your question by Black people is that the Black man is in the social sciences so that he can get prepared for working with his people and their problems. I think this is only part of the answer and that there is a "simpler" and less "sociological" reason—he has no other choice of academic fields. Is it alright to warn against "over-sociologizing" and "over-psychologizing" in this Journal?*

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: You do our hearts good.*

## The Black Students . . .

Along with becoming aware of the difficulties in race relations work one also becomes aware of a very highly developed sensitivity on the part of Black students.

I remember having two long sessions with a black student who, after graduating from high school jumped off the San Francisco Bay Bridge and somehow survived. After reading of this in the newspaper, I realized this student had applied to the University under the Educational Opportunity Program. I phoned the family and said that all preparations were made for the student to enter the University upon his recovery.

The student came to the University and I found that he was an extremely bright person with an unusual awareness into his feelings and a very strong sense of right and wrong. I found that he was very lonely and at the same time his maturity, independence and thoughtfulness made him a very fine person. In our

talks I came across that struggle I found in so many Black young people where one was trying to find out who he as vis-a-vis white people. He was unique in articulating the love-hate ambivalence felt for white people and for me. He was worried about his relations with other Black people from whom he felt apart as did many Black students at the University. He desperately needed someone to talk to but would only come in my office at my invitation and followup.

I saw this person on campus recently and as usual he was sitting by himself only this time his face had deep scar marks. I invited him to come and talk again but I don't think he will. Through this student and others, I came to realize the tensions that Black people struggle under and I am awed by their ability to keep their sanity.

I found that people who have suffered seem to have an abundance of sensitivity, awareness and insight and I realized that it was not only the Negro who was benefitting from the University, the whole community was going to grow through its contact with Black students. I came to feel that maybe the definition of an educated man would come to include the qualities of sensitivity, awareness and insightfulness.

The ambivalence felt by Black people for whites was tested when I was replaced allegedly to make room for a Black man. I was impressed by a number of Blacks and Mexican-Americans who came in to privately say they were against what was happening. Oddly enough it was some militants with whom I had my best relations and it was they who spoke their concerns to me privately. One said I was doing what Stokely said for white people to do, i.e., "go to work in your own community and get white people to change". I think he came the closest to defining what I was doing.

This ambivalence of Black people seemed to be matched by the subliminal desire to get involved by white people. I remember having lunch with an elderly couple and the university representative for gifts and endowments. After having the EOP described to them, the couple said they were going to change their will so that their money would go to the program. Middle class women would phone and ask if they could volunteer their services. White students by the droves would ask what they could do.

*ACTIVISTS' CORNER: But still no word from the Berkeley Social Psychologists?*

*SOMERVILLE: Still no word.*

The one common denominator amongst the whites was that they wanted to get involved in programs dealing with minority

group people but they wanted to start by dipping their toe in first although one could see that they were intrigued by the thought of making the plunge.

Many people have asked me why I chose to get involved in the area of race relations and I found that I can't answer the question except to say that I think this work tends to "free" me.

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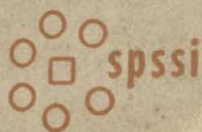
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VOL. XXV • NO. 3

## MOTIVATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF NEGRO AMERICANS

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The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues is a group of over two thousand psychologists and allied social scientists who share a concern with research on the psychological aspects of important social issues. SPSSI is governed by Kurt Lewin's dictum that "there is nothing so practical as a good theory." In various ways, the Society seeks to bring theory and practice into focus on human problems of the group, the community, and the nation as well as the increasingly important ones that have no national boundaries. This Journal has as its goal the communication of scientific findings and interpretations in a non-technical manner but without the sacrifice of professional standards.

Most issues of the Journal are typically organized around a single theme or topic. However, the Journal also welcomes individual manuscripts for possible inclusion in an occasional issue of "selected papers" which have no necessary relationship to one another. Single manuscripts as well as proposals for thematically integrated issues should now be sent to the editor-elect.

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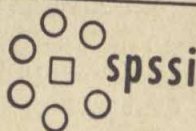
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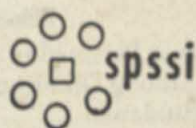
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# The Journal of SOCIAL ISSUES



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## MOTIVATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF NEGRO AMERICANS

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### COMMENTS AND REJOINDERS

Readers wishing to discuss or comment upon any of the articles in this or other issues of *JSI* may submit their reactions or criticisms to the editor-elect, Bertram H. Raven, Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024. Criticisms or observations of general interest will be published in a *Comments and Rejoinders* section of *JSI*.

### Activists' Corner

With the assistance and encouragement of Nevitt Sanford and David Krech, we will continue to publish "the occasional essay, the 'rejoinder to the rejoinder', the impudent question about a pressing social problem that no one seems interested in from a scientific point of view, the posing of dilemmas, the illuminating news item, the speculative commentary". Readers who wish to submit comments in any of these categories are encouraged to send them (three copies, typed double-space, please) to the editor-elect.

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*The Poor.* Marcia Guttentag, Gerald Gurin, and Patricia Gurin, Issue Editors.

## SPSSI Council Statement on Race and Intelligence

The following statement received the unanimous endorsement of the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The announcement was issued following publication of recent articles which have once again evoked popular misconceptions about the relationship of race and intelligence. Council also wished to take issue with implications that racial and class differences in intelligence render compensatory education programs ineffectual. The SPSSI presidential address to be delivered by Martin Deutsch at the Annual Meetings of the Society in September will focus on this issue. The address will be published in the Autumn issue of *JSI*.

As behavioral scientists, we believe that statements specifying the hereditary components of intelligence are unwarranted by the present state of scientific knowledge. As members of the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, we believe that such statements may be seriously misinterpreted, particularly in their applications to social policy.

The evidence of four decades of research on this problem can be readily summarized. There are marked differences in intelligence test scores when one compares a random sample of whites and Negroes. What is equally clear is that little definitive evidence exists that leads to the conclusion that such differences are innate. The evidence points overwhelmingly to the fact that when one compares Negroes and whites of comparable cultural and educational background, differences in intelligence test scores diminish markedly; the more comparable the background, the less the difference. There is no direct evidence that supports the view that there is an innate difference between members of different racial groups.

We believe that a more accurate understanding of the contribution of heredity to intelligence will be possible only when social conditions for all races are equal and when this situation has existed for several generations. We maintain that the racism and discrimination in our country impose an immeasurable burden upon the black person. Social inequalities deprive large numbers of black people of social, economic, and educational advantages available to a great majority of the white population. The existing social structures prevent black and white people even of the same social class from leading comparable lives. In light of these conditions, it is obvious that no scientific discussion of racial differences can exclude an examination of political, historic, economic, and psychological factors which are inextricably related to racial differences.

One of our most serious objections to Jensen's article is to his vigorous assertion that compensatory education has apparently failed. The major failure in so-called compensatory education has been in the planning, size, and scope of the program. We maintain that a variety of programs planned to teach specific skills have been effective and that a few well-designed programs which teach problem-solving and thinking have also been successful. The results from these programs strongly suggest that continuous and carefully planned intervention procedures can have a substantially positive influence on the performance of disadvantaged children.

We point out that a number of Jensen's key assumptions and conclusions are seriously questioned by many psychologists and geneticists.

The question of the relative contributions of heredity and environment to human development and behavior has a long history of controversy within psychology. Recent research indicates that environmental factors play a role from the moment of the child's conception. The unborn child develops as a result of a complex, little understood interaction between hereditary and environmental factors; this interaction continues throughout life. To construct questions about complex behavior in terms of heredity *versus* environment is to oversimplify the essence and nature of human development and behavior.

In an examination of Jensen's data, we find that observed racial differences in intelligence can be attributed to environmental factors. Thus, identical twins reared in different environments can show differences in intelligence test scores which are fully comparable to the differences found between racial groups.

We must also recognize the limitations of present-day intelligence tests. Largely developed and standardized on white middle class children, these tests tend to be biased against black children to an unknown degree. While IQ tests do predict school achievement, we

cannot demonstrate that they are accurate as measures of innate endowment. Any generalizations about the ability of black or white children are very much limited by the nature of existing IQ tests.

We also draw attention to the fact that the concept of race is most frequently defined socially, by skin color, but that genetic race differences are very difficult to determine. Many of the studies cited by Jensen have employed a social definition of race, rather than the more rigorous genetic definition. Conclusions about the genetic basis for racial differences are obviously dependent on the accuracy of the definition of race employed.

The Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues reaffirms its long-held position of support for open inquiry on all aspects of human behavior. We are concerned with establishing high standards of scientific inquiry and of scientific responsibility. Included in these standards must be careful interpretation of research findings, with rigorous attention to alternative explanations. In no area of science are these principles more important than in the study of human behavior, where a variety of social factors may have large and far-reaching effects. When research has bearing on social issues and public policy, the scientist must examine the competing explanations for his findings and must exercise the greatest care in his interpretation. Only in this way can he minimize the possibility that others will overgeneralize or misunderstand the social implications of his work.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. It is a history of a people who have been able to adapt themselves to a changing world, and who have been able to maintain their principles in the face of adversity. The second fact is that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for a better life. The third fact is that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for freedom. The fourth fact is that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for peace. The fifth fact is that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for progress. The sixth fact is that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for justice. The seventh fact is that the United States is a nation of love, and that its history is a history of the struggle for love. The eighth fact is that the United States is a nation of hope, and that its history is a history of the struggle for hope. The ninth fact is that the United States is a nation of faith, and that its history is a history of the struggle for faith. The tenth fact is that the United States is a nation of courage, and that its history is a history of the struggle for courage. The eleventh fact is that the United States is a nation of strength, and that its history is a history of the struggle for strength. The twelfth fact is that the United States is a nation of wisdom, and that its history is a history of the struggle for wisdom. The thirteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of power, and that its history is a history of the struggle for power. The fourteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of glory, and that its history is a history of the struggle for glory. The fifteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of honor, and that its history is a history of the struggle for honor. The sixteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of respect, and that its history is a history of the struggle for respect. The seventeenth fact is that the United States is a nation of dignity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for dignity. The eighteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of pride, and that its history is a history of the struggle for pride. The nineteenth fact is that the United States is a nation of honor, and that its history is a history of the struggle for honor. The twentieth fact is that the United States is a nation of glory, and that its history is a history of the struggle for glory.

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## Negro Academic Motivation and Performance: An Overview

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The fact that Negro students, on the average, score below white students on most measures of academic achievement is well documented (Coleman *et al.*, 1966; Pettigrew, 1964; Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968). Although Negro-white differences in achievement have received considerable attention from researchers, the studies have raised more questions than they have answered. However, there is a tendency for researchers to seek explanations for racial differences in academic performance by focusing on either deficiencies in the students or discriminatory practices in the educational system and in American society at large. Both of these approaches are discussed in detail by Katz in the article prepared for this volume.

That the gap between Negro and white students' performance is to some extent attributable to educational inequities is hardly debatable. The Coleman Report (1966) documented what has been known for many years—that quality of education affects level of performance. Thus, it is not surprising that northern students have higher verbal ability scores than southern students and that Negro students who attend school with whites have higher scores than those who attend segregated schools.

It is also difficult to deny that the results of many years of discriminatory policies in education, employment, and housing are manifested in the "social unreadiness" found in many Negro students (Jones, 1962). Whether this apparent deficiency is due to lack of cog-

nitive skills, inadequate motivation, or conflicting values is the question to which researchers must address themselves. The papers in this issue are concerned with motivation and values as they relate to academic achievement among Negro students. This is not to say that cognitive problems are less important than motivation and values. The emphasis expresses the interests of the editor of this number and of the contributors. Other students of the problem may feel that cognitive studies will lead to more promising answers to questions concerning racial differences in achievement.

This number is to some extent a sequel to an earlier number on "Negro American Personality" (*JSI*, 1964, XX, No. 2). Several papers examine the effects of personality characteristics on the aspirations and achievement of Negro students. Such concepts as sense of control over the environment, anxiety, self-concept, and achievement motivation recur in the discussions. All of the papers are concerned with the effects of nonintellective factors on academic achievement.

### **A Critique of Personality Approaches**

The paper by Irwin Katz provides an overview of current theory and research on nonintellective factors that influence academic achievement of minority group students. He discusses in some detail the relative contributions of: (a) the cultural deprivation hypothesis; (b) the cultural conflict hypothesis; and (c) the educational deprivation hypothesis. Katz calls for revisions in both the cultural deprivation and cultural conflict hypotheses. These revisions are needed in order to bring about a greater correspondence between theory and empirical evidence. Katz is especially concerned with the need for research on motivational processes and their potential modifiability. He is critical of correlational studies because they do not lend themselves to causal explanations. Thus, Katz advocates studies in which causation may be explored through controlled experimentation. I do not feel that this should lead to an abandonment of personality studies, however, because many significant experimental studies have failed to yield educationally significant results. Correlational studies can help experimental researchers to select educationally meaningful variables. The non-productivity of achievement motivation research for educational purposes is an example of the danger of limiting research to experimental studies.

### **Correlates of Academic Achievement**

My contribution to this symposium is a correlational study of personality characteristics and attitudes which are predictive of academic achievement among northern and southern urban Negro high

school students. The results support previous work which has stressed the importance of academic self-concept and sense of control for the prediction of academic achievement. It is significant that academic self-concept is highly predictive of school grades and is relatively independent of verbal ability. The conformity scale, however, is more strongly related to *verbal ability* than to *academic achievement* (grades). A similar pattern was found when examining the relation of family social status to academic achievement. Father's occupation and mother's education are more strongly related to verbal ability and amount of expected future education than to school grades. This suggests that Coleman's (1966) results may be more relevant for test performance than for success in school. These results provide support for the argument that theoretical treatments and research designs should take the *criterion* of academic achievement into consideration in addition to the explanatory variables. That high school grades are as good as achievement test scores for predicting future academic success is a well documented fact. (For a discussion of the criterion problem, see Lavin, 1965.) Data presented in this study also suggest that regional and sex differences in effectiveness of predictors must be given serious consideration in explanatory treatments of differential academic achievement.

### **Effects of Desegregation on Motivation and Achievement.**

The fact that Negro students attending school with whites have higher achievement test scores than Negro students in segregated schools has raised many questions. For example, will desegregation of schools facilitate academic motivation among Negro children? The paper by Joseph Veroff and Stanton Peele examines the effect of desegregation on achievement motivation of Negro elementary school children in a midwestern community. Two measures of achievement motivation were used—autonomous and social comparison achievement motivation. Results after one year of desegregation suggest that achievement motivation of Negro boys is more likely to be affected than that of girls. The transfer of Negro boys to predominantly white schools seemed to have a positive effect on their autonomous achievement motivation and tended to counteract a tendency to overaspire in desired levels of social comparison in older boys.

The results are very complex and should be interpreted with caution both because of the short change period involved and the many complicating variables. For example, social status of students and their schoolmates, minority status (salient or actual), grade in school, and sex all affect changes in motivation. To this must be added the exploratory nature of the measures used and the differences in

results obtained with the two measures of motivation. The authors are aware of these problems, however, and emphasize the tentative nature of their results. Follow-up work with this population including studies of changes in achievement scores, measures of anxiety and levels of educational aspiration will do much to enhance the value of this preliminary analysis. The follow-up studies could provide information of great value to policy makers concerning the effects of desegregation on motivation and achievement.

### **School Versus Class Desegregation**

Is it simply attending the same school with white students or actually attending the same classes that accounts for the findings of the Coleman study (1966)? An analysis of results involving ninth grade students from the metropolitan northeast provides the data for the paper by McPartland (a member of the Coleman team) which compares the influence of school and classroom desegregation. Only the Negro students in mostly white classes demonstrate any added achievement growth due to attendance at mostly white schools. These differences cannot be explained by selection factors operating within the school and must, therefore, be attributable to other factors. The enhancement of Negro achievement in biracial classrooms may be due to increased motivation as a result of competition with whites, availability of high achievement models, peer interaction, or better teaching. Unfortunately, McPartland's data do not lend themselves to a study of the processes which explain the enhanced performance. This would be a fruitful area for additional research. It is possible that successful competition in a biracial environment increases Negro students' sense of control over the environment, a possibility which may account for the fact that Negro students' sense of control as well as their achievement scores are higher in desegregated schools than in segregated schools. The question of selection factors favoring students with a strong sense of control should be investigated in future research.

### **Sense of Control as a Motivational Variable**

Most of the papers in this number include some discussion of sense of control over the environment as a factor in academic motivation among Negro students. The Gurin team examines this variable in detail, stressing the fact that most writers erroneously present it as a unitary concept. They also point out that Negro-white differences in sense of *personal* control over the environment are probably realistic reflections of actual experiences. A Negro who perceives discriminatory obstacles and places the blame for his problems on these systematic barriers rather than attributing his lack of success to his own

personal inadequacies may be more highly motivated than one who categorically denies the existence of racial discrimination as a personal problem. In a similar vein, an emphasis on group efforts to remove barriers may be indicative of a higher level of motivation than an individualistic emphasis on self-betterment. This paper strongly suggests that there are dangers in assuming that the motivational patterns that lead to success among whites will be equally effective for members of a subordinate ethnic group. These authors also emphasize the need for a broader definition of academic success.

### Expanding Opportunities and Motivation

The relatively small proportion of Negro high school seniors who can be expected to attend college is an increasing concern of many educators. Efforts to recruit more Negro college students have been accompanied by a search for nonintellective predictors of success in college. The paper by Miller and O'Connor presents results of a study of students from disadvantaged backgrounds at a selective public university. Their results suggest that an empirically based personality variable—achiever personality—is a potentially powerful predictor of academic success among disadvantaged students. They argue that personality scales can be used for the purpose of selecting among students who would be rejected for college admission on the basis of high school percentile rank and/or achievement test scores. The use of such a measure in this fashion would help to "screen in" those educationally disadvantaged students who have the potential to succeed in college. It is probable that the achiever personality variable measures a motivational tendency similar to the sense of personal control discussed by other authors. This is only conjecture, however, since the theoretical content of the scale is not explained in the *OAIS Handbook* (Fricke, 1965).

Project Upward Bound is a pre-college enrichment program designed to generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success among young people from low-income backgrounds who have inadequate secondary school preparation. The paper by Hunt and Hardt is a preliminary assessment of the effect of the Upward Bound program on the attitudes, motivation, and academic achievement of Negro and white students. The paper compares the effect, or change, produced in Negro and white students by the Upward Bound program. The pattern of effects produced by the Upward Bound program was almost identical for Negro and white students. The most important effects were statistically significant increases for both groups on measures of Self-esteem and Internal Control. There was no significant change in academic achievement (the only measure for which a control group was available). This leads the authors to conclude "that

the task of producing positive changes in the academic performance of culturally disadvantaged high school students, whether Negro or white, is a very formidable task which will require continued cumulative effort and innovation".

The research of James Hedegard and Donald Brown at the University of Michigan suggests that Negro and white students, as groups, differ most strikingly in family income, occupational and educational levels and the like, and in the nature and frequency of academically relevant experiences. Personality differences are apparent, but are less striking. The differences on the whole suggest that, as groups, Negro and white students express somewhat differing sets of modal experiences, differing modes of expression and communication, and differing ways of viewing the world. These results imply that, in addition to problems of prejudice and discrimination, black students at major colleges may simply find many aspects of the academic community tailored for someone else.

### Concluding Statement

This may be the essence of the current dilemma of Negro Americans—the society is tailored for someone else. Thus, attempts to eliminate racial differences in academic performance must consider both the personal characteristics of the Negro students and the characteristics present in the educational system which discriminate in favor of some characteristics and against others. The results of the Hunt and Hardt study strongly imply that programs designed to produce changes in students will have little effect on the academic achievement of either Negro or white disadvantaged students if they do not, at the same time, attempt to change the educational environment. The results of the paper by McPartland and the more extensive results reported in *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman, et al., 1966) provide strong support for the argument that changes in the educational environment of Negro students (especially the social class make-up of the student body) will prove more effective than programs designed to change the personal characteristics of students.

The papers in this number do not treat the total range of problems related to Negro motivation and achievement. Many important research problems in this area will require intensive systematic investigation. Foremost among these are questions concerning the modifiability of cognitive processes and personality characteristics, the selection or development of non-intellective predictors of academic achievement, and the effect of early biracial education on the subsequent adjustment and success of Negro and white students. It is our hope that the research presented in this issue will stimulate additional research on these and related problems.

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## **A Critique of Personality Approaches to Negro Performance, With Research Suggestions\***

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Elsewhere I have briefly catalogued the better-known hypotheses about socialization and personality factors in the academic failure of Negro youth (Katz, 1967). The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the empirical and theoretical status of these and other hypotheses about personality and performance and to suggest some promising directions for research.

### **Cultural Deprivation Hypotheses**

#### *Inadequacy of Early Socialization*

Some writers, particularly those who are psychoanalytically oriented, attribute the disadvantaged pupil's learning difficulties to a basic failure of the socialization process in the home. According to these authors, early childhood experiences in poverty environments create enduring personality formations that are inimical to effective achievement striving not only in the classroom but, indeed, in virtually all areas of life. Thus Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) stress two features of child-rearing which they assume to be typical of low-income Negro

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\*This paper is based on a report that was prepared under contract with the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

families. One is a harsh authoritarianism of parents, who emphasize punitive forms of control and place considerable social and emotional distance between themselves and their children. The other feature is the early relaxation of close parental supervision, which makes the child precociously independent of adult influence but exposes him to the exaggerated socializing influence of the peer group. These conditions, in combination with the child's growing awareness of the stigma attached to being black in a white-dominated society, are supposed to create a personality marked by feelings of unworthiness, lack of self-controlling mechanisms, and hostile rejection of adult values.

Similarly, Bettelheim (1964) believes "that human personality is shaped in infancy, and that the early characteristics are extremely resistant to change." He claims that in the case of the Negro child the earliest experiences of life often condition "a life-long distrust of others (including one's teachers and what they teach) and of oneself." Mistrust, shame, and doubt become the dominant characteristics in children from culturally deprived homes or disadvantaged ones. He concludes that the Negro child's academic failure is determined before he enters kindergarten or first grade.

Another writer who postulates inadequate socialization in the Negro home is McClelland (1961). Negroes as a group, he maintains, are lacking in the achievement motive (*n Ach*) because of the matri-centric structure of the Negro family, and the persistence of child-rearing practices that originated in slavery. McClelland takes for granted that strong mother dependency weakens the development of *n Ach* in sons. Moreover, "Negro slaves . . . developed child-rearing practices calculated to produce obedience and responsibility not *n Ach*, and their descendants, while free, should still show the effects of such training in lower *n Ach*—which in fact is exactly the case . . ." (1961, 376-377).

Family structure is emphasized by Pettigrew (1964b), Bronfenbrenner (1967), Moynihan (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965), and others, who point to the relatively high incidence of father absence in lower-class families as a major cause of academic indifference and failure on the part of children, especially males. Presumably, father-deprived boys, lacking a masculine role model with which to identify, develop personalities marked by impulsivity, effeminacy, and immature dependency.

### *Evaluating These "Personality Deficit"*

#### *Explanations*

In evaluating the evidence relating to these "personality deficit" explanations of lower-class underachievement one would want to ask

not only (a) whether specific personality differences have been found between children from backgrounds of poverty and affluence, but also (b) whether demonstrated personality differences have been related to differences in achievement. If empirical findings indicate that the disadvantaged pupil does tend to possess traits that are academically detrimental, it should then be asked (c) whether the traits have been shown to be products of early family influences, and (d) whether the traits appear to be relatively unmodifiable, once formed. *Measured by these criteria, research findings provide little in the way of support for a "personality deficit" viewpoint, despite its wide acceptance in the clinical literature on poverty* (c.f. Pettigrew's bibliography, 1964a). In the brief survey of research that follows, Negro children (usually lower class) are generally compared with age-peers of higher status (usually middle class whites).

### *The "Mark of Oppression"*

Much of the empirical work on Negro personality has been stimulated by the notion that members of this group still bear a "mark of oppression" that represents the emotional wound of living in a white world of prejudice and discrimination. Thus a frequently studied characteristic of Negro children is their inclination toward hostile rejection of their own race and identification with the white majority. This identity conflict has been found repeatedly in both the North and South, with a variety of projective techniques being used to measure the racial evaluations of whites and Negroes. (The investigations are reviewed by Proshansky and Newton, 1968). Derogation of their own race appears in minority children as early as age three, remaining strong until later childhood when it tends to become less apparent (perhaps being still present, but concealed). Hence the development of the characteristic cannot be attributed to school influences alone. On the other hand, it has not yet been related to social class or family factors. At the present time virtually nothing is definitely known about its effect on school performance.

To the extent that the child believes he belongs to an intellectually inferior group, he might be expected to lack the confidence to strive for success in the classroom. However, most of the studies of racial identity have dealt with children's evaluations of their group's moral, social, and physical-appearance characteristics, and not with evaluations of intellectual attributes. Theoretically, there is no compelling reason why attitudes about non-intellectual traits should be closely tied to scholastic motivation. Smith (1968) makes this point in a recent paper on the socialization of personal competence. Where academic self-esteem has been investigated in Negro and white youth

the findings on race differences have been equivocal, as will be shown later in this paper.

Another characteristic that is supposed to be associated with the "mark of oppression" is chronic diffuse hostility and distrust. Using projective tests, Hammer (1953) and Mussen (1953) found differences in amount of fantasy aggression expressed by Negro and white children. Projective data gathered by Karon (1958) suggest that adult and adolescent Negroes, particularly in the South, tend toward extreme repression of aggressive impulses. But the specific sources of aggressive impulses in Negro children, their stability over time, and their possible relationship to academic failure, have not been adequately investigated. It is interesting to note that Sarason and his associates (1960) have concluded from their research on white children that fear and hostility regarding adult authorities are important elements in the development of school anxiety.

### *Sense of Personal Control of Environment*

A predisposition which is strongly associated with scholastic achievement (though the nature of the causal relationship has not been empirically unraveled) is Rotter, Seeman, and Liverant's (1962) *sense of personal control of the environment*. Individuals differ in the extent to which they feel they can extract material and social benefits from the environment through their own efforts. In its broadest meaning, this construct refers to the degree to which people have a sense of efficacy, or power, and accept personal responsibility for what happens to them. It has been applied more specifically to children in intellectual achievement situations by means of a questionnaire which assesses the extent to which favorable reactions from parents, teachers, and peers are believed by the child to depend either upon the quality of his own efforts or upon extraneous factors (such as luck, or the personal bias or whim of the evaluator) (Crandall *et al.*, 1965). The sense of internal control has been found to be stronger in white children and adults than in Negroes, and stronger in the middle class than in the working class (Battle and Rotter, 1963; Crandall *et al.*, 1965; Coleman *et al.*, 1966).

A child's feelings about whether his own efforts determine his external rewards clearly should affect his expectancy of success, hence his willingness to strive. His level of performance should in turn affect the rate at which the environment dispenses rewards, hence his sense of internal control. Thus Crandall and others (1962) found that white grade school boys who felt they controlled their reinforcements got high scores on intellectual tests and engaged in much intellectual free-play behavior. Similarly, in their nation-wide survey of public school

students, Coleman and his co-workers (1966) found internality related to academic achievement in both whites and Negroes.

The Coleman team measured three types of student attitude relevant to academic motivation: interest in school work, self-concept as regards ability, and sense of control of own rewards. For Negro students, sense of control was clearly the most important attitude, contributing at different grades from two to several times as much to the accounted-for variance of verbal achievement as either of the others. Moreover, the relation of Negroes' sense of control to achievement was considerably stronger than that of any family-background factor. Finally, comparing races revealed that among older children sense of fate control accounted for about three times as much test variance among Negroes as whites (a result which the Coleman Report points out is not attributable to racial differences in variability of fate control scores).

Since the Coleman findings represent merely empirical correlations, the causal connections between sense of internal control and other variables can only be surmised. Nonetheless, there are strong suggestions in the data regarding the relative importance of home and school determinants. For Negroes sense of control was little influenced by home factors or objective school characteristics, but one factor apparently affected it strongly: as the proportion of white students in school enrollments increased, Negroes' sense of internality grew stronger.

Thus internality appears to be a personal quality of considerable importance in academic motivation, yet one which is relatively lacking in Negro children. However, it is not closely related to Negro home background factors; rather, it seems to be highly responsive to the social environment (specifically, the racial composition) of the classroom.

### *High Levels of Anxiety*

Evidence that black pupils in racially isolated schools have inordinately high levels of anxiety has recently been obtained by Feld and Lewis (1967). These investigators administered the *Test Anxiety Scale for Children* to the entire second-grade population of a large school system in the eastern part of the United States. Negroes were found to have substantially higher anxiety scores than whites not only on the total scale but also on each of four sub-scales which were derived by means of factor analysis: test anxiety, remote school concern (e.g., "When you are in bed at night, do you sometimes worry about how you are going to do in class the next day?"), poor self-evaluation, and somatic signs of anxiety. Interestingly, a group of Negro children in racially mixed schools obtained scores about midway between those

of the *de facto* segregated Negro and white samples. However, the meaning of this comparison is not entirely clear, since the Negro children in desegregated schools came from homes of relatively high socioeconomic status, a factor found to be associated with low anxiety. Sex differences appeared for white pupils—white boys obtained lower anxiety scores than white girls—but not for Negroes.

School anxiety in Negro boys and girls was strongly related to the mother's educational level when other home factors were controlled, a finding that is consistent with the research of the Sarason group (Sarason *et al.*, 1960; Hill and Sarason, 1966) on white children which reveals that parental influence is a key determinant of school anxiety. In another relevant study, Katz (1967) has analyzed the role of parental behavior and attitudes by means of a Reinforcement History Questionnaire that inquired of the child about characteristic parental reactions in a variety of situations. Katz found that among northern Negro boys (though not among girls) school anxiety, and a propensity for devaluation of their own performance (which were interrelated) were each in turn related to the predominance of negative reinforcements from parents—to reports of low parental interest and acceptance and high parental punitiveness. Moreover, these variables—anxiety, self-devaluation, and perceived parental punitiveness—were all clearly related to school achievement. Katz's data extend to Negro boys one of the main findings of Hill and Sarason—the substantial linkage of school anxiety and academic failure—and shed additional light on the kind of family socialization practices that give rise to school anxiety.

If inadequate social reinforcement in the lower-class Negro home figures importantly in the development of emotional blocks to learning, it would be desirable to know a great deal more than we do at present about the child-rearing values, attitudes, and behaviors of Negro parents. The most relevant recent studies have involved class comparisons of Negro mother-child interactions based on direct observations of behavior. Kamii (1965) compared maternal behavior toward four-year-old children of lower-class and upper middle-class mothers in a midwestern community. The two groups differed considerably in their socialization practices. Middle-class mothers were observed to gratify children's affectional and security needs, to use bilateral influence techniques, to encourage and reward children for verbal efforts, and generally to reinforce desirable behavior significantly more often than lower-class mothers. Another investigation in the North (Hess *et al.*, 1965) sampled a wide social spectrum of Negro families. Four social-class groups of mothers and their four-year-old children were selected. In general, the class differences observed in maternal attitudes and behavior were consistent with those reported

by Kamii: upper middle-class mothers praised the child's achievement efforts more than did other mothers, and were more likely to favor supportiveness as opposed to demanding unquestioned obedience to injunctions and commands.

The observations of Kamii and Hess *et al.* are consistent with general sociological knowledge: in crowded lower-class homes, where mothers often are away at work during the day and both parents lack intellectual sophistication, the child's early efforts at verbal and cognitive mastery are less likely to be favorably reinforced than in middle-class homes, resulting in lower expectations of reward for intellectual effort. Low expectation of reward in combination with relatively high expectation of punishment for failure to meet adult demands probably lays the groundwork for the later emergence of school anxiety.

Thus school anxiety would seem to qualify as a personality factor that is (a) characteristic of lower-class children, (b) related to academic performance, and (c) an outcome of early experiences in the home. However, there is good reason to believe that conditions in the school can greatly modify this characteristic. In their longitudinal study of white pupils, Hill and Sarason report little relationship between anxiety scores obtained before and after a four-year interval. Moreover, changes in anxiety scores were associated with changes in academic attainment. Presumably the changes are in some measure a reflection of different types of experience in the classroom and in the total school culture.

### *Achievement Need*

At this point a few comments can be made about research on the need for achievement, as measured through fantasy productions (McClelland *et al.*, 1953). There are a good many difficulties with the concept of a global achievement motive as embodied in the fantasy-based measure, which have recently been reviewed by Smith (1968). As Smith puts it:

There are questions about its generality . . . its openness to influences that contaminate its value as a measure of motivation. The findings in regard to its relationships to achievement-oriented behavior have been ambiguous. . . . Given this less than encouraging record, one suspects that there has been slippage between the theoretical definition of the motive and what has actually been captured in the measurements.

The problem of the generality of the achievement motive is especially relevant to the study of class and cultural differences in academic performance. For example, the lower-class Negro pupil's disinterest in classroom learning may be less a matter of his lacking the achievement motive than of its being directed into nonintellectual

pursuits. In comparing the behavior of individuals from different social backgrounds, it may be necessary to abandon entirely the concept of a single global achievement motive in favor of a notion of many relatively independent achievement motives that are specific to particular areas of competition.

Katz (1967) has proposed a new methodology for studying task-specific achievement motivation which elicits from children ostensibly private self-evaluations of their performance on specific tasks, and then measures the affective consequences (self-reinforcement properties) of favorable and unfavorable self-appraisals. The relationship of this behavior to other variables (anxiety, reinforcement history, and academic success) was briefly mentioned above.

### *Father Absence*

In this overview of research on personality, early socialization, and achievement, reference should be made to father absence, since a number of writers have asserted that father absence in lower-class homes is a major cause of academic failure. While it is a reasonable assumption that father absence affects personality development (the evidence, based mostly on studies of white children, has been reviewed by Pettigrew, 1964b) the case for its influence on school motivation and achievement is consistently negative. Though Deutsch and Brown (1964) reported lower IQ scores for Negro children from broken homes than from intact homes, a more comprehensive follow-up study by Whiteman and Deutsch (1968) found no such relationship. And in recent well-controlled, large-sample surveys—notably the Coleman survey and Wilson's California study (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967)—the presence or absence of a father was not a factor in the scholastic attitudes or achievement of lower-class Negro or white students. Moreover, Feld and Lewis (1967) found virtually no relationship between family intactness and school anxiety.

Summarizing the review of evidence relating to "personality deficit" theories of underachievement, two dispositions that were found to be characteristic of disadvantaged children appear also to have their sources in early family experiences, and to be related to school performance: sense of environmental control and school anxiety. Research on self-evaluative behavior and social reinforcement history is suggestive regarding the sort of parent-child interactions that are involved. *However, there is reason to believe that both the sense of control and anxiety are greatly modifiable through later school experiences.*

## Cultural Conflict Hypotheses

In contradistinction to the various notions of cultural *deprivation* that were reviewed above, is the concept of cultural *conflict*. Inkeles (1966), Riessman (1962), Cloward and Jones (1963) and others have pointed out that minority group cultures have distinctive systems of values and goals that are not taken into account by the school. The lower-class Negro child may acquire the kind of competencies—the motives, attitudes, and skills—that are needed for optimal adjustment to the conditions of life that he is likely to encounter. The skills that are valued in his own culture may be intrinsically difficult and require for their mastery a good deal of effort and persistence, yet be totally ignored by the educational establishment. Thus the low academic motivation of the Negro pupil may be a reflection of the lack of relevance of the competence goals of the school to the competence goals toward which the child has been socialized by the transmitting agents of his own culture.

The concept of a distinctive lower-class culture, or life-style, involves several complex issues which will not be discussed here. What will be considered is the question of group differences in achievement orientation. An extensive literature on educational and job aspirations and expectations has been ably reviewed by Proshansky and Newton (1968). Studies of Negro and white children and their parents generally show only small differences when social class is controlled. Comparing classes, aspirations of high and low income adults and children are consistently reported as high—most individuals at both economic levels desire college attendance and professional or white collar occupations. Thus as regards expressed achievement goals, the “culture conflict” hypothesis would seem to be in error. However, when realistic expectations of achieving the goals are measured, stable class differences appear: these more *functionally relevant* goal levels are lower among low-income students and parents. (Though even statements of “realistic” expectation from the poor are often unrealistically high, when measured against the objective availability of the stated goals or against actual striving behavior.)

Thus it seems that the main difference between the achievement orientations of the poor and the affluent lies not in the choice of goals, but in expectations of attaining them. This conclusion calls for a refinement of the “culture conflict” hypothesis, if it is to be useful in stimulating research on academic motivation.

## Educational Deprivation Hypotheses

Clark (1965) squarely places responsibility for the massive academic failure of ghetto school children with the teachers and school

administrators. To Clark, every one of the assumptions associated with the terms "cultural deprivation" or "cultural difference" is "primarily an alibi for educational neglect, and in no way a reflection of the nature of the educational process." He believes that a key component of the deprivation which afflicts ghetto children is that generally their teachers do not expect them to learn, and have adopted as their concept of their function custodial care and discipline. Accordingly, the motivational problems of the children will be solved when teachers can be motivated to teach effectively—that is, to set high standards of scholastic performance and to provide good instruction, combined with emotional acceptance and support. Clark's position represents a radical recasting of the whole issue of pupil motivation. In effect he is asserting that there really is no problem of Negro motivation, only a problem of the willingness of teachers to teach effectively—that the apparent indifference of their pupils is merely reflective. Clark's contention brings to mind the striking "Pygmalion in the classroom" experiment of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968), in which manipulation of teachers' expectations had a marked influence on the intellectual growth of their pupils in the early grades. While the experiment had somewhat equivocal results, it suggests a possibly fruitful approach to Clark's hypothesis. For example, by elaborating the basic paradigm of manipulating teachers' expectations regarding their pupils, effects both on teachers' behavior and on their pupils' motivation and performance could be measured separately. But with the possible exception of this one experiment there is little factual basis for believing that favorable changes *per se* in the attitudes of ghetto school teachers can greatly improve the academic motivation of their pupils. Certainly the results to date of the many recent teacher training efforts in urban school systems are not encouraging.

Many social scientists have argued that *de facto* segregation is inherently deprivational. Among them, Pettigrew (1969) has most fully elaborated the motivational side, drawing his evidence mainly from the two recent federal reports by Coleman and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The Coleman findings indicated that as the proportion of whites in a school increased, Negro achievement rose and that the apparent effect was cumulative. The relationship held even when family characteristics of the Negro students were partialled out. A more intensive analysis of Coleman's data by the Civil Rights Commission revealed that the apparent benefits to Negroes of sitting in racially balanced classrooms persisted even when the following factors were controlled by means of cross-tabulations: (a) quality of educational services available; (b) academic ability and social class background of classmates; and (c) academic ability and home backgrounds of Negro students. Additional reanalysis of the Coleman data by McPartland,

which he reports elsewhere in this symposium, further indicates that the critical racial variable underlying desegregation effects is the racial composition of the classroom, rather than of the school as a whole.

Pettigrew concludes that the relatively high performance of Negroes in predominantly white classes must be a consequence of improved motivational conditions, such as the greater attractiveness of academic success and the increased opportunities for cross-racial social comparisons. He discusses the conditions under which cross-racial comparison would arouse anxious expectations of failure and feelings of social threat in Negro students, but points out that on balance the consequences of such comparison appear to be beneficial.

### Directions for Future Research

It is all too clear from the foregoing review of the research literature that psychologists have contributed little to the understanding of the motivational problems of disadvantaged students. Scientific knowledge has barely advanced beyond the conventional wisdom of the teachers' lounge. In a sense so few good data are available that virtually any competent foray into the area is bound to be fruitful. However, rational choices about where to invest available research resources can and should be made.

First, research will be discussed that is concerned with analysis of motivational *processes*, as they operate in lower-class children and which tend to be of the laboratory variety.

### *Self-Evaluation*

Recently I (1967) have been involved in developing an experimental technique for studying covert self-evaluation of performance. Elementary school children are induced to evaluate themselves on specific tasks (virtually any type of academic or nonacademic task could be used) under ostensibly private conditions—i.e., the subjects are led to believe that their self-evaluations will not be known to the other persons, including the experimenter. In addition, the affective consequences (i.e., reinforcement value) of favorable and unfavorable self-evaluations are measured by means of a conditioning technique.

Present findings regarding the reinforcement value of self-evaluations are not clear enough to warrant discussion, but unequivocal results were obtained on the self-evaluations. Negro boys in an urban ghetto elementary school in the North were tested. Poor students were more self-critical than good students even when quality of performances on the experimental tasks was the same. As mentioned earlier, the academically unsuccessful child's propensity for rigid self-

derogation was positively related to a history of negative reinforcement in the home (as reported by the child), and to high scores on a test anxiety questionnaire. A new questionnaire is now being developed to assess social reinforcement history in school.

Using these and other techniques (e.g., the experimental paradigms of Bandura, Kanfer, and others) for studying self-evaluation and self-reinforcement, future research could examine in disadvantaged children the relationship of these behaviors to academic success on the one hand, and to a broad range of possible causal factors on the other hand, being guided by social learning hypotheses that may already have been tested in the laboratory on different subject populations and with different behavioral variables. For example, it would be worthwhile to investigate whether exposure to the self-evaluative behavior of peer and adult models can influence (a) the favorableness of the subject's self-evaluations, and (b) the degree to which self-evaluations mediate positive and negative affect.

### *Expectancy*

This term refers to the person's estimate of the probability that a given situation will have a favorable or unfavorable outcome for him. As applied to achievement situations, expectancy seems to be composed of two probability estimations: one with regard to the attaining of a certain standard of performance, and a second with regard to being rewarded in consequence of attaining the standard. Other things equal in achievement situations, the higher the person's total estimated probability of reaching the reward, or goal-state, the higher should be his motivation. Presumably, Rotter's concept of internal control refers to a generalized expectation of attaining favorable outcomes in a wide range of situations. For the student, sense of internal control would likely involve feelings of intellectual competence and of trust in the fairness and responsiveness of the social environment.

Negroes, it was noted earlier, score lower on internality questionnaires than whites. In the Coleman survey, Negro students were appreciably more internally oriented in desegregated schools than in schools with majority Negro enrollments, and in all schools this attitude was more closely related to Negro academic performance than any other variable measured. Further research on the sense of efficacy in Negro students could take a variety of directions; I will mention three. First, the nature of the causal linkage between the sense of efficacy and academic achievement, which is not ascertainable from Coleman's correlational analysis, needs to be investigated in depth. Longitudinal studies of this sort could be conducted on disadvantaged students, taking "before" measures of internality at transitional points in their academic careers. Second, research should be done on

the problem of how new expectancies are learned (or old ones changed). Third, measurement of sense of environmental control in lower-class populations requires methodological changes and refinements. Present scales do not distinguish between the two types of expectancy that I believe to be operative in academic achievement situations for Negroes: one based on self-estimates of intellectual ability, and the other reflecting degree of confidence in the responsiveness of the social environment. Also, present scales do not distinguish clearly between "external" perceptions of environments as merely capricious or indifferent, and biased, discriminatory, malevolent.

Another interesting use of the expectancy construct is to be found in Mischel's (1966) work on delay of gratification. Mischel's current experiments are concerned with such issues as the child's trust that the experimenter will give the rewards for which gratification is being deferred, the success and failure experiences of the individual that affect his confidence that he can attain the gratification for which reward is being delayed, etc. This work provides another example of research that is relevant to the motivational problems of disadvantaged children, but which has apparently been conducted exclusively on white middle-class samples. It would be worthwhile to replicate several of his recent studies on Negro children, introducing race of experimenter as an additional experimental variable.

### *Incentive value*

A well known method for studying class and race differences in learning motivation is that which compares the effectiveness of different types of rewards, such as tangible *versus* symbolic and person-centered *versus* response-centered. To account for various findings Zigler and Kanzer (1962) have proposed that socially disadvantaged children lag behind their middle-class age peers developmentally. They postulate a developmental hierarchy of reinforcers, according to which early dependency of learning efforts on primary need gratification diminishes as social reinforcers (expressions of affection, attention, praise) become increasingly effective, until the social reinforcers, in turn, become less important motivationally than mere information that one's responses are correct. Thus in the final stage the child is more concerned about being right for right's sake, than in receiving adult approval. According to Zigler and Kanzer, this process is central in the child's progress from infantile dependence to autonomy.

The experiments that have compared groups of children on responsiveness to verbal reinforcers—whether the reinforcers emphasized praise, correctness, or both—do not consistently support the developmental view. What are needed are more refined procedures which disentangle relevant child and adult-reinforcer characteristics.

For example, Katz, Henchy, and Allen (1968) found that the verbal learning of young Negro boys was affected by an interaction of three variables: the child's need for approval, race of experimenter, and type of experimenter evaluation. Further studies should be done in which sex, class, race, and other characteristics of the adult model are varied, as well as characteristics of the subject, kind of social reinforcement, and nature of the child-adult relationship.

The foregoing seem to be some of the more promising directions for experimental research on motivational processes in achievement situations. The enumeration is not intended to be exhaustive. It of course does not include more global approaches to family and school influences on academic motivation.

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# A CRITIQUE OF PERSONALITY THEORY

The first chapter of this book is a general introduction to the study of personality. It discusses the history of the field, the major theoretical approaches, and the methods used to study personality. The second chapter is a critique of the psychoanalytic approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The third chapter is a critique of the behaviorist approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The fourth chapter is a critique of the humanistic approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The fifth chapter is a critique of the cognitive approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The sixth chapter is a critique of the biological approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The seventh chapter is a critique of the social-cognitive approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The eighth chapter is a critique of the evolutionary approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The ninth chapter is a critique of the integrative approach, focusing on its theoretical assumptions and its empirical support. The tenth chapter is a conclusion, summarizing the main points of the critique and suggesting directions for future research.

## **Internal-External Control in the Motivational Dynamics of Negro Youth\***

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The concept of internal-external control, originally used by Rotter and his associates in studying the effects of reinforcement in complex learning, has now gained prominence in many diverse areas of research. As defined by Rotter, internal control represents a person's belief that rewards follow from, or are contingent upon, his own behavior (Rotter, 1966). Conversely, external control represents the belief that rewards are controlled by forces outside himself and thus may occur independently of his own actions. Measures of this concept—the Internal-External Control scale (Rotter, 1966), the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility scale (Crandall, *et al*, 1965), the Children's Picture Test of Internal Control (Battle and Rotter, 1963), the Children's Internal-External Control scale (Morrison, 1966)—have proved useful in explaining a variety of behaviors: risk-

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taking preferences, occupational and educational aspirations, planning and activity oriented to reaching goals, involvement and persistence in achievement tasks, academic performance, attempts at mastering the environment, participation in social action, resistance to suggestion and exertion of influence over others.

Particularly relevant to the questions raised in this issue is the increasing popularity of this concept in studies of low-income and minority populations. For example, a number of studies of motivation and performance of Negro student populations suggest that Negro students, in comparison with whites, are less likely to hold strong beliefs in internal control; that social class and race probably interact so that lower-status Negroes particularly stand out as externally-oriented; that internal control is a critical determinant of academic performance. A well-known example of the relevance of this concept appears in the Coleman report on *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (Coleman, *et al*, 1966). In the Coleman study, internal control proved in two ways to be unusually important for Negro students. It explained more of the variance in achievement for Negro than for white students; furthermore, it explained more variance for Negro students than any other measure included in that massive survey of academic behavior.

In addition to these direct uses of the concept of internal-external control, a number of closely related concepts have also become prominent in studies of low-income and minority groups. For example, a major focus in the current poverty literature is on the concept of powerlessness. Seeman (1959) defines powerlessness as the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks. This definition is very similar to Rotter's construct of internal-external control; indeed, the Internal-External Control scale is frequently used to measure this sense of powerlessness.

### "Internal"--"External" . . . Not Simple Terms

Still, the meaning of internal control is not as simple as these results imply. Although most writers have presented it as a unitary concept, some have pointed out certain distinctions that might add to its usefulness. For instance, in developing a measure of responsibility for intellectual achievement, the Crandalls note the importance of distinguishing different types of external environmental forces (Crandall, *et al*, 1965). In their view, control by other people should be separated from control by impersonal forces since academic successes and failures may have little to do with "chance" or "luck" and still be subject to external control through teachers' whims and decisions. The Crandalls also urge that responsibility for causing positive

events be distinguished from responsibility for negative events since the dynamics operating in assuming credit for causing good things to happen may be very different from those operating in accepting blame for unpleasant consequences. Their own research shows enough different, and sometimes opposite, results using separate measures of success and failure responsibility to question the wisdom of including both types of internal control in a single measure, as is done in the Rotter Internal-External Control scale. Then, too, Hersch and Scheibe (1967), noting that people scored as highly external often exhibit greater variance in behavior than do people scored as strongly internal, conclude that the meaning of externality should be further differentiated. They stress the need to assess how realistic it is for a person to perceive that events are beyond his control and whether he considers external forces to be benevolent or malevolent.

Our own research highlights that these and still other distinctions are needed if we are to understand the significance of internal control in the motivational dynamics of people disadvantaged by minority and/or economic status. This paper will discuss some of these distinctions and complexities which are usually ignored in the writings and research on internal control. We will examine these distinctions not only for their contribution to our understanding of traditional forms of achievement through *individual* performance and mobility but also for their relevance to forms of achievement represented in the *collective* efforts of Negro youth.

### **Distinctions Within the Concept of Internal-External Control**

One of the complexities in the concept springs from the fact that the writings in this area have not distinguished between the belief that internal or external control operates *generally* in society and the application of this to one's own personal situation. It has been implicitly assumed in the literature that a belief in internal control represents a person's evaluation of his own life experience, that he can influence the outcomes of situations through his own actions. Cast this way, internal control overlaps considerably with concepts like sense of competence or personal efficacy. Yet, questions in the Rotter Internal-External Control scale include two types of items that have not been distinguished—those which do refer explicitly to the respondent's own life situation and those which seem to tap beliefs about what causes success or failure for people generally. In our research we have been interested in whether this *self-other distinction* is meaningful to respondents and whether these two types of questions predict different behaviors.

We question still another implicit assumption in the way internal control has been interpreted, particularly with respect to poverty and minority groups. It has usually been assumed that internal beliefs represent a positive affirmation. What has been neglected in the literature is the fact that an internal orientation may also have negative implications. When associated with success, an internal orientation can lead to feelings of competence and efficacy. When associated with failure, however, it can lead to self-derogation and self-blame. In a finding that is often forgotten in our focus on the positive aspects of an internal orientation, Rotter (1966) notes that the relationship between the internal-external control dimension and personal adjustment may be somewhat curvilinear. Because of the potential intrapunitive implications of an internal orientation, people with extremely internal scores, as well as those with extremely external scores, tend to be psychologically less well adjusted and healthy.

This distinction between *responsibility for success and responsibility for failure* is the same contrast the Crandalls (1965) have explored in their work on achievement of young children. We wish to stress that this failure-success distinction should assume heightened significance whenever we are trying to understand the motivation and behavior of people who have a history of much failure and whose failures are tied to real external obstacles they have faced. We would expect it to be particularly helpful in studying the subgroup of Negro youth who have encountered social constraints associated not only with race but also with low income and lower-class status. For such young people, an internal orientation based on responsibility for their failures may be more reflective of intrapunitiveness than of efficacy. An internal response reflecting acceptance of blame for one's failures, which might be considered "normal" in the typical middle-class experience, may be extreme and intrapunitive for a Negro youngster growing up in poverty in the ghetto.

### *External Control—Blaming Chance or a Faulty System?*

The implication that the meaning of internal control is complicated by the reality obstacles the individual has faced points to a distinction that has not been made on the external end of the continuum. Almost all of the research on internal and external bases of control has examined just two bases—skill versus chance. The experimental studies have varied characteristics of the situation to produce perceptions that success and failure are the result of either skill or chance; the personality measure of internal-external control developed by Rotter and his associates requires the individual to choose between two explanations for success and failure—an internal explanation asserting that what happens in life is the result of skill, ability, or effort, and

an external explanation asserting that success and failure are determined by fate or chance. These may be the most pertinent bases for people whose advantaged position in the social structure limits the operation of other external determinants of success and failure.

But low income groups experience many external obstacles that have nothing to do with chance—the operation of the labor market which can lead to layoffs over which individuals have no control, poor transportation facilities which reduce their possibilities in the job hunt, the tendency of employers to hire within the social network of those already on the payroll, etc. In addition, there are class-tied obstacles to many kinds of opportunities and to resources which open up other opportunities, which may be perceived correctly by low-income persons as external but not a matter of randomness or luck. For Negroes there is also the external factor of racial discrimination which operates over and beyond the class constraints they may or may not experience. Discrimination may be perceived as operating quite the opposite of chance—systematically, predictably, and reliably.

We suspect that this distinction is a crucial one, that it matters motivationally for groups disadvantaged by social conditions whether the external orientation refers to chance or to these more systematic, constraining forces. Although the literature to date indicates that people who believe in external control are less effectively motivated and perform less well in achievement situations, these same effects may not follow for low-income persons, particularly Negroes, who believe that economic or discriminatory factors are more important than individual skill and personal qualities in explaining why they succeed or fail. Instead of depressing motivation, focusing on external forces may be motivationally healthy if it results from assessing one's chances for success against systematic and real external obstacles rather than the exigencies of an overwhelming, unpredictable fate. Therefore, we have placed considerable emphasis in our work with Negro students on their causal explanations for the status of Negroes in American society. Do they follow an internal explanation by blaming the social position of Negroes on their own inadequacies, or are they more externally oriented by stressing the importance of racial or social discrimination?

This distinction between *individual and system blame* has often been drawn in psychological and sociological analyses of minority groups. The literature generally supports the view proposed in this paper that an internal orientation, when it involves excessive self-blame or blame of one's group, can be damaging to minority group members. Psychologists and psychoanalysts, such as Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) and Fanon (1967), have emphasized the psychic damage that results when this self-blaming orientation turns into hatred of the group and the self. Sociologists, following Merton's

(1957) classic statement of the issue, have pointed out the social dysfunctionality of such beliefs for the minority group members. Merton notes that when people subordinated in a social system react with invidious self-deprecation rather than against the system, they accept a rationale for the existing system that serves to perpetuate their subordinate position. This distinction also has obvious relevance to the current scene with its increasing emphasis on black nationalism and black pride, since rejection of the more conventional "individual inadequacy" explanation is primary in the rhetoric of black militants.

Still, even though this distinction has been discussed in the literature on minority groups, it has not been related to the literature on internal-external control. In this paper we are interested in making this connection. In a later section we will present some correlates of individual-system blame and the implications of these results for the more usual interpretations of internal-external control.

### **Meaningfulness and Significance of Distinguishing Self From Other and Individual From System Blame**

Several studies, conducted recently at the Survey Research Center, have explored how meaningful the self-other and individual-system blame distinctions are to Negroes as they think about issues of control and whether these distinctions make a difference in explaining their goals, motivation, or performance. One is a study of students attending ten predominantly Negro colleges in the deep South; another is a study of Negro high school dropouts attending a job training program in a large northern city; a third is a national study of both white and Negro adults taking part in retraining programs all over the country. The results show that these different groups of Negroes respond to questions about internal control in ways which support the meaningfulness and significance of these distinctions.

### **The Self-Other Distinction**

Evidence for the meaningfulness of the self-other distinction comes, first of all, from a factor analysis of a pool of items bearing on internal control which were administered in the study of college students. Included in the factor analysis were the 23 items from the Rotter Internal-External Control scale,<sup>1</sup> the three items from the Per-

<sup>1</sup> Some of these items were slightly rephrased in ways we felt would be more meaningful to the study population.

sonal Efficacy scale,<sup>2</sup> and a set of questions, phrased in the same forced-choice format, which were written specifically for this study to tap students' beliefs about the operation of personal and external forces in the race situation in the United States. The factor analysis of these items, presented in Table 1, resulted in four factors with approximately the same structure for both males and females.

The items loading on Factors I and II (Control Ideology and Personal Control) are distinguishable in terms of *whose* success or failure is referred to in the question. The five items with the highest loadings on Factor II are all phrased in the *first person*. The student who consistently chooses the internal alternative on these five items believes that he can control what happens in his *own* life. He has a strong conviction in his own competence or what we have called a sense of *personal control*. In contrast, only one of the items loading on Factor I explicitly uses the first person. Referring instead to people generally, these items seem to measure the respondent's ideology or general beliefs about the role of internal and external forces in determining success and failure in the culture at large. Endorsing the internal alternative on these items means rejecting the notion that success follows from luck, the right breaks or knowing the right people, and accepting a traditional Protestant Ethic explanation. Such a person believes that hard work, effort, skill, and ability are the important determinants of success in life. We have called this factor a measure of the respondent's *control ideology*.

The difference between these two factors can be seen in the contrast of the highest loading items on each factor. Defining the sense of personal control is the assertion that "when I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work", rather than "it is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow". Defining the general ideology measure, on the internal control end of the dimension, is the assertion that "people will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it"; on the external end of the dimension is the assertion that "knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead".

### *Separation of Personal and Ideological Levels*

This separation of self from other, or the personal and the ideological levels, is not typical of factor analytic results from studies of

<sup>2</sup>The Personal Efficacy scale items were adapted from a scale that has been used in many studies at the Survey Research Center over the past ten years. The questions are phrased in the same forced-choice format as the Rotter items. They focus on the respondent's feelings of control over his own life, not his general beliefs about what makes for control in life (Items 9, 10, and 11 in Table 1).

TABLE 1  
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF POOL OF INTERNAL-EXTERNAL ITEMS

Factor I: Control Ideology Factor II: Personal Control Factor III: System Modifiability Factor IV: Race Ideology	Varimax Rotation			
	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
1a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.	.37 (.18)	.07 (.30)	.07 (.04)	.06 (.08)
b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.				
2a. No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.	.27 (.10)	.09 (.17)	.04 (.17)	.10 (.14)
b. People who can't get others to like them, don't understand how to get along with others.				
3a. In the case of the well-prepared student, there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.	.26 (.25)	.19 (.12)	.02 (.02)	.17 (.15)
b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.				
4a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.	.38 (.26)	.11 (.38)	.01 (.01)	.14 (.18)
b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.				
5a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.	.43 (.38)	.08 (.26)	.03 (.01)	.04 (.11)
b. Who gets to be boss depends on who has the skill and ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.				
6a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.	.23 (.20)	.13 (.06)	.19 (.08)	.14 (.03)
b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.				
7a. Without the right breaks, one cannot be an effective leader.	.36 (.24)	.20 (.45)	.04 (.06)	.05 (.04)
b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.				
8a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.	.32 (.28)	.14 (.21)	.09 (.06)	.17 (.13)
b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.				
9a. Knowing the right people is important in deciding whether a person will get ahead.	.52 (.31)	.00 (.25)	.11 (.02)	.13 (.22)

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
b. People will get ahead in life if they have the goods and do a good job; knowing the right people has nothing to do with it.				
10a. Leadership positions tend to go to capable people who deserve being chosen.	.43 (.47)	.15 (.13)	.19 (.08)	.12 (.12)
b. It's hard to know why some people get leadership positions and others don't; ability doesn't seem to be the important factor.				
11a. People who don't do well in life often work hard, but the breaks just don't come their way.	.38 (.20)	.11 (.16)	.07 (.03)	.07 (.12)
b. Some people just don't use the breaks that come their way. If they don't do well, it's their own fault.				
12a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.	.21 (.05)	.14 (.48)	.06 (.03)	.06 (.06)
b. There really is no such thing as "luck."				
13a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.	.25 (.25)	.25 (.09)	.12 (.05)	.03 (.03)
b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.				
14a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.	.08 (.10)	.35 (.17)	.08 (.17)	.05 (.14)
b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.				
15a. What happens to me is my own doing.	.18 (.10)	.30 (.30)	.01 (.03)	.01 (.07)
b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.				
16a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.	.11 (.10)	.47 (.27)	.00 (.15)	.00 (.03)
b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.				
17a. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.	.17 (.20)	.25 (.32)	.01 (.07)	.11 (.00)
b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.				

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
18a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.	.30 (.04)	.28 (.45)	.02 (.07)	.08 (.01)
b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck play an important role in my life.				
19a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.	.12 (.36)	.22 (.13)	.29 (.24)	.11 (.02)
b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.				
20a. Racial discrimination is here to stay.	.03 (.10)	.12 (.01)	.34 (.50)	.08 (.07)
b. People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.				
21a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.	.05 (.16)	.12 (.04)	.18 (.31)	.10 (.05)
b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.				
22a. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination.	.07 (.07)	.05 (.03)	.44 (.46)	.01 (.00)
b. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.				
23a. It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Negroes from getting a job. It's not just because they're Negro. When a Negro is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.	.24 (.29)	.04 (.02)	.05 (.05)	.43 (.34)
b. Many qualified Negroes can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.				
24a. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Negro to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.	.02 (.05)	.17 (.08)	.01 (.07)	.32 (.44)

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
b. Only if Negroes pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.				
25a. The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.	.01 (.02)	.01 (.09)	.01 (.01)	.28 (.45)
b. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Negro to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified white person.				
26a. Many Negroes who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.	.12 (.19)	.09 (.02)	.17 (.03)	.37 (.28)
b. Negroes may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many Negroes haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.				
27a. Negroes would be better off and the cause of civil rights advanced if there were fewer demonstrations.	.01 (.06)	.06 (.05)	.02 (.10)	.32 (.32)
b. The only way Negroes will gain their civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.				
28a. Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking and understanding without constant protest and pressure will never solve problems of discrimination.	.02 (.07)	.00 (.02)	.08 (.20)	.22 (.28)
b. Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure is the best way to solve racial discrimination.				
29a. Many Negroes have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.	.03 (.22)	.08 (.07)	.00 (.05)	.49 (.34)
b. When two qualified people, one Negro and one white, are considered for the same job, the Negro won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.				

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
30a. Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by Negro leaders talking with white leaders.	.00 (.10)	.09 (.07)	.06 (.30)	.37 (.29)
b. Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.				
31a. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Negroes. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Negro.	.20 (.19)	.11 (.06)	.20 (.07)	.43 (.39)
b. The problem for many Negroes is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Negro who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.				
32a. Discrimination affects all Negroes. The only way to handle it is for Negroes to organize together and demands rights for all Negroes.	.10 (.02)	.13 (.05)	.08 (.05)	.45 (.39)
b. Discrimination may affect all Negroes but the best way to handle it is for each individual Negro to act like any other American—to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.				
33a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.	.07 (.08)	.19 (.20)	.07 (.04)	.01 (.02)
b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.				
34a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.	.18 (.09)	.06 (.02)	.15 (.03)	.04 (.16)
b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.				
35a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.	.22 (.01)	.07 (.18)	.10 (.02)	.05 (.15)
b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.				
36a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.	.15 (.41)	.34 (.14)	.15 (.15)	.12 (.08)

TABLE 1 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
b. This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the little guy can do about it.				
37a. With enough effort, we can wipe out political corruption.	.10 (.41)	.39 (.07)	.21 (.24)	.03 (.10)
b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.				
38a. The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites are so opposed to Negroes getting their rights that it's practically impossible to end discrimination in America.	.20 (.06)	.11 (.01)	.20 (.35)	.43 (.09)
b. The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly enough whites support the goals of the Negro cause for Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimination.				
39a. If a Negro only tries hard enough, he can get ahead despite opposition from whites.	.10 (.03)	.13 (.14)	.08 (.17)	.45 (.10)
b. It's true that an individual Negro can get ahead by hard work, but every Negro will sometime face discrimination or opposition that can't be solved by individual effort alone.				

1. The factor loadings for females are found in parentheses.
2. The items were not presented to the respondents in the order found in Table 1. In order to increase readability, we clustered all the items with high loadings on a given factor.
3. Items which are bracketed together represent those which we used in the various indices referred to in the paper. Items with low loadings, or equally high loadings on several factors, or very different loadings for males and females, were not used in the summary indices and appear at the end of Table 1.
4. The N on which this analysis is based is 849 males and 846 females.

white populations. Rotter and others report finding one general factor which includes both types of questions (Rotter, 1966). The addition of items from the Personal Efficacy scale to our pool of items may have encouraged the emergence of this separation since it provides a few more items which are cast clearly in personal terms. We believe, however, that the separation of personal and ideological levels is likely to be a valid rather than an artifactual difference between Negro and white populations.

Why would we expect Negroes, but not whites, to distinguish self from other in the way they think about internal control? Our rationale is that Negroes may very well adopt the general cultural beliefs about internal control but find that these beliefs cannot always be applied in their own life situations. Without the same experiences of discrimination and racial prejudice, whites are less likely to perceive an inconsistency between cultural beliefs and what works for them. Therefore, Negro students may endorse general cultural beliefs in the Protestant Ethic just as strongly as would their white peers; at the same time, they may express much less certainty that they can control the outcomes of their own lives. Evidence that this seems to be the case is found in several studies. For example, in the Coleman study of educational opportunity, Negro students in college are *equally, if not more, internal* than white students in responding to statements which sound very much like our measure of control ideology; e.g., "If people are not successful, it is their own fault". In contrast, race differences do appear in questions which use a personal referent. Negro students are *less internal* than their white peers in answering questions about their own life experiences, for instance, in responding to the statement "every time I try to get ahead, something or somebody stops me".

This same pattern of race results also characterizes the adults in our own study of job retraining programs. There were no differences between Negro and white trainees in response to questions tapping general Protestant Ethic ideological beliefs, including some items adapted from the Rotter scale. However, there were clear race differences in responses to questions on the sense of efficacy and control over one's own life, with white trainees indicating a greater sense of this personal control.

### *The Separation of Levels . . .*

#### *Particularly Characteristic of Negroes?*

In addition to this pattern (the great convergence of Negroes and whites in endorsing general cultural beliefs and yet considerable divergence in their feelings of control over their own lives), still other data support the possibility that this separation of levels is particularly characteristic of Negroes. Results from our own studies indicate much greater unanimity in the general ideologies held by Negro youth than in their assessments of their competence to control their own lives. When questions were phrased at a very general level, asking what generally makes for success in life, the great majority (approximately 75 to 80 per cent) of the students in our study of Negro colleges agreed with a Protestant Ethic ideology. In contrast, when the questions were phrased in terms of what control they them-

selves had over their lives, many more (approximately 50 per cent) answered in ways indicating some questioning of this sense of control. This difference in endorsement rates for ideological and personal questions also holds for the high school dropouts we studied in a job training program. Despite rather frequent feelings of lack of control in their own personal lives, most of these trainees, like the college students, endorsed the cultural beliefs that hard work rather than luck makes for success in life.

### *The "Personal Level" Motivates*

More important than this difference in the proportion of Negroes who endorse the ideological and personal questions on internal-external control are the further results that these two types of questions are differentially related to a number of motivational and performance indicators. It is the personal, rather than the ideological, measure that operates significantly in motivation and performance. We have seen this in our studies of Negro college students as well as our study of young dropouts in the retraining program.

In the college study we examined relationships between three control scores—the sense of personal control, control ideology, and the total Rotter Internal-External Control scale—and a variety of motivational and performance measures. Only rarely do the measures of personal control and control ideology operate the same way. Usually it is the sense of personal control, but not control ideology, that differentiates motivation and performance. Students who have a high sense of personal control over their own lives also express heightened expectancies of success and self-confidence about their abilities for academic and job performance; they also aspire to jobs that are more *prestigious*, *demanding*, and *realistic* in terms of their own abilities and interests, three characteristics of job aspirations that have been related to high achievement motivation in many studies in the achievement literature. In contrast, the students' beliefs about what generally determines success and failure have nothing to do with their self-confidence, personal expectancies, or aspirations. It is not surprising, therefore, that the total Internal-External Control scale, which includes items at both the personal and the ideological levels, predicts to these aspects of motivation either very weakly or not at all.

In the performance area we find that the two control measures, the personal and the ideological, work in opposite ways. Students who are strongly internal in the personal sense have higher achievement test scores, achieve higher grades in college, and perform better on an anagrams task which was included in the instruments administered in the study. In contrast, students who are strongly internal in the sense of believing that internal forces are the major determinants of success

in the culture at large [ideological] perform *less* well than the more externally-oriented students. Given that these opposing results from the two types of control measures cancel each other, the total Rotter score understandably bears no relationship to these performance indicators.

The motivational significance of the personal rather than the more ideological measure is also clear in our research on the high school dropouts. In that study, responses to questions at the general ideological level bore no relationship to the trainee's job success in the period following his training. Questions tapping the trainee's sense of personal control or powerlessness were very clearly related to job success.

These results would suggest that if the concept of internal control is to capture the personal level intended in Rotter's definition, then questions asked of Negroes probably need to be cast in personal instead of general cultural terms. At least this self-other, or personal-ideological, distinction seems to be meaningful in the Negro populations we have studied.

### Individual-System Blame

Several questions were written specifically for the study of college students to measure beliefs about the role of external and personal forces in the race situation. Almost all of these items load heavily on either Factor III<sup>3</sup> or particularly Factor IV of the analysis presented in Table 1. Since the direct reference to race in these questions likely encouraged their clustering together when they were analyzed in the total pool of items, a second factor analysis was done on just the 14 race-related questions. The results appear in Table 2. This sub-analysis also resulted in four factors which have much the same structure for male and female students.

Our primary interest in this paper is with Factor III from this analysis.<sup>4</sup> This factor seems to be a direct measure of the concept of

<sup>3</sup>Factor III in Table 1 concerns the extent to which racial discrimination, war, and world affairs can be controlled or changed. We have called it a measure of *system modifiability*. An internal score on this factor represents the belief that investment of political and economic effort can make a difference in modifying the social system; an external score reflects the conviction that phenomena such as war and discrimination, by being either inexplicable or a basic part of human nature, are inevitable and unchangeable. Factor II, by including so many of the race questions, seems to be a rather undifferentiated measure of *race ideology*.

<sup>4</sup>The other three factors in Table 2 are related but somewhat different in content. Instead of asking whether racial discrimination is causally significant in the lives of Negro Americans, the questions in these three factors concern what can and should be done about discrimination. Factor II, which is very much like the measure of system modifiability generated in the first factor analysis, measures whether the respon-

concern in this paper, the student's explanation for social or economic failure among Negroes. We have called it a measure of *individual-system blame*. Consistently choosing the internal alternative on these four items means resting the burden for failure on Negroes themselves, specifically on their lack of skill, ability, training, effort, or proper behavior. In contrast, choosing the external alternative means attributing the responsibility for failure to the social system because of lack of opportunities and racial discrimination.

What are the implications of this blame-attribution variable for predicting the types of aspirations and performance criteria that have been traditional in the studies of achievement and internal-external control? Our main data bearing on this question come from the study of Negro college students where we related our measure of *individual-system blame* to the same set of motivational and performance indicators that were discussed in the preceding section.

An interesting difference appears when we compare the relationships obtained with the blame-attribution measure and those obtained with the measure of personal control. It will be recalled that personal control was related positively to a number of performance and aspiration measures that have often been associated with high achievement motivation—for instance, higher performance on tests of academic competence, greater expectations among entering freshmen that they would complete their college careers, stronger aspirations for occupations that are high in their prestige and ability demands. On the other hand, none of these performance and aspiration criteria were in any way related—either positively or negatively—to our measure of individual-system blame.

However, these performance and aspiration criteria commonly used in achievement studies represent a limited point of view about achievement. For one, they are *traditional* criteria, oriented toward achievement according to the most obvious societal standards—doing well in school, getting a prestigious job. They do not represent the less traditional achievements which may be more innovative in nature. Secondly, they are *individual* criteria. Thus, these criteria point to

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dent believes that discrimination can be eliminated through social and political interventions. We have called it a measure of *discrimination modifiability*. Factors I and IV cover the respondent's preferred strategies for dealing with discrimination. The two items in Factor I contrast individual effort and mobility with group action as the best ways to overcome discrimination. We have called it a measure of preference for *individual-collective action*. Although somewhat similar to Factor I in meaning, Factor IV poses alternative forms of collective action for the respondent to choose. One is a preference for protest and pressure activities; the other is a preference for less militant approaches such as relying on conversations and negotiations of Negro and white leaders or biracial councils. We have called this a measure of the respondent's *racial militancy*.

individual mobility rather than to group-identified collective actions as the solution to the problems of poverty and minority populations.

### *Two Other Sets of Criteria . . .*

We felt that a broader conception of achievement and effectiveness-relevant behavior was needed in a study of Negroes at this stage of history. Therefore, we added two other sets of criteria to our analyses of internal-external control in the study of Negro college students. First, in the area of occupational aspiration, we included a concept of *nontraditionality of job aspirations*,<sup>5</sup> as well as the usual concepts of prestige and ability demands. At a time of expanding job opportunities for Negro college students, when occupational arenas traditionally closed to Negroes (such as engineering and business) have begun to open up, the readiness of a Negro student to be an occupational pioneer becomes a critical achievement indicator. As a second nontraditional "innovative" criterion, the study also included a number of questions on students' attitudes toward and participation in *collective action* in the civil rights area. Given the magnitude of the problems facing Negroes and the increasing recognition—in the civil rights movement, in the emphasis on black pride, black power, and decentralized control of social institutions—that these problems demand collective attempts to change aspects of the social system as well as individual attempts to rise within it, we felt that involvement in these collective coping behaviors might be viewed as an important effectiveness criterion.

When we related personal control and individual-system blame to these nontraditional occupational aspirations and involvement in collective action, we found a very different pattern of results from those obtained with the traditional individual performance and aspiration criteria. The sense of personal control, which was associated with aspiring for jobs of high prestige and ability demands, was *not* associated with aspiring for jobs that are less traditional for Negroes. Conversely, individual-system blame, which was not related to prestige and ability demands, was clearly related to nontraditionality of aspiration. The students who were more sensitive to discrimination, who tended to blame the social system rather than individual qualities of Negroes for the problems that Negroes face, more often aspired for jobs that are less traditional for Negroes. In this instance, as we had predicted, the external rather than internal orientation was associated with greater aspirations.

<sup>5</sup>Each student's occupational choice was given a nontraditionality score by using the 1960 census breakdown of the percent Negro in that occupation. The occupations with the smallest proportion of Negroes in 1960 are the most nontraditional choices.

### *The Readiness to Engage in Collective Action . . .*

A similar pattern of results was obtained when we related the personal control and individual-system blame measures to students' readiness to engage in collective action. Attitudes in this area were measured by a scale constructed from Factor I in the factor analysis presented in Table 2. This factor measures the extent to which students felt that *individual effort and mobility* or *group action* represented the best way to overcome discrimination. This was clearly related to the blame attribution measure. Students on the external end of the continuum—i.e., those who tended to blame the system—were much more in favor of group rather than individual action to deal with discrimination. In contrast, the personal control measure showed no relationship to this individual-collective orientation.

Similar results appeared when the behavioral implications of these individual-collective attitudes were related to the individual-system blame and personal control measures. Individual-system blame was related to civil rights activity; students who blamed the system had engaged in many more civil rights activities such as demonstrations, picketing, and boycotting than had those who tended to see Negroes themselves as responsible for their subordinate position. Again, the personal control measure showed no relationship with civil rights activity.

To summarize, our results indicate that when internal-external control refers to Negroes' conceptions of the causes of their condition as Negroes, and these conceptions are related to more innovative, coping criteria, it is the external rather than the internal orientation that is associated with the more effective behaviors. When an internal orientation implies self-blame as a Negro, it also seems to involve a readiness to accept traditional restraints on Negroes' behavior. It might be noted, in this connection, that at the time of the study in 1964, the majority of the Negro college students fell on the "internal" end of the individual-system blame continuum; i.e., they tended to see the cause of Negroes' problems in personal inadequacies of Negroes rather than in the social system. Since self-blame for Negroes' problems was the majority point of view among these students, it is not surprising that students holding this view also supported the conventional and traditional view that individual self-betterment is the best approach to dealing with the problems.

These results on the correlates of individual-system blame are particularly consistent with sociological analyses that have highlighted the dysfunctionality for minority group members of self-blame beliefs which rationalize their subordinate position and inhibit behavior which might challenge the system determinants of their condition. We have already noted Merton's germinal statement of this point of view. A recent statement of this position appears in Paige's

TABLE 2  
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF RACE-RELEVANT INTERNAL-EXTERNAL ITEMS

Factor I: Individual-Collective Action Factor II: Discrimination Modifiability Factor III: Individual-System Blame Factor IV: Racial Militancy	Varimax Rotation Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
1a. The best way to handle problems of discrimination is for each individual Negro to make sure he gets the best training possible for what he wants to do.	.825 (.766)	.049 (.110)	.059 (.072)	.072 (.114)
b. Only if Negroes pull together in civil rights groups and activities can anything really be done about discrimination.				
2a. The best way to overcome discrimination is through pressure and social action.	.787 (.753)	.051 (.086)	.094 (.110)	.119 (.071)
b. The best way to overcome discrimination is for each individual Negro to be even better trained and more qualified than the most qualified white person.				
3a. Racial discrimination is here to stay.	.010 (.063)	.771 (.738)	.056 (.001)	.081 (.042)
b. People may be prejudiced but it's possible for American society to completely rid itself of open discrimination.				
4a. The so-called "white backlash" shows once again that whites are so opposed to Negroes getting their rights that it's practically impossible to end discrimination in America.	.033 (.077)	.623 (.655)	.329 (.207)	.016 (.090)
b. The so-called "white backlash" has been exaggerated. Certainly enough whites support the goals of the Negro cause for Americans to see considerable progress in wiping out discrimination.				
5a. The racial situation in America may be very complex, but with enough money and effort, it is possible to get rid of racial discrimination.	.001 (.057)	.607 (.534)	.214 (.205)	.052 (.068)
b. We'll never completely get rid of discrimination. It's part of human nature.				

TABLE 2 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
6a. It's lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Negroes from getting a job. It's not just because they're Negro. When a Negro is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.	.014 (.045)	.030 (.013)	.520 (.609)	.083 (.035)
b. Many qualified Negroes can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.				
7a. Many Negroes who don't do well in life do have good training, but the opportunities just always go to whites.	.130 (.157)	.090 (.129)	.670 (.644)	.001 (.044)
b. Negroes may not have the same opportunities as whites, but many Negroes haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.				
8a. Many Negroes have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder, they'd do better.	.052 (.017)	.097 (.064)	.651 (.700)	.077 (.086)
b. When two qualified people, one Negro and one white, are considered for the same job, the Negro won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.				
9a. The attempt to "fit in" and do what's proper hasn't paid off for Negroes. It doesn't matter how "proper" you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you're Negro.	.001 (.075)	.001 (.004)	.466 (.528)	.237 (.197)
b. The problem for many Negroes is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Negro who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.				
10a. Negroes would be better off and the cause of civil rights advanced if there were fewer demonstrations.	.039 (.157)	.118 (.011)	.135 (.070)	.647 (.690)
b. The only way Negroes will gain their civil rights is by constant protest and pressure.				

TABLE 2 (Cont.)

	Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
11a. Depending on bi-racial committees is just a dodge. Talking and understanding without constant protest and pressure will never solve problems of discrimination.	.061 (.073)	.062 (.033)	.048 (.169)	.678 (.670)
b. Talking and understanding as opposed to protest and pressure is the best way to solve racial discrimination.				
12a. Organized action is one approach to handling discrimination, but there are probably very few situations that couldn't be handled better by Negro leaders talking with white leaders.	.087 (.138)	.236 (.076)	.023 (.017)	.636 (.603)
b. Most discriminatory situations simply can't be handled without organized pressure and group action.				
13a. Discrimination affects all Negroes. The only way to handle it is for Negroes to organize together and demand rights for all Negroes.	.247 (.171)	.192 (.169)	.292 (.330)	.350 (.411)
b. Discrimination may affect all Negroes but the best way to handle it is for each individual Negro to act like any other American—to work hard, get a good education, and mind his own business.				

1. The factor loadings for females are found in parentheses.
2. The items were not presented to the respondents in the order found in Table 1. In order to increase readability, we clustered all the items with high loadings on a given factor.
3. Items which are bracketed together represent those which we used in the various indices referred to in the paper. Items with low loadings, or equally high loadings on several factors, or very different loadings for males and females, were not used in the summary indices and appear at the end of Table 1.
4. The N on which this analysis is based is 849 males and 846 females.

(1968) study of ghetto rioters. Paige demonstrates that rioting is clearly associated with rejecting a set of beliefs he refers to as the "culture of subordination," with self-blame rather than system-blame being a central aspect of these beliefs.

In this section we have presented the different attitudinal and behavioral implications that follow from our two concepts of internal-

external control: personal control and individual-system blame. One further question remains. What is the relationship of these two concepts to each other? We will explore this question and some of the issues it raises in the concluding section of this paper.

## Relationship Between Personal Control and Individual-System Blame

Individual mobility and collective action are often viewed, particularly in the sociological literature on subordinate groups, as alternative, and to some extent mutually exclusive, approaches that individuals in minority groups can take to cope with their problem of subordination. Therefore, one might expect that high personal control, which was associated with traditional individual mobility aspirations, would be negatively related to system-blame, which was associated with collective modes of dealing with discrimination. Yet, data from the college study indicate that personal control and individual-system blame are not related, either positively or negatively, to each other ( $\text{Tau} = +.04$ ). This is not surprising considering the nature of the civil rights movement, particularly at the time the college study was done. To a large extent the collective assaults on the system represented in this movement have reflected an attempt to remove the barriers to Negro mobility within the system, rather than a desire to overthrow or opt out of it. Therefore, individual mobility and collective action orientations would not necessarily be polarized, even among the activist students.

Rather than predicting a simple relationship between personal control and individual-system blame, it might be more fruitful to expect the relationship to vary under different conditions, particularly those which affect individual payoffs produced by collective efforts. That we did not find a polarization of individual and collective orientations among Negro college students in 1964 is understandable. It was the peak of the success and optimism of the civil rights movement. The collective efforts of Negroes had not only overcome legal and social barriers but had job recruiters flocking to the Negro campuses. At that time, we might have found more polarization in noncollege Negro groups whose lack of skills did not permit them to maximize the possibilities afforded by expanding opportunities for Negroes. Today we might find more polarization even among college groups. Although the payoffs for individual Negro college students may still be expanding, the heightened concern on Negro campuses with black identity has probably promoted closer identification with the frustrations of the bulk of the Negro population for whom system rewards are not changing appreciably.

### *Racial Militants—Low Personal Control, High System Blame*

There is some evidence from our college study that this greater polarization may come with increasing disenchantment and militancy. One of the factors presented in Table 2 has to do with *racial militancy*. It measures the extent to which students reject methods of accommodation and consensus as ways of dealing with racial discrimination in favor of strategies of protest, confrontation, and conflict. This militancy was related to individual-system blame in a way that parallels the results on individual-collective orientations and civil rights activities. In addition to being more collectively oriented in their attitudes and engaging in more civil rights activity, the students who blamed the system were also more militant in supporting the necessity for confrontation tactics. What is interesting is that personal control, which was not related to individual-collective orientations or to involvement in civil rights activities, was actually *negatively* related to racial militancy. Of all the measures discussed in this paper, racial militancy was the only one that suggests a polarization between personal control and individual-system blame by showing a negative relationship with the former and a positive relationship with the latter.

If the tide of events should increasingly force motivationally effective Negroes to feel they have to choose between individual and collective expressions of their effectiveness, the social implications are obviously of paramount concern. Such a polarization would also sharpen some of the questions we have raised about the usual assumption in the internal-external control literature that effective motivation almost always flows from internal orientations.

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## Correlates of Academic Achievement Among Northern and Southern Urban Negro Students

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Task Force on Urban Education

Katz (1964) has argued that personality and social factors, as well as interactions with Negro students' ability to control their environment, are important in his studies on this issue. Katz poses the following questions for researchers in this field: (a) Are there any significant personality differences between Negro students of different achievement levels? (b) Are these differences related to achievement in achievement? (c) Are there any significant differences in the personality of Negro students of different achievement levels?

This paper reports a study of a sample of high-achieving students attending inner-city schools in a large northern city and in a large southern city in order to identify some personality factors which are predictive of the Negro student's capacity to utilize his intellectual potential to achieve academically.

The research reported here is a preliminary investigation. It raises two questions: first, for the low-achieving students, what personality factors will be drawn, but no direct test of the hypothesis.

This paper is based on results of a research project sponsored by a grant from the University of Illinois from the U.S. Office of Education, Division of Educational and Technical Education, Occupational Research and Training Program. The work on this paper was also partially supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation to the University of Illinois. The author is indebted to Mrs. Mary E. Leland and Mr. William L. Stewart of the University of Illinois for their assistance in this project. The paper also benefited from the helpful comments of the members of the University of Illinois Task Force on Urban Education.



## **Correlates of Academic Achievement Among Northern and Southern Urban Negro Students**

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Katz (1964) has argued that personality and social factors interact to interfere with Negro students' ability to realize their academic potential. In his article in this issue, Katz poses the following questions for researchers: (a) Are there socioeconomic status differences in personality? (b) Are these differences related to differences in achievement? (c) Are these traits products of early family experiences?

This paper reports results of a survey of high school students attending inner-city schools in a large northern city and in a large southern city<sup>1</sup> in order to identify some personality factors which are predictive of the Negro student's capacity to utilize his intellectual potential to achieve academically.

The research reported here is more adequate for answering Katz' first two questions than for the last. Some inferences about early experiences will be drawn, but no direct test of the hypothesis about

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on results of a research project sponsored by a contract to the University of Michigan from the U.S. Office of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Occupational Research and Planning Program (Contract OE-6-85-917). Work on this paper was also partially supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation to Tuskegee Institute. The author is indebted to Mrs. Judith Kovan Cohen, and Mr. Stephen Schwartz of the University of Michigan for assistance in data processing. The paper also benefited from the helpful comments of Dr. Glenn R. Howze of Tuskegee Institute.

early experiences will be attempted. It is assumed that social position determines values, and values in turn influence behavior. The behavior in question (parental socialization practices) acts to determine (in part) personality characteristics of students. Thus, a student's achievement behavior (performance) is a reflection of the interaction between social position, socialization experiences, and genetic endowment. We would, therefore, expect family status to be positively related both to achievement behavior and to achievement related personality characteristics. However, it is the end product of socialization—manifest personality characteristics and attitudes—that is thought to be most directly related to academic achievement.

### Achievement Motivation

The aspect of personality that is most clearly related to academic achievement is motivation. According to Atkinson (1964), the tendency to strive for success is the result of the combined positive and negative effects of *hope of success*, *fear of failure*, *perceived probability of success*, and *the incentive value of the task goal*. This paper will focus on some measures which appear to be related to the theory of achievement motivation. These self-report measures are not meant to be identical to the TAT based measure usually associated with *n* Achievement. They were selected for their potential utility in predicting academic achievement as well as for their assumed theoretical relevance for a theory of motivation for academic achievement.

Recent research by a number of authors has tended to find a communality of content in areas peripherally related to the theory of achievement motivation. Smith (1968) has brought much of this material together in the formulation of a provisional view of "the competent self". According to Smith, favorable self-evaluation is accompanied by an array of knowledge, skills, habits, and abilities that are required to translate hopeful expectations and active orientations into effective behavior. Smith also points out the relatedness of the sense of competence to power, respect, and opportunity. Thus, social background (social status and ethnic origin) influences the extent to which an individual's self-perception includes a sense of control over his own destiny. In the present usage, this is the "perceived probability of success" dimension of the *n* Achievement model.

This paper will be concerned primarily with three aspects of Atkinson's model of achievement motivation. These are fear of failure, perceived probability of success, and incentive value of success, all of which involve elements of self-perception. For this reason, considerable attention will be given to self-esteem. For example, low self-esteem may be symptomatic of both fear of failure tendencies and of perceived

low probability of success in a valued domain. The major hypothesis to be tested is that *favorable self-perceptions are positively related to achievement behavior*. Favorable self-perceptions should be positively related to *n* Achievement, but are not considered synonymous with *n* Achievement. These self-perceptions are, however, thought to be more strongly related to academic achievement than to *n* Achievement. (This hypothesis is not tested in this paper.)

The self-perceptions being investigated here may be referred to as a "competence syndrome". This competence syndrome may be said to include elements of (a) ability, (b) favorable self-perception, (c) optimism about opportunities for success, and (d) achievement values (incentive). The independent variable in this study is family social status. Self-perception, perception of opportunities for success, and achievement values are viewed as intervening variables, and verbal ability, school grades, and amount of expected future education are seen as dependent variables.

## Description of Sample and Instruments

### *Sample*

Respondents were students attending four schools in a large northern city and four schools in a large southern city. Our aim was to select schools which differed in the proportion of middle-class students included in their enrollments. The original plan also called for sampling two biracial and two racially segregated schools in each city. We were able to conform to this plan in the northern city, but could obtain no students from biracial schools in the south. Sampling within each school was random within limits of school cooperation. Our northern sample consists of 400 Negro males and 566 Negro females (white students are not considered in this analysis). There were 721 males and 851 females in the southern sample. Students in grades 9-12 were included in two northern schools and all southern schools. The two biracial northern schools contained only students in grades 10-12, and the proportion of 9th grade students attending the remaining northern schools was smaller than the proportion of 9th graders in the southern schools. Thus, our northern and southern samples are not directly comparable. However, each may be said to contain students with a wide range of measured ability and social characteristics. Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics.

When northern and southern students are compared, average socioeconomic status is a little higher in the North. There is some variation in student's average social status among schools within each city. Students also vary in average verbal ability scores, usually in the direction of higher mean scores in the more middle-class schools.

TABLE 1  
MEAN SCALE SCORES BY SEX AND REGION

Variable Name	Sex and Regional Group							
	Northern Males (N = 400)		Southern Males (N = 721)		Northern Females (N = 566)		Southern Females (N = 851)	
	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
Self-Concept of Ability	34.3	6.0	33.6	5.5	34.2	6.1	34.2	5.3
Perception of Limited Opportunities	12.4	3.9	14.1	4.2	11.9	3.6	13.3	4.4
Test Anxiety	11.5	4.6	12.4	4.6	13.1	4.8	14.3	5.0
Self-Esteem	16.9	2.3	16.5	2.7	16.7	2.3	16.8	2.3
Conformity	14.0	4.1	15.7	4.2	13.5	4.4	15.1	4.5
Vocabulary Score	19.2	7.3	14.2	7.1	19.5	6.6	16.1	7.1
Amount of Expected Future Education	4.7	1.4	4.4	1.5	4.6	1.4	4.5	1.5
Father's Occupation	3.4	1.8	3.1	1.8	3.2	1.8	3.0	1.9
Mother's Education	4.2	1.5	3.8	1.4	4.0	1.5	3.6	1.4
Grade Point Average	2.7	.6	2.7	.8	3.0	.7	3.1	.8

Experimental analysis indicated that the direction of relationship among variables was usually the same for students in all schools, therefore, students are classified by region and sex only (northern males, northern females, southern males, and southern females). While not directly comparable, these groups are considered appropriate for a correlational analysis in which the focus is on the relationship between variables rather than on North-South differences.

### *Data Collection*

Vocabulary tests and questionnaires were administered to groups of students in school auditoriums or classrooms by the author and members of the research staff during the fall of 1966. All data except grades are based on these self-report instruments. Most of the instruments used have been described elsewhere, as indicated by the references cited when an instrument is described.

### *Ability*

The measure of ability used in this study is an expanded version (60 items) of the vocabulary test used by Miner (1957). This instrument was used because no common measure of tested achievement or ability was available for the two school systems from which our students were drawn. The test was administered with a three minute time limit. Scores on the vocabulary test ranged from 0 to 50. Test-retest correlation coefficients with the same instrument readminis-

tered (after a 3 to 4 month interval) to 377 Negro and white males and 431 Negro and white females were .84 and .82 respectively. Means for the first administration (retest sample) were 18.42 for males and 19.00 for females. Retest means were 20.12 for males and 21.41 for females. Scores used in this analysis are based on the first testing. Scores on the vocabulary test are correlated with other ability measures at a fairly high level. For southern students, product moment correlation coefficients involving vocabulary scores and Otis IQ scores were .66 for females and .73 for males. Correlation coefficients computed for vocabulary scores and scores on an achievement test (SCAT) for northern students were .64 for females and .67 for males (white students' correlation coefficients were .76 and .65 for females and males respectively for SCAT vs. vocabulary score).

In order to measure *school achievement*, students' grades in English, social studies, arithmetic, and science were obtained from school records. Grades for as many semesters of high school work as were available for each student were used in computing grade point averages. Scores were converted to a five point scale.

### *Self-Perception*

Two measures of positive self-perception are included in this analysis. The first scale in this category is called a *self-concept of ability scale* (Brookover *et al.*, 1962, 1965, 1967). The original version of this scale consisted of eight items with five response categories. Factor analysis of 56 items including the items of the self-concept of ability scale resulted in adding two items to the scale. One item asked students "How do your parents feel about the grades you get in school?" Four choices of response were allowed ranging from "very well satisfied" to "dissatisfied". The other new item stated that "A person like me has a pretty good chance of going to college". Choices (four) ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". The combination of items resulted in a scale with a possible range of 10 to 48. The correlation between the two versions of the scale is .96 for the total sample of 2,826 Negro and white students.

A *general self-esteem scale* based on Rosenberg's work (1965) was also included in this study. Factor analysis of Rosenberg's original items (included in a pool of 56 items) yielded a *positive self-esteem scale* of five items. The possible range of scores was from 5 to 20. (The new scale vs. original scale correlation coefficient is .66.)

Three measures of negative self-perception are analyzed here. A short version of the Test Anxiety Questionnaire (Mandler and Sarason, 1952) was used to measure *fear of failure*. The version used here included five items. This version correlated .93 with a thirteen item version of the Test Anxiety Questionnaire. Little predictive value was

lost by reducing the number of items in the scale. The thirteen item version is correlated with vocabulary score at a modest level ( $-.24$ ) as is the shortened scale ( $-.19$ ) for the total sample of 2,826 white and Negro students of both sexes. Scores can range from 5 to 25.

The fourth scale measures a *passive-conforming orientation* toward the world. This is a factor-analytically derived scale based on two sets of items. Two items were taken from the achievement values scale used by Rosen (1956). These are identified as items measuring "Present-Future Orientation" and "Passivistic-Activistic Orientation" in the work cited. The remaining three items in the scale are Feagin's (1965) conformity scale.<sup>2</sup> For convenience the scale used in this analysis is referred to as the *conformity scale*. The maximum score possible on this scale is 23, the minimum score is 5. The revised scale correlates  $.84$  with the original conformity scale. The correlation between this scale and the internal vs. external control scale (Rotter, 1966) is  $-.27$  for 924 northern and southern Negro males and  $-.34$  for 1263 northern and southern Negro females.

### *Opportunities for Success*

Students' perceptions of limited opportunities for success were measured by a scale based on a 13 item "awareness of limited opportunities scale" (Landis and Scarpitti, 1965). It includes items such as "My family can't afford to give me the opportunities that most kids have". Four responses ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" were allowed for each item. The correlation between the short version of this scale and the longer version is  $.89$ . The scale included seven items which permitted a range of scores from 7 to 28.

### *Achievement Values*

Students were asked how far they would like to go in school if they could go as far as they desired. They were also asked how far they actually expected to go in school. The latter item was used as a seven point scale to measure *expected level of future education*. This measure is considered to be more realistic than the "aspiration" item or a similar item asking students what they expect to be their future

<sup>2</sup> The two Rosen (1956) items are: (a) When a man is born, the success he's going to have is already in the cards, so he might as well accept it and not fight it; and (b) Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself. These items used the following alternatives: strongly agree; agree somewhat; disagree somewhat; strongly disagree.

The three Feagin (1965) items are: (a) It is more important to be loyal and conform to your own group than to try to cooperate with other groups; (b) To be successful, a group's members must act and think alike; and (c) When almost everyone agrees on something, there is little reason to oppose it. Responses for these items were: strongly agree; agree; undecided; disagree; strongly disagree.

occupation. It is used here as a measure of the incentive value of academic success.

*Socioeconomic status* was determined by using either father's occupation as reported by students or mother's education as reported by students as single indicators of family status. No attempt was made to measure "social class", but a simple ranking of status levels on an objective index was desired. The single indicators serve this purpose. Therefore, father's occupation is used as a seven point socioeconomic status indicator, while mother's education is used as an eight point socioeconomic indicator. For multiple and partial correlation analyses, father's occupation is used to measure socioeconomic status for northern males, and mother's education is the socioeconomic measure for other students. This procedure is based on the zero order correlation between these measures and vocabulary score (see Table 4, part b).<sup>3</sup>

## Results

Because ten variables are involved in this study, results are presented in terms of correlation coefficients. The zero-order correlation matrix for males and females, northern and southern samples combined, is presented in Table 2. It can be seen that most of the variables are interrelated at a statistically significant level although none of the correlation coefficients is large enough to indicate that any variable can be substituted for another. For both sexes, self-concept of ability and self-esteem are negatively related to perception of limited opportunities, test anxiety, and conformity. In exploring the relation of the variables to socioeconomic status (SES) and achievement, correlation coefficients for northern and southern males and females will be examined separately. These are presented in Table 3.

### *Socioeconomic Status and Achievement*

Data in Table 3 indicate that there is not a very strong relationship between SES (socioeconomic status) and school grades among these students. SES is significantly correlated with grades only among southern females ( $r = .21$ ). However, SES is related to vocabulary score in a positive direction for all four groups of students. The correlation coefficients are small (.18 to .25), but significant beyond the .001 level of significance. The relationship is a little stronger for fe-

<sup>3</sup> The rationale for using a different measure of socioeconomic status for northern boys than for the other groups is based on the desire of the author to allow family social status to explain as much of the variation in academic achievement in each group as possible. Therefore, when choosing between father's occupation and mother's education, the indicator which yielded the higher zero-order correlation with vocabulary score was selected for inclusion in the partial correlation matrix.

TABLE 2  
INTERRELATIONS OF ALL VARIABLES FOR MALES AND FOR FEMALES, NORTH AND SOUTH COMBINED\*

Variable Name	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Self-Concept of Ability		-.26	-.25	-.38	-.24	.33	.50	.46	.14	.15
2. Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.17		.27	-.22	.37	-.38	-.29	-.36	-.15	-.24
3. Test Anxiety	-.19	.35		-.14	.18	-.23	-.13	-.15	-.06	-.04
4. Self-Esteem	.35	-.28	-.18		-.10	.17	.19	.23	.05	.03
5. Conformity	-.14	.37	.16	-.03		-.46	-.37	-.30	-.06	-.21
6. Vocabulary Score	.30	-.39	-.22	.34	-.39		.48	.36	.12	.26
7. Grades in School	.45	-.26	-.18	.26	-.25	.43		.37	.06	.14
8. Expected Future Level of Education	.45	-.30	-.14	.18	-.28	.37	.38		.21	.33
9. Father's Occupation	.09	-.15	-.03	.02	-.09	.19	.02	.21		.27
10. Mother's Education	.06	-.22	-.04	-.01	-.16	.20	.06	.22	.30	

\*Correlation coefficients above the diagonal represent girls. Coefficients below the diagonal represent males. For both, correlation coefficients of .09 or larger are significant beyond the .05 level of confidence. The number of cases involved in the computation of each correlation coefficient varies due to missing data on one or both variables. The minimum number of cases for girls is 914, while for boys the minimum is 695.

males than for males in both the North and the South, but the sex difference is greater in the South. SES is more strongly related to amount of expected future education than to any other variable in this study. This finding supports common sense expectations since the decision to attend college is often influenced by financial considerations. Results of a partial correlation analysis which controlled for all other variables indicated that the partial correlation between SES and vocabulary score is significant for all groups except southern females, and the partial correlation between SES and expected education is significant for all four groups (see Table 5, part c).

### *Socioeconomic Status and Personality Characteristics*

Table 3 also shows correlations of SES with personality variables. SES is significantly and positively related to self-concept of ability, but the correlation coefficients are very small. The negative correlation of SES with perception of limited opportunities and conformity is slightly higher. As one would expect, students with low family status are more likely than those with high family status to feel that their opportunities for occupational and educational success are limited. They are also more likely to adopt a passive conforming approach to life. Only one significant relationship is found between test anxiety and SES. None is found between self-esteem and SES.

TABLE 3  
CORRELATION OF SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS WITH PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENT  
BY SEX AND BY REGION<sup>a</sup>

Variable Name	Correlation with SES by Sex and Region			
	Northern Males (N = 400)	Southern Males (N = 721)	Northern Females (N = 566)	Southern Females (N = 851)
Self-Concept of Ability	.10*	.09**	.16***	.14***
Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.17***	-.21***	-.23***	-.23***
Test Anxiety	.00	-.05	.05	-.08**
Self-Esteem	.08	-.07	.03	.03
Conformity	-.07 <sup>b</sup>	-.15***	-.22***	-.18***
Vocabulary Score	.21***	.18***	.25***	.24***
Grade Point Average	.01	.08*	.06	.21***
Amount of Expected Future Education	.19***	.23***	.30***	.34***

\* $p < .10$

\*\* $p < .05$

\*\*\* $p < .01$

<sup>a</sup> The SES indicator is mother's education for all groups except northern males for whom father's occupation is the SES measure. This procedure yields the largest correlation coefficients when SES is correlated with verbal ability. The number of cases in each comparison varies slightly due to missing data for one or both variables.

<sup>b</sup> This variable correlated  $-.12$  ( $p < .05$ ) with mother's education for northern males.

### *Personality Characteristics and Achievement*

In presenting results of this portion of the analysis, grades, verbal ability, and amount of expected future education are each treated separately as dependent variables. The zero-order correlation coefficients for grades are presented in Table 4 (part a). Self-concept of ability and self-esteem are positively correlated with grade point average. As expected, perception of limited opportunities and conformity are negatively related to grades. Although some correlation coefficients are quite small, most of the relationships are statistically significant; this is due essentially to the large size of the sample.

It is apparent that self-concept of ability is the strongest personality correlate of grades. For northern students, this variable is more highly correlated with grades than vocabulary score. While the relationship of self-concept of ability to grades is strong in the South, it is not as good a predictor of grades as vocabulary score. Next to self-concept of ability and vocabulary score, amount of expected future education is the variable most consistently related to grades among the four groups of students.

### *Sex and Regional Differences*

Sex and regional differences in the strength of associations between the remaining personality characteristics and grades are evident. Perception of limited opportunities is more strongly related to grades in the southern sample than in the northern sample, while conformity is more strongly related to grades of females than of males. Test anxiety is not strongly related to grades in this population.

Since most of the variables examined in this study are interrelated, partial correlation coefficients were computed to determine how much each variable independently contributes to the prediction of academic achievement. The partial correlation coefficients provide a statistical estimate of the contribution of each variable when the influence of all other variables is statistically controlled.

It is quite clear from the partial correlation coefficients in Table 5 (part a) that self-concept of ability and vocabulary score account for most of the explained variation in grades. The partial correlation between self-concept of ability and grades is significant for all groups. The partial correlation of conformity and grades is significant for all groups except southern males. Expected education is not significantly related to grades when the effects of other variables are removed except among southern males. The partial correlation between SES and grades is negative in three of the sex and regional samples, but reaches significance only among northern females. In summing up the results of this analysis, it is apparent that the correlation of most of these variables with grades is based on their intercorrelation with

TABLE 4  
ZERO ORDER CORRELATION BETWEEN EACH INDEPENDENT VARIABLE AND GRADES,  
VOCABULARY SCORE, AND EXPECTED EDUCATION BY SEX AND REGION

Variable Name	Northern Males (N = 400) <sup>a</sup>	Southern Males (N = 721) <sup>a</sup>	Northern Females (N = 566) <sup>a</sup>	Southern Females (N = 851) <sup>a</sup>
a. <i>Grades as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.50	.43	.60	.44
Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.11	-.32	-.14	-.39
Test Anxiety	-.13	-.20	-.15	-.14
Self-Esteem	.26	.26	.24	.15
Conformity	-.25	-.25	-.39	-.39
Vocabulary Score	.34	.49	.42	.57
Amount of Expected Future Education	.38	.38	.36	.38
Father's Occupation	.01	.03	.07	.07
Mother's Education	.03	.08	.06	.21
b. <i>Vocabulary Score as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.33	.27	.36	.32
Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.21	-.43	-.23	-.43
Test Anxiety	-.20	-.21	-.19	-.22
Self-Esteem	.32	.34	.19	.18
Conformity	-.32	-.37	-.41	-.46
Grade Point Average	.34	.49	.42	.57
Amount of Expected Future Education	.36	.35	.37	.36
Father's Occupation	.21	.14	.10	.12
Mother's Education	.13	.18	.25	.24
c. <i>Expected Education as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.56	.38	.53	.42
Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.24	-.31	-.28	-.40
Test Anxiety	-.21	-.10	-.13	-.15
Self-Esteem	.21	.16	.24	.22
Conformity	-.36	-.21	-.34	-.28
Vocabulary Score	.36	.35	.37	.36
Grade Point Average	.38	.38	.36	.38
Father's Occupation	.19	.21	.21	.21
Mother's Education	.17	.23	.30	.34

<sup>a</sup>The number of cases on which these correlation coefficients are based varies due to missing data for some students on several variables. For northern males, coefficients of .11 and .15 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$  respectively; for southern males and northern females, coefficients of .10 and .13 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$ ; for southern females, coefficients of .09 and .12 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$ . The minimum number of cases in each group is: northern males, 305; southern males, 476; northern females, 424; southern females, 566.

TABLE 5  
PARTIAL CORRELATION BETWEEN EACH INDEPENDENT VARIABLE AND GRADES,  
VOCABULARY SCORE, AND EXPECTED EDUCATION (CONTROLLING FOR  
EFFECTS OF OTHER INDEPENDENT VARIABLES) BY SEX AND REGION

Variable Name	Northern Males (N = 400) <sup>a</sup>	Southern Males (N = 721) <sup>a</sup>	Northern Females (N = 566) <sup>a</sup>	Southern Females (N = 851) <sup>a</sup>
<i>a. Grades as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.32	.28	.46	.29
Perception of Limited Opportunities	.05	-.08	.08	-.12
Test Anxiety	.01	-.04	.06	.09
Self-Esteem	.02	.03	-.02	-.06
Conformity	-.12	-.06	-.22	-.14
Vocabulary Score	.17	.30	.23	.37
Socioeconomic Status <sup>b</sup>	-.09	-.07	-.13	.03
Amount of Expected Future Education	.08	.15	.01	.07
<i>b. Vocabulary Score as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.00	.00	.00	.01
Perception of Limited Opportunities	.00	-.16	-.02	-.15
Test Anxiety	-.10	-.01	-.12	-.08
Self-Esteem	.20	.24	.03	.06
Conformity	-.18	-.25	-.22	-.25
Grade Point Average	.17	.30	.23	.37
Socioeconomic Status <sup>b</sup>	.17	.11	.16	.07
Amount of Expected Future Education	.13	.11	.12	.07
<i>c. Expected Future Education as Dependent Variable</i>				
Self-Concept of Ability	.44	.26	.34	.25
Perception of Limited Opportunities	-.06	-.15	-.09	-.19
Test Anxiety	-.05	.07	.03	.03
Self-Esteem	-.13	-.02	.01	.07
Conformity	-.23	-.04	-.10	-.06
Vocabulary Score	.13	.11	.12	.07
Socioeconomic Status <sup>b</sup>	.13	.16	.19	.25
Grade Point Average	.08	.15	.01	.07

<sup>a</sup>The number of cases on which these correlation coefficients are based varies due to missing data for some students on several variables. For northern males, coefficients of .11 and .15 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$  respectively; for southern males and northern females, coefficients of .10 and .13 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$ ; for southern females, coefficients of .09 and .12 are needed for  $p < .05$  and  $p < .01$ . The minimum number of cases in each group is: northern males, 305; southern males, 476; northern females, 424; southern females, 566.

<sup>b</sup>Father's occupation is the SES measure for northern boys; mother's education is the SES measure for all other groups. This procedure yields the largest zero-order correlation between SES and vocabulary score for each group.

other variables. Most of the relationship between grades and perception of limited opportunities, self-esteem, expected education, and test anxiety, is probably explainable in terms of their relatively high correlation with either vocabulary score or self-concept of ability or both.

The combined effects of several variables is indicated by the technique of multiple correlation. The combination of variables in Table 5 (part a) resulted in the following multiple correlation coefficients with grades as the dependent variable: northern boys, .55; southern boys, .61; northern girls, .67; and southern girls, .66. Thus, these variables are least effective for predicting academic achievement among northern boys and most effective for predicting academic achievement among northern and southern girls.

#### *Personality Characteristics and Vocabulary Score*

Table 4 (part b) shows the zero-order correlations of personality variables with vocabulary score. The conformity scale is the most consistent personality correlate of vocabulary score across the four samples. Grade point average and amount of expected education are also strongly related to vocabulary score in all four samples. The remaining scales are differentially predictive by sex or region.

The partial correlation results for vocabulary score (Table 5, part b) indicate that, with other variables controlled, conformity is still a strong correlate of vocabulary score in each of the four groups. It is the only personality variable with a consistently significant partial correlation coefficient. Some interesting sex and regional variations are evident when we look at other variables. For example, perception of limited opportunities is significantly related to vocabulary score among southern students, but is not significant for northern students. The regional difference in the effect of test anxiety is in the opposite direction. Self-esteem is significantly related to vocabulary scores of male students, but is not related to the scores of female students.

When the combined effect of this set of variables is examined, regional differences in their effectiveness are quite apparent. With vocabulary score as the dependent variable, the respective multiple correlation coefficients are: northern males, .53; southern males, .64; northern females, .56; and southern females, .66. Vocabulary scores of southern students are predicted more effectively than those of northern students.

#### *Correlates of Amount of Expected Education*

In the treatment of grades and vocabulary score, amount of expected education was discussed as an independent variable. In Table 4 (part c), it is treated as a dependent variable. As pointed out

earlier, SES is more strongly related to this aspect of academic achievement than to either vocabulary score or grades. The two achievement measures, grades and vocabulary score, are about equally correlated with amount of expected education in all four groups. For northern students of both sexes, self-concept of ability is by far the most effective correlate of amount of expected education. Among southern students, self-concept of ability is only a little more highly correlated with expected education than grades and vocabulary score.

Data in Table 5 (part c) show that the partial correlation between self-concept of ability and amount of expected education is considerably larger than the partial correlation of any other personality variable with amount of expected education. This pattern is found in all four groups. Socioeconomic status is the only other variable which is significantly related to expected education in each sample. Vocabulary score is significantly related to expected education in all groups except southern females. Test anxiety is not significantly related to this variable. The relationship of the remaining variables to expected education varies by sex or region.

The combined effect of these variables for predicting educational expectations varies by region. The amount of expected future education is predicted more effectively among northern males (multiple correlation coefficient = .65,) and northern females (multiple correlation coefficient = .60) than among southern males and females (multiple correlation coefficients = .53 and .58 respectively) by this combination of variables.

### **In conclusion . . .**

Socioeconomic status was found to be negligibly related to student grades for northern males, southern males, and northern females. Only for southern females is SES significantly related to grades. SES is significantly related to vocabulary score and amount of expected education for all four groups of students, but the relationship between SES and expected education is stronger than that between SES and vocabulary score. SES is not strongly related to the personality-attitude variables examined in this study, although some statistically significant relationships are present. Results indicate that SES is very weakly related to test anxiety and self-esteem (positive self regard), but is more strongly related to perception of limited opportunities and conformity (negatively). Low family status is associated with high perceived limitations on opportunities and a passive conforming approach to life.

Results of zero-order and partial correlation analyses indicate that intercorrelation among variables explains some of the correlation

between personality variables, vocabulary score, grades, and amount of expected education. With grades as the dependent variable, only self-concept of ability and vocabulary test score are significant correlates in all four samples when other variables are controlled. Self-concept of ability is not related to vocabulary score when other variables are controlled, but conformity is a strong correlate of vocabulary score in each sex and regional sample. Sex and regional differences in relative effectiveness of other variables for predicting vocabulary score were quite prevalent. Self-concept of ability and socioeconomic status are the most consistent correlates of amount of expected future education.

### Self-Concept of Ability and Conformity

The principle value of this paper has been the identification of two variables, self-concept of ability and conformity, which appear to have considerable value as non-ability predictors of academic achievement among northern and southern Negro students. The pioneer work of Brookover and his associates (1962, 1965, 1967) in developing the self-concept of ability scale deserves recognition. They have pointed out in a recent report (1967) that it is in precisely those schools where the greatest obstacles to achievement are present (those with high academic standards) that the self-concept of ability scale is most effective. The fact that the correlation of self-concept of ability and grades is higher among northern students than among southern students in this study supports this contention. Brookover *et al.* (1965, 1967) have also demonstrated that self-concept of ability is modifiable and that changes in self-concept of ability are related to changes in academic achievement.

The "conformity" variable used in this study is perceived as a measure of a concept similar to alienation. It is a negative correlate of sense of control. The finding that conformity is more strongly related to verbal ability than to grades, but self-concept of ability is more strongly related to grades than to verbal ability raises a question about one of the results of the Coleman study (1966). Coleman found that sense of control explained more of the variance in academic achievement than academic self-concept. If a different measure of academic achievement had been employed, he might have found academic self-concept to be more important than his measure of sense of control for predicting academic achievement of Negro students. Two measures of academic achievement were used here because no good rationale could be found for selecting one in preference to the other.

Although correlational studies do not result in the determination of direction of causation, additional studies of this type are needed to help identify the factors associated with academic achievement. Effec-

tive experimental studies must be based on a knowledge of the relevance of variables for the behavior in question. Many significant experimental studies turn out to be irrelevant for predicting academic achievement under uncontrolled conditions. It would appear that researchers should start with variables of known relevance before going on to experimental analyses in a search for causes. The results of this study suggest that empirical validation of predictive instruments for specific populations of students is a necessity for researchers.

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## **Initial Effects of Desegregation on the Achievement Motivation of Negro Elementary School Children\***

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This paper will explore a school desegregation program to see what initial effects it had on Negro children's achievement motivation. In so doing this paper will also provide some descriptive analyses of the achievement motivations of Negro youngsters in school settings with different racial balances. In the initial stage the desegregation program seems to have had positive effects on the achievement orientation of some children; for others, it seems to have had very little effect. Generally speaking, the results are complex, suggesting that methods for evoking a higher achievement orientation in Negro children will have to take a more particularistic account of the child—his sex, his age, the specific type of school setting. Even more important the results differ depending on how achievement motivation is assessed. Social planners will have to take these differences into account.

The analyses in this paper were made possible through a unique research opportunity that was established by the public school system in a small midwestern city. Prior to the fall of 1965, there had been a problem of *de facto* segregation in that city, very much like that exist-

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ing for many other small northern cities. The Negro population is primarily concentrated in a small ghetto with four neighborhood schools servicing the area. One of the schools was predominantly Negro; the other had a near equal balance of the races. Aside from the other two schools (each with small populations of Negroes), there were very few Negro children in the other schools of the city. A bussing procedure was adopted by the public school system as a solution to the problem of the predominantly Negro school. The bussing involved compulsory transfer of the population of the predominantly Negro school to predominantly white schools in other parts of the city. Henceforth, we will refer to these children as the Transferred Pupils. Elementary education was discontinued in the school building that previously housed the transferred group. The Transferred Pupils were reassigned to six receiving schools, five of which were too far from the home neighborhood for the children to walk. Bussing was required. Such a procedure has been adopted or has been contemplated by many American school systems as a solution to existing racial imbalances.

### **The Control Group**

The school with equal proportions of Negroes and whites was retained without change. Potentially this school can serve as a control group for an evaluation of the effects of desegregation on the Transfer Pupils, who experience a planned change while the former do not. Henceforth, we will refer to this school as the Non-transferred School and to its pupils as the Non-transferred Pupils.

The unique research opportunity provided by the particular school system under investigation came in its decision to gather some information about the children *before* the move, so that potential effects of change could be assessed. This information was obtained not only about Transferred Pupils but also about the Non-transferred Pupils and the children from the schools that would receive the Transferred Pupils (averaging 97 per cent white). These latter schools will henceforth be called Receiver Schools and their pupils will be called Receiver Pupils.

### **Assessment of Many Factors**

Assessments were made not only of achievement motivation, but also of many other factors, including academic achievement, I.Q. and peer relationships. All of this testing took place in the spring of 1965 before the bussing procedure was begun. These children were then retested in 1966. The effect of a year's desegregation could thus be assessed. In particular the Negro Transferred Pupils could be com-

pared to the Negro Non-transferred Pupils after the former had experienced one year of desegregation. Hopefully further testing of these same children over a longer span of time will take place, and the more permanent effects of the bussing procedure or the desegregation, in general, can be assessed. In this paper, however, we will only be assessing such effects on achievement motivation after one year. Information on other factors will be forthcoming in a report to the Office of Education.

In looking at the changes in the achievement motivation scores between 1965 and 1966, we will investigate the complex set of conditions that in addition to normal developmental differences might be affecting these changes in different groups.

For the Transferred Negro Pupil the year's experience in a receiver school meant going from a predominantly Negro school population to a predominantly white population—from being part of a racial majority to being part of a racial minority. After transfer there were 4 percent to 15 percent Negroes in the Receiver classrooms and approximately 7 percent in the Receiver Schools. But also an obvious change in the socioeconomic status of the composition of his school had occurred. And the population in the primarily middleclass Receiver Schools was more prepared for the school curriculum than the population of the predominantly lower-class Negro school.

For the white and Negro Non-transferred Pupils, the year from 1965 to 1966 was spent in a school that services approximately the same number of Negroes as it does whites. In this Non-transferred school district, not all component neighborhoods are integrated. The ghetto area, although it includes some white families, borders on a predominantly white residential area. Major friendship groups exist primarily within fairly restricted neighborhood districts, although there is intermingling on the playground during school. One might say then that either motivational changes or motivational stability for these groups in the year from 1965 to 1966 can potentially reflect the effect of experiencing a school setting in which the racial balance is not predominantly one race or the other. Compared to the predominantly Negro school before desegregation, it is undoubtedly a higher status school for the Negro in the community, both in prestige and socioeconomic status of the families it serves. Compared to most of the predominantly white schools in that community, the Non-transferred school is undoubtedly a lower status school for the white child.

### **A General Psychological Issue . . .**

While the research reported in this paper has its primary focus on the racial problem this country is facing today, we would like to

point out that the results of this study may have some generalization beyond the immediate practical social problem. A general psychological issue at stake here might be stated as follows: what are the effects of a change in reference group norms on personal motivation? The Negro children from the predominantly Negro school were transferred to schools where the level of achievement is much higher. For the Negro child in such a situation the possibilities for comparisons of his performance to the higher norms could be quite traumatic. But such comparison could ultimately have positive effects on the motivation of the youngster, especially if modelling phenomena can occur. Katz (1967) has recently suggested that the introduction of a social comparison group of high ability in desegregation would have a positive effect on a child who experiences cross-racial acceptance in the classroom but may, in fact, be detrimental to the motivation of a child who experiences cross-racial rejection in the classroom. Thus Katz should predict that desegregation in the present study would effect the *variance* of achievement motivation of Negro children.

We entered this study, however, with no *a priori* predictions about what would happen to the achievement motivation of the children as they were moved from a predominantly Negro to a predominantly white school setting. We undertook the study with only the empirical question in mind. The results, however, may suggest some theoretical hypotheses for further generalizations.

## Measuring Achievement Motivation

An attempt to measure achievement motivation among youngsters by utilizing techniques suitable for paper-and-pencil administration is beset with many difficulties. These difficulties are increased when the comparisons to be made involve racial differences. Typically, researchers have used questionnaires, such as the one Coleman (1966) employed in his important report on achievement in youngsters. Over-compliance to authority is a psychological characteristic of Negroes that the researcher has to reckon with when he uses questionnaire techniques. For example, among Coleman's questions are such direct inquiries as how much the respondent studies. The fact that Coleman found that Negro children reported they studied more than white children could be interpreted as the Negro child wanting to give the authority the "right" and proper answers.

Other researchers have turned to the examination of projective fantasies as a means of measuring achievement motivation in order to take advantage of the accumulation of information about this type of measure. Nuttall (1964) and others who have used a projective measure of motivation with Negroes have had to confront the problem of interpreting exactly what a Negro person is telling about himself and

his perceptions of the world when he gives an apperceptive fantasy about achievement. Is it projected fantasy, compensatory fantasy, or merely his appraisal of what the world is like?

It was because of such difficulties with both questionnaires and projective measures, especially in their use with young children, that the senior investigator undertook the development of the behavioristic measures of achievement motivation. These are the measures that will be reported in this paper. There will be a measure of *autonomous achievement motivation* and a measure of *social comparison achievement motivation*. A recent report (Veroff, 1967) summarizes in some detail the validity of these measures. We will discuss each briefly below.

### **Autonomous Achievement Motivation**

A measure of autonomous achievement motivation taps a child's risktaking preferences and is based on Atkinson's formulation of achievement risk behavior (1964). Individually tested, the child is asked to state his preferences of different levels of difficulty on a graded task. He is asked to perform a task series until he fails two in a row of that series. The child is then asked to select one of four tasks: the easiest one; the last one he was able to do correctly; the first one he failed; and the last one he failed (the most difficult). The choice of either the last one he was able to do correctly or the first one he failed is assumed to be a choice of moderate difficulty.

According to Atkinson's thinking about this kind of behavior, a choice of moderate difficulty may represent positive resultant achievement tendency. The choice of either the easiest task or the most difficult one is assumed to be a choice reflecting a negative, avoidant tendency. That is, the child in selecting an easy or a very difficult task is avoiding challenge or avoiding achievement risk; his avoidant tendency is assumed to be stronger than his positive achievement interests. The children make four such choices in this measure of achievement motivation. The number of challenging tasks selected is taken as the measure of a child's positive achievement motivation and has a possible range of zero to four. In this measure we do not differentiate between low scores stemming from overaspiration or underaspiration. All that we measure is: does the child take moderate risks? It is assumed to be a measure of *autonomous* achievement motivation because the standards of excellence for the child are based on *his own* capacity to achieve. The child is not given any information about how well other children perform the tasks or about how much the experimenter expects the child to do. The child only knows at what level of difficulty *he himself* can perform a given task.

## Tasks Cover Different Domains of Skill

It is important to note that the four tasks that are used as part of this measure of autonomous achievement motivation cover somewhat different domains of skill. The child is asked to perform a motor-visual memory task—reproducing strings of beads arranged in various patterns; a motor task—throwing a ball into a basket from various distances; a memory task—recalling pictures that he has been shown; and an aesthetic task—copying figures of various complexities. Since the measure of achievement motivation is the sum across these types of tasks, we have assumed that the measure reflects a *general* achievement disposition. It encompasses a variety of skills. No doubt, achievement interest in a particular type of skill, such as interest in athletic achievement, might be different from the overall measure we are using here. Although the more specific achievement interests may be very important in determining behavior, we are purposely using a general measure of achievement motivation because we are looking for achievement motivation changes in the school setting, and *there* the child encounters a *variety* of achievement demands.

This measure has had considerable construct validation. It has been related to experimental arousal of achievement concerns, over- and under-achievement in second grade youngsters, test anxiety under certain conditions, maternal attitudes about independence and achievement, and the way in which the child generalizes his experiences of success and failure. These results are summarized elsewhere (Veroff, 1967).

The correlation between the first and second testings in 1965 and 1966 is .29 (Pearson  $r$ ). While this may be taken as a test-retest reliability of the measure, and in that case .29 is quite low, it is the very possibility of affecting this measure through desegregation that inspired the present study. An important change period in the child's experience in his elementary school career, a period which quite conceivably influenced autonomous achievement motivation, intervened between the two dates.

## Social Comparison Achievement Motivation

We assume that the second measure of achievement motivation reflects a child's interest in achieving favorable comparison with others or avoiding unfavorable comparison. In this measure the child is asked to select one of three tasks to do. He is to select only one. The three tasks all look alike visually, but the child is told that one of them is easy for boys (or girls) his age to do, the second is one that some boys (or girls) his age can do and some cannot, and the third is one most boys (or girls) his age cannot do. The child then selects one of

these to try. It is assumed that a child's general interest in comparison to others of his own age and sex is assessed by the level of difficulty he prefers to try, given only one as a possible choice. In the 1965 administration the three tasks were contained in 3"  $\times$  2"  $\times$  2" cardboard boxes. The test administrator shook the boxes to indicate that there was something in them for the child to do. In the 1966 administration the three tasks were contained in 5"  $\times$  7" yellow envelopes. In the 1965 administration after making his choice, the child was asked to perform a probability matching task. The probability matching task was sufficiently vague so that it was very difficult to assess whether the child had truly succeeded or failed at it. In the 1966 administration the child had as his task telling stories in response to pictures. Again success or failure at it was ambiguous.

Two types of scores can be derived from this measure. One score represents the level of difficulty of social comparison that the child selects: easy, challenging, or hard. For the measure of social comparison achievement motivation, however, we use not the absolute level of difficulty but whether or not the child selects the *moderate* level of difficulty. Again, following Atkinson's views, we would predict that high achievement orientation is reflected in the selection of a moderately difficult social comparison rather than the most difficult or the easiest. Both measures, however, will be examined in the study—the absolute level of social comparison desired and whether or not the child selects moderate social comparison.

## Data Collection

In the spring of 1965, prior to transfer, these measures of achievement motivation were collected during individual sessions with nearly 1,000 pupils in kindergarten through 5th grade in the three groups: the Transferred ( $N = 165$ ); the Non-transferred ( $N = 409$ ); and the Receiver ( $N = 419$ , representing a 20 percent sample). Nine interviewers were randomly assigned to different schools. The interviewers were all females between the ages of 20 and 45 years of age, recruited from a university and interested citizens in the community. Interviewers were carefully briefed on the procedures in order to minimize interviewer effect; they were particularly briefed on how to answer the questions the children might ask about the nature and goals of the testing and their specific responses on the tests. There were no systematic interviewer effects that emerged in the data analysis.

In 1966, the Transferred and Non-transferred Pupils were retested, but this time *all* of the pupils in the Receiver schools were tested. This resulted in a total population of nearly 3,000 pupils in the 1966 testing. The only difference between the two testing procedures

was that in the second testing, envelopes were used instead of the white boxes for containing the tests of social comparison motivation. Different interviewers were used for each year.

In that it involved testing and retesting of elementary school children after a year, this procedure made available data pertaining to changes in achievement motivation from kindergarten to first grade, from first grade to second grade, and so on.

## Motivation Scores

Three scores were computed for each child in the first and in the second testing: An autonomous achievement motivation score (ranging from 0 to 4); a level of social comparison (ranging from 1 through 3 with 1 representing the easy end of the scale); and a social achievement motivation score (derived by changing scores of 1 and 3 on the social comparison scale to 0, indicating non-risk, and by changing 2 on that scale to 1, indicating moderate risk). Analyses of variance were computed on three sets of scores: the 1965 scores; the 1966 scores; and the change scores from 1965 to 1966 for subjects who participated in both testings. Change scores for each measure were computed by subtracting the scores on the first testing from the scores on the second. For autonomous achievement motivation change the range was  $-4$  to  $+4$ ; for level of social comparison it was  $-2$  to  $+2$ ; for social achievement motivation it was  $-1$  to  $+1$ . Since any one of the analyses of variance of change scores might be affected by the initial position of the child on a test, a covariance analysis was done on each set of the change scores using the appropriate 1965 score as a covariate.

## Data Analysis

Because I.Q. as measured by the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests (1957 edition), was somewhat but minimally related to some of the measures of motivation, covariance analyses were also done with I.Q. In the covariance analyses we found that I.Q. had little or no effect on any of the analyses of variance. We will not report these covariance analyses here, but it is important to keep in mind that I.Q. cannot account for the differences we will be reporting.

The results will be divided into three parts: analysis of 1965 scores before desegregation; analysis of 1966 scores after one year of desegregation; analysis of change scores from 1965 to 1966. In all of these analyses, age was a highly significant variable in its own right; sex differences were also readily apparent; and in some instances, an interaction of sex and age appeared. We will only discuss these sets of results when they are directly pertinent to the problem of desegregation.

In the analyses of variance or covariance four variables and their interactions were explored: age, race, sex, and school. Three age classifications were used—early, middle, and late elementary school years. Early elementary school years meant the kindergarten and first graders of 1965 who became the first and second graders of 1966; middle elementary school years meant the second and third graders of 1965 who became the third and fourth graders of 1966; and late school years meant the fourth and fifth graders of 1965 who became the fifth and sixth graders of 1966. We only considered white and Negro pupils.

### Relative School Status

In defining the school variable we wished to explore a social psychologically defined difference that might have potential generalizability beyond the immediate school situation. At the same time we wanted to look at specific school effects. Therefore in the 1965 analysis of variance we defined the school variable as the *relative school status* for the child *depending on his race*, both in terms of prestige in the community and socioeconomic status of the families it services. Thus, we lumped together the Negro Transferred Pupils with the white Non-transferred Pupils and called this a group with a *low status school environment*. Considering that in 1965 the Negro Transfers were in predominantly Negro schools and the white Non-transfers were in the 50% Negro, 50% white school, we noted that, in both cases, these children are deprived of extensive contact with children whose backgrounds represent a higher rung on the ladder of social mobility.<sup>1</sup> In the same manner we combined the Negro Non-transferred Pupils, who were in the racially-balanced school, with the white Receiver Pupils, who were in the virtually all-white schools, and called this a *high status school environment*.<sup>2</sup> In both cases, these children have contact with school mates whose backgrounds represent either slightly higher levels of social mobility or the same moderate or high level. We will ignore the small number (31) of white Transferred Pupils in this analysis.

For both 1966 scores and change scores we combined the Negro Transferred Pupils with the white Non-transferred Pupils and the Negro Non-transferred Pupils with the white Receiver Pupils again.

<sup>1</sup> This assumption is not entirely accurate for many of the white Non-transferred Pupils, many of whom live in the same ghetto area as the Negroes.

<sup>2</sup> The Receiver Schools vary in their social class composition. Two are uniformly high, two are quite heterogeneous, and two border on being low status groups. We are putting these all together and would argue only that *on the average* these schools are of higher social status than white Non-transfer Pupils. We kept them as a group so that reliable comparisons with the 1966 Receiver School scores could be made.

In this analysis we were exploring a different school variable, the relative "minority" status of the child. A Negro in a Receiver school is in a clear minority; a white child in a school with a high proportion of Negro pupils might be considered to be in a *psychological* minority position, relative to his out-of-school environment, while in the same situation a Negro might be considered to be in a psychological majority position. These school variables are very grossly defined; they were set up this way for exploratory purposes only. It is not the school variables *per se* in which we are mostly interested, although they did yield some interesting results. Rather, our interest is in the difference between the effects of different types of school conditions on Negro children. Therefore, in our analyses of variance, we are looking particularly for race-school interactions. We will especially be interested in differences between "minority" and "majority" status of Negroes—the *Transferred* and the *Non-transferred Pupils*.

### Results: 1965 Achievement Motivation Scores (Before Desegregation)

Following Katz' hypothesis we looked for variability differences in scores across groups. No variability differences were found in scores. However, in Table 1 we can see some very large racial differences in *mean* autonomous and social achievement motivation. In the case of autonomous achievement motivation scores, there was a consistent tendency for the Negroes in the lower status group to be especially low, although the interaction of school status and race was significant not at the .05 level of confidence but only at the .10 level. Scheffe Testing, a method for establishing confidence intervals for post hoc comparisons of means examined following significant F-Ratios (Hays, 1963, p. 484) yielded significant race differences ( $.05 < p < .10$ ) for low status schools but not for high status schools. In the case of the social achievement motivation score there was a significant interaction between race and sex, a result that points to the trend for the racial differences to be more apparent in the boys' scores than in the girls' scores. Scheffe Tests contrasting race differences with boys and girls separately, however, yielded no significant difference. When we look at the level of desired social comparison we no longer find any racial differences, but there is a school status difference which reflects the fact that children in the school with lower status are generally higher in stated level of desired social comparison than are children in the school with higher status.

This suggests the possibility that either the higher status group sets particularly low social achievement aspirations or the lower status groups set particularly high ones. But not for all children. A closer examination of the significant interactions involving school status by

TABLE 1  
MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES IN 1965  
(BY RACE  $\times$  GRADE  $\times$  SEX  $\times$  SCHOOL STATUS)

				Type of Achievement Motivation						
Grade Level	Sex	School Status	(N)		Autonomous Achievement Motivation		Social Achievement Motivation		Level of Desired Social Comparison	
			White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Early Grades (K-1)	Boys	Low <sup>1</sup>	(28)	(16)	2.89	2.38	.36	.12	1.64	1.88
		High	(67)	(17)	2.58	2.65	.13	.06	1.34	1.12
	Girls	Low	(27)	(22)	2.33	2.04	.11	.14	1.29	1.23
		High	(70)	(26)	2.50	2.27	.09	.04	1.14	1.27
Middle Grades (2-3)	Boys	Low	(24)	(15)	2.71	2.07	.21	.27	1.96	1.94
		High	(71)	(21)	2.84	2.52	.41	.19	1.97	1.95
	Girls	Low	(29)	(23)	2.86	2.26	.21	.17	2.03	2.21
		High	(72)	(27)	3.06	2.59	.26	.26	1.54	1.54
Later Grades (4-5)	Boys	Low	(29)	(17)	2.62	2.12	.55	.29	2.19	2.23
		High	(69)	(25)	2.43	2.16	.46	.40	2.34	2.04
	Girls	Low	(29)	(10)	3.31	1.90	.59	.10	1.93	2.70
		High	(70)	(17)	3.03	2.65	.53	.47	1.86	1.94

<sup>1</sup>"Low" school status is defined as 80 percent Negro balance for Negro children, and 47 percent Negro balance for white children; "high" school status is defined as 47 percent Negro balance for Negro children and 3 percent balance for white children.

TABLE 2  
ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF 1965 ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES

Type of Variance Tested	F-Tests for Analyses of Variance in:							
	Autonomous Achievement Motivation		Social Achievement Motivation		Level of Desired Social Comparison			
	df	F	p	F	p	F	p	
A (grade level)	(2,807)	4.20	.02	37.64	.001	77.88	.001	
B (sex)	(1,807)	3.60		2.57		30.08	.001	
C (race)	(1,807)	22.61	.001	9.94	.005	.04		
D (school status)	(1,807)	2.02		.14		13.67	.001	
AXB	(2,807)	6.90	.001	1.37		.05		
AXC	(2,807)	.89		.83		.07		
AXD	(2,807)	.71		.77		3.08	.05	
BXC	(1,807)	1.68		5.98	.05	1.96		
BXD	(1,807)	.80		.33		3.21		
CXD	(1,807)	2.74	(.10)	.62		3.17		
AXBXC	(2,807)	.37		.77		1.41		
AXBXD	(2,807)	.25		.58		6.68	.005	
AXCXD	(2,807)	.38		2.50		1.02		
BXCXD	(1,807)	.00		.09		.21		
AXBXCXD	(2,807)	.95		1.32		1.57		

applying some Scheffe Testing of mean differences reveals that only boys in the early grades and girls in the upper grades are particularly more aspiring in setting social comparison levels if they are in schools of low social status—schools that deprive them of contact with others who may represent models for improving their position. Only for these groups were the school differences significant.

### Results: 1966 Achievement Motivation Scores (After Desegregation)

Again no significant variability differences in scores were obtained. However, the same racial differences found in the 1965 mean scores applied to the 1966 mean scores: Negroes were generally lower in both autonomous and social comparison achievement motivation (cf. Tables 3 and 4).

A new result appears for the autonomous achievement motivation scores, and it is very important. The sex  $\times$  race  $\times$  school interaction is significant, with Negro boys in the Transferred school (the "minority" school) having consistently higher autonomous achievement motivation scores than the Negro boys in the Non-transferred

TABLE 3  
MEAN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES IN 1966  
(By RACE  $\times$  GRADE  $\times$  SEX  $\times$  MINORITY STATUS IN SCHOOL)

Type of Achievement Motivation										
Grade Level	Sex	Minority <sup>1</sup> Status in School	(N)	Autonomous Achievement Motivation		Social Achievement Motivation		Level of Desired Social Comparison		
			White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Early Grades (1-2)	Boys	Minority	(36)	(16)	3.06	2.75	.36	.19	1.86	1.94
		Majority	(269)	(20)	2.83	2.45	.30	.15	1.72	1.25
	Girls	Minority	(35)	(23)	2.97	2.56	.14	.22	1.60	1.48
		Majority	(261)	(27)	2.84	2.89	.27	.19	1.52	1.33
Middle Grades (3-4)	Boys	Minority	(29)	(13)	2.79	2.62	.45	.23	2.27	2.00
		Majority	(275)	(21)	2.75	2.19	.53	.29	2.15	2.43
	Girls	Minority	(33)	(22)	3.09	2.59	.52	.18	2.24	2.18
		Majority	(266)	(32)	2.93	2.84	.55	.31	1.95	2.00
Later Grades (5-6)	Boys	Minority	(32)	(16)	2.28	2.62	.50	.50	2.37	2.25
		Majority	(213)	(27)	2.55	2.18	.48	.26	2.30	2.59
	Girls	Minority	(30)	(10)	2.87	1.90	.57	.30	2.23	2.70
		Majority	(231)	(21)	2.73	2.86	.59	.61	2.18	1.90

<sup>1</sup> Minority status for a Negro means status for a Negro.

<sup>1</sup> Minority status for a Negro means attending a predominately white receiver school, and for a white child means attending a 47 percent Negro school; majority status for a Negro child means attending a 47 percent Negro school, and for a white child means attending a predominately white receiver school.

TABLE 4  
ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF 1966 ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES

Type of Variance Tested	df	F-Tests for Analyses of Variance in:					
		Autonomous Achievement Motivation		Social Achievement Motivation		Level of De- sired Social Comparison	
		F	p	F	p	F	p
A (grade level)	(2,1934)	7.40	.001	55.59	.001	148.02	.001
B (sex)	(1,1934)	8.10	.005	1.45		31.00	.001
C (race)	(1,1934)	8.08	.005	19.95	.001	.56	
D (minority status in school)	(1,1934)	.04		5.74	.025	5.75	.025
AXB	(2,1934)	1.56		3.82	.025	.24	
AXC	(2,1934)	.29		2.37		3.29	.05
AXD	(2,1934)	.66		1.07		.15	
BXC	(1,1934)	.68		.62		.67	
BXD	(1,1934)	.26		2.09		.90	
CXD	(1,1934)	.56		.03		.00	
AXBXC	(2,1934)	.39		.58		.77	
AXBXD	(2,1934)	.11		.47		2.31	
AXCXD	(2,1934)	.10		.20		2.41	
BXCXD	(1,1934)	7.93	.005	.60		2.00	
AXBXCXD	(2,1934)	1.17		1.79		4.81	.01

group (the "majority" school). The opposite trend consistently applies to the girls' scores. None of these results are separately significant by Scheffe Testing, but the overall consistency is impressive!

In addition to the race difference there were significant school differences found in the analysis of social comparison achievement motivation scores. Children in minority status tended to have lower scores. This trend is not consistent in all groups. One of the important inconsistencies is an opposite trend for Negro boys in the later grades.

Before we highlight this inconsistency let us look at the analysis of the absolute level of desired social comparison. There, too, a school effect was significant with children in minority status, like the children in schools of lower status in 1965, stating *higher* levels of desired social comparison. But, in the analysis of these scores, we also find minority status producing a significant effect in interaction with age, sex, and race. Although there are no Scheffe comparisons that are strikingly significant, this interaction effect seems best interpreted as follows: while minority status tends to be associated with *higher* means for most groups, it tends to be associated with *lower* means for Negro boys in the middle and later school years. This inconsistency parallels the inconsistency mentioned earlier: while minority school status is associated with lower social comparison achievement motiva-

tion scores generally, it is associated with higher social comparison achievement motivation scores in older Negro boys.

This pattern of results suggests the following interpretative summary of the 1966 social comparison achievement motivation scores and absolute desired level scores: minority school status, in contrast to majority school status, is generally associated with lower social comparison achievement motivation scores because it is also associated with tendencies to overaspire. In the desegregation setting there are some peculiar conditions that counter this trend for older Negro boys. For them, becoming one of two or three Negroes in an otherwise white school room evidently produces *lower* aspirations in social comparison and higher social comparison achievement motivation than for Negroes in a racially balanced school classroom.

## Results: Changes from 1965 to 1966

### Achievement Motivation Scores

A perspective on any of these results, especially as they apply to desegregation, can best be obtained by analyzing the scores directly gauging the change in scores from 1965 to 1966, but controlling for the correlation these scores have with initial scores. These adjusted scores appear in Table 5.

First, let us look at changes in autonomous achievement motivation. We have already anticipated what we view as being the major finding in this study. Table 6 indicates that there is significant sex  $\times$  race  $\times$  school interaction in the analyses of change in autonomous achievement motivation. What is producing this interaction is that Negro boys transferred to the minority school setting, regardless of their age, have higher change scores than the Negro boys remaining in the Non-transferred majority setting. This result is significant at the .05 level by Scheffe Testing. This school difference (minority vs. majority) does not apply to the white children, more important this school difference does not apply to Negro girls. Thus, the consistent trend noted in their 1966 scores—lower scores for the Transferred Negro girls than for the Non-transferred—is not upheld in this analysis of change, controlling for initial score. We highlight these comparisons in Table 7, which compares the adjusted mean autonomous motivation change scores for these groups *across grade level*, according to the racial balance of the school setting in 1966 (a 50 percent white school as opposed to a set of predominantly white schools, averaging 93 percent white).

Since the measure of autonomous achievement motivation does not differentiate between underaspiration and overaspiration as indications of low motivation, a *change* in score could be mainly due to a

TABLE 5  
MEAN CHANGE IN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES FROM 1965 TO 1966  
ADJUSTED FOR CORRELATION WITH INITIAL SCORES  
(BY RACE  $\times$  GRADE  $\times$  SEX  $\times$  MINORITY STATUS IN SCHOOL IN 1966)

(BY RACE × GRADE × SEX × MINORITY STATUS IN SCHOOL IN 1966)										
Grade Level	Sex	Minority <sup>1</sup> Status in School (1966)	(N)	Type of Achievement Motivation Change						
				Autonomous Achievement Motivation Change <sup>2</sup>		Social Achievement Motivation Change <sup>2</sup>		Desired Level of Social Comparison <sup>2</sup>		
				White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	
Early Grades (1-2)	Boys	Minority	(25)	(16)	.17	.64	.09	-.04	.09	-.47
		Majority	(64)	(16)	.30	-.06	.07	-.04	.36	.53
	Girls	Minority	(27)	(22)	.72	.76	-.12	-.08	.64	.59
		Majority	(69)	(25)	.50	.71	-.02	-.06	.70	.30
Middle Grades (3-4)	Boys	Minority	(24)	(15)	.17	.90	.28	-.08	.16	.15
		Majority	(69)	(21)	.02	-.37	.23	.05	-.09	.37
	Girls	Minority	(29)	(23)	.03	.59	.28	-.04	.05	-.41
		Majority	(69)	(27)	-.26	.64	.29	-.02	.63	.42
Later Grades (5-6)	Boys	Minority	(28)	(16)	-.32	.92	.13	.25	-.06	-.32
		Majority	(68)	(24)	.13	.35	.16	-.07	.25	.21
	Girls	Minority	(29)	(8)	-.76	.65	.19	.07	.11	-.70
		Majority	(65)	(16)	-.59	.32	.24	.30	.14	-.34

<sup>1</sup> Minority status for a Negro child means attending a predominantly white school in 1966 and for a white child means attending a school with 47 percent Negro pupils; majority status for a Negro child means attending a school with 47 percent Negro pupils, and for a white child means attending predominantly white schools.

<sup>2</sup> Adjusted for correlation between change scores and initial scores.

shift upwards from underaspiring or a shift downwards from overaspiring or from both. We examined the data to see whether there was any systematic shift from under- or overaspiring and found none. Therefore, the change in autonomous achievement motivation scores for Transferred Negro boys seems to reflect a general *moderation* of aspirations in the group.

### Changes in Social Comparison

Next, let us consider changes in social comparison achievement motivation. From Table 6 we can note a significant race difference. Looking at Table 5, we see that generally Negro children did not develop social comparison achievement motivation as rapidly as the white children did—especially during the middle school years, during which time Veroff (1967) has suggested that social comparison processes are so vital for learning about achievement.

TABLE 6  
ANALYSES OF COVARIANCE OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION CHANGE SCORES  
FROM 1965-1966 WITH INITIAL SCORE AS COVARIATE

Type of Variance Tested		F-Tests for Analyses of Variance of:					
		Change in Autonomous Achievement Motivation <sup>1</sup>		Change in Social Achievement Motivation <sup>1</sup>		Change in Level of De- sired Social Comparison <sup>1</sup>	
	df	F	p	F	p	F	p
A (grade level)	(2,758)	8.15	.001	13.12	.001	43.05	.001
B (sex)	(1,758)	2.91		.00		11.80	.001
C (race)	(1,758)	1.15		18.41	.001	1.56	
D (minority status in school)	(1,758)	.00					
AXB	(2,758)	.64		1.70		.79	
AXC	(2,758)	1.47		2.72		.76	
AXD	(2,758)	.76		3.31	.05	.87	
BXC	(1,758)	.07		.22		.48	
BXD	(1,758)	.07		.11		.24	
CXD	(1,758)	1.34		1.94		2.15	
AXBXC	(1,758)	.07		.16		.48	
AXBXD	(2,758)	.97		.48		.64	
AXCXD	(2,758)	.34		.34		.62	
BXCXD	(2,758)	.16		.49		1.26	
AXBXCXD	(1,758)	7.22	.01	.15		2.71	(.10)
	(2,758)	1.05		2.27		1.75	

<sup>1</sup> Adjusted for correlation between change scores and initial scores.

TABLE 7  
MEAN CHANGE IN AUTONOMOUS ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION SCORES  
FROM 1965-1966 ADJUSTED FOR CORRELATION WITH INITIAL SCORES  
(BY RACE X SEX X RACIAL BALANCE OF SCHOOL IN 1966)

Sex	Racial Balance of School (1966)	Race			
		Negro		White	
		N	Mean Change	N	Mean Change
Boys	50% White	61	-.01*	77	-.01
	Predominantly White	47	.82*	201	.15
Girls	50% White	68	.60	85	-.02
	Predominantly White	53	.48	203	-.10

\*Difference between starred means significant at .05 level.

No race differences generally emerge in the changes in absolute social comparison desired. In Table 6 we note a result significant not at the .05 level of confidence but at the shaky .10 level—the sex  $\times$  race  $\times$  school interaction. It is a result, however, that ties into previous results on 1966 scores.

Combining across age levels distinguished in Table 5, we can see the major result accounting for the interaction. Looking at Table 8, where we compare changes in desired social comparison among Negro and white boys and girls who are in a 50-50 racially balanced school in 1966 with those who were in a predominantly white school, we again find differences mainly for Negro boys. Significant at the .10 level was a trend for the Non-transferred Negro boys (in the 50 percent white school) to show a larger upward change in aspiration

TABLE 8  
MEAN CHANGE IN DESIRED SOCIAL COMPARISON LEVEL FROM 1965-1966  
ADJUSTED FOR CORRELATION WITH INITIAL SCORES  
(BY RACE  $\times$  SEX  $\times$  RACIAL BALANCE OF SCHOOL IN 1966)

Sex	Racial Balance of School (1966)	Negro		White	
		N	Mean Change	N	Mean Change
Boys	50% White	61	.35*	77	.06
	Predominantly White	47	-.20*	201	.17
Girls	50% White	68	.20	85	.26
	Predominantly White	53	-.06	203	.48

\*Difference between starred means significant at .10 level.

than the Transferred Negro boys (in predominantly white schools). There were no comparable differences in the comparison of Negro girls or white boys or girls. Again one is led to the conclusion that something about the desegregated setting put some restraints on the unrealistically high aspirations of the Negro boys while something about the segregated setting promotes overaspiration in Negro boys.

## In Discussion . . .

Our results suggest that the effects of one year's experience with desegregation on achievement motivation are more apparent in Negro boys than in Negro girls. These results are clearest when we use a measure of autonomous achievement motivation on which Transferred Negro boys increase more after transfer than the

Non-transferred Negro boys. There are some trends indicating parallel findings with measures of social comparison motivation, with desegregation tending to combat a proclivity in older Negro boys to overaspire and, thus, promoting a *moderate* risk-taking in social comparison.

What is it about going to a predominantly white school that has such effects on Negro boys during the first year? And why does it not happen to the Negro girls? Further analyses of data currently unavailable to the researchers might help answer these questions. In particular, we should take a close look at how Negro boys and girls differ from one another as they adapt to the Receiver Schools. Do they differ in patterns of group acceptance? Do they differ in actual ability differences demonstrated during the year?

For now, we suggest a speculative hypothesis. First let us assume a Negro boy is very competent in athletics, perhaps more than most white boys of the same age. Athletic competence is a strong achievement value for American boys. In a desegregated Receiver School a Negro boy can suddenly feel strong group support for this obvious athletic competence. The Negro boy, thus, has a readily available basis for social interaction and social acceptance, a readily available support to his feelings of competence. This change can positively affect not only the Negro boy's autonomous achievement motivation: It can underpin his confidence enabling him to aspire higher if he was underaspiring and to moderate his aspirations if he was defensively overaspiring. Newly found feelings of competence in a group can build a valued reference group for him that might temper his general tendency to overaspire in social comparison.

The literature on achievement motivation (Atkinson, 1964) suggests that overaspiration may be defensive avoidance of ego involvement in a task. Thus social supports that remove defensiveness could result in building more moderate goals in social comparison. We have some slight evidence for the latter in older Negro boys.

For a Negro girl in the desegregated Receiver School this same physical competence will be much less likely to gain social acceptance among peers. Being "good-looking" is a more salient dimension for such acceptance than possession of abilities which are more appropriate for males. Tuddenham (1951) shows that it is only among boys that athletic skill and dominance consistently define the basis of social acceptance.

### Some Other Results . . .

Aside from the specific effects of desegregation on achievement motivation, we should also highlight the following results that may have implications for desegregation programs in general:

Negro children compared to white children have lower social comparison achievement motivation in most of the school settings that we have examined, not necessarily because they have *low* stated goals but because often they have unrealistically *high* stated goals. When we looked at overall race differences in the desired level of social comparison in the envelope choice we found 36 percent of the Negroes and 29 percent of the whites choosing the easiest but we found that 33 percent of the Negroes and 27 percent of the whites choose the most difficult envelope. Consequently the moderately difficult choice—a reflection of high achievement motivation—is selected by 44 percent of the whites and only 31 percent of the Negroes. It is as if Negro children often do not learn the rules of successful competition in school, that in order to succeed one must set moderate goals. Especially interesting was the fact that during the period when social comparison interests are so critical with children (grades 3–5), white children apparently learn to shift to moderate goals while Negro children do not. If the “sensitive period” hypothesis about social comparison at this age is valid (cf. Veroff, 1967), attention to such learning in the desegregated or segregated settings would seem to be important.

Not only for the Negro child but also for the white child, being in a school setting that puts him into a “minority” classification either actually calculated or as defined by a discrepancy from his other social experience, seems to go hand-in-hand with defensive overaspiration, at least in the social comparison type of achievement motivation. There are major exceptions—such as the Negro boys in the predominantly white schools, as we have already noted. It would be worthwhile examining what factors counteract the general trend, but investigators and educators should be aware of the general trend in considering programs of desegregation.

For both the Negro and white youngster a defensive overaspiration in desired level of social comparison seems to go hand-in-hand with being in a school in which the socioeconomic composition deprives him of extensive contact with children whose background represents a higher socioeconomic status than his own when he is of low to moderate social status. The same may hold true for a child deprived of school contact with children of similar status. These results corroborate Coleman’s conclusions that it is the middle class aspect of schools that is associated with high achievement. Combining this conclusion with the preceding one about minority classifications suggests that to guard against defensive overaspiration in children a desegregation program has to juggle two paradoxical factors. It first must avoid placing

Negro or white children in positions in school that make them feel a salient "minority" status. It must also provide contact with children whose background represents a higher status than their own. All of this suggests the desirability of a school desegregation program that promotes a thorough intermixing of children of different races and social classes.

Shifts in autonomous achievement motivation occur most consistently for both races in the early grades. These results suggest that teachers can be most effective in giving individualized attention to a child's goal setting behavior when the child is in the early grades of elementary school. Desegregation programs could take this conclusion into account.

Boys are consistently higher than girls in setting desired levels of social comparison. These results confirm Crandall's convincing findings (1967) about sex differences in the expectancies of success. Teachers in desegregation programs should be alerted to this difference between boys and girls.

In all of this discussion we should bear in mind that this study reflects only the first year of a desegregation program. Results can reflect not only the effects of the new school arrangement and its particular racial and social class mixture but also the effects of the *transition itself*. Follow-ups of these children over a more extended time are required before conclusive effects of desegregation on achievement motivation can be adequately gauged. We should also bear in mind that results differed somewhat depending on which measure of achievement motivation we examined—the measure of autonomous achievement motivation or the measure of social comparison achievement motivation. Evaluation of programs may be different depending on which of these measures is a more valued part of social change. Finally, the relationship of the motivation measures to actual performance in different settings will be a critical analysis to look at for different groups.

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## **The Relative Influence of School and of Classroom Desegregation on the Academic Achievement of Ninth Grade Negro Students\***

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There are now several studies which have shown that the academic growth of Negro secondary students is affected by the degree of racial or social class segregation which has characterized their schooling. The U.S. Office of Education report of its 1965 nationwide *Educational Opportunities Survey* showed that the social class segregation which accompanies racially segregated schooling accounted for more of the variation in the achievement of Negro high school students than did any of the differences in school facilities, curriculum, or teaching staff which were measured by the survey (Coleman *et. al.*, 1966, 307). Further analysis of the Office of Education survey data (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967) showed that after measures of student family background were held constant there remained an average difference of about one year of academic growth between ninth grade Negro students who attended majority white classes and those in entirely Negro classes. This difference, which is equal to about half the racial gap in achievement scores between white and

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Negro students in the ninth grade, was even larger when comparisons also took into account the length of time the students had been in desegregated classes. Wilson (1967), in a study of Richmond, California students, strengthened these results with similar findings from an analysis which controlled for students' early school achievement as well as their family background.

Whereas these previous studies have treated desegregation either at the level of the school or at the level of the classroom, this paper will use the Office of Education survey information to compare the influence of desegregation at these two levels.

### Classroom and School Desegregation

Data on the students analyzed are from the sample of schools selected from the metropolitan areas of the New England and Middle Atlantic states. Using only the 5,075 ninth grade Negro students in this sample who had attended their present school in the previous year, three variables were used to set up cross-classifications. A six-level family background scale was constructed from the student's report of his mother's education and his responses on a nine item check list of possessions in his home. The percent of white students in the ninth grade of a student's school was partitioned into four categories. Four groupings were also used on the student's report of the proportion of his *classmates* who were white.

Average achievement scores were calculated within the cells of cross-classifications of these variables. These scores are from a 60-item test of verbal achievement taken from the Educational Testing Service SCAT series. Achievement scores are expressed in standard deviation units, obtained by dividing the scale score by the regional standard deviation on this test for Negro students. Summary measures were then derived from the cross-tabulations.

Table 1 shows parameters measuring the effect of differences in classroom and school racial composition on Negro student achievement. These parameters are the analogue for continuous variables of measures developed by Coleman (1964). They show the average increment in achievement between successive categories of the racial composition variables for students who are matched on categories of other variables. Since there are four levels of the racial composition variables, there are three increments to be averaged for each matched group. In forming these averages, a procedure outlined by Boyle (1966) was used which weights each achievement increment by the ratio of the product and the sum of the frequencies of the two groups being compared. For example, the first value in Table 1, +.16, is an estimate of the average number of units of achievement gained by

TABLE 1  
WEIGHTED PARAMETERS OF MAIN EFFECTS ON NINTH GRADE NEGRO STUDENT  
VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT, UNDER DIFFERENT CONTROL CONDITIONS<sup>1</sup>

Effect Variable	Effect Parameter
Proportion white classmates (3 comparisons)	+ .16
Proportion white classmates, controlling family background (18)	+ .13
Proportion white classmates, controlling family background and percent white in school (72)	+ .13
0-19 percent white in school (18)	+ .07
20-49 percent white in school (18)	+ .16
50-69 percent white in school (18)	+ .19
70-99 percent white in school (18)	+ .34
Percent white in school (3)	+ .13
Percent white in school, controlling family background (18)	+ .11
Percent white in school, controlling family background and proportion white classmates (72)	+ .02
No white classmates (18)	-.03
Less than half white classmates (18)	-.02
About half white classmates (18)	+ .03
More than half white classmates (18)	+ .09

<sup>1</sup>The numbers in parentheses are the number of comparisons which were combined in the weighted average of achievement increments. Each value in this Table is based on 5,075 cases.

moving from one category of "proportion white classmates" to the next higher category. Five important results come from this Table.

### Five Results . . .

1. Controlling family background characteristics of the Negro students does not seriously reduce the effect parameter measuring the influence of racial composition on achievement. The average achievement increment between categories of the classroom racial composition variable is +.16 standard deviation units when no family background controls are used, and is only slightly reduced to +.13 when increments are averaged over students matched on the family background measure. The corresponding parameters for effects due to differences in school racial composition are +.13 and +.11.
2. Controlling for the percent white enrolled in the school does not eliminate the effect of differences in classroom racial composition on Negro student achievement. When achievement increments due to differences in classroom racial composition are

averaged for students matched on both their family background and on the percent white in their school, the effect parameter is the same value ( $+.13$ ) as the parameter calculated for students matched only on family background. This means that regardless of the racial composition of the school, the average achievement of Negro students increases with the proportion of their classmates who are white.

3. The components which contribute to this overall parameter suggest that the amount of influence which classroom desegregation has on Negro student achievement is different in schools with contrasting racial enrollments. Table 1 shows separately the effect parameter for students matched on family background within each of the four categories of percent white in the school. There is a regular trend in the average achievement increment due to changes in classroom racial composition as the percent white in the school increases.<sup>1</sup> That is, differences in classroom racial composition are associated with smaller increments in achievement for Negro students in mostly Negro schools compared to those in mostly white schools.

4. On the other hand, when classroom racial composition as well as family background differences are held constant, there is no evidence that the percent white enrolled in the school generally has any appreciable influence on Negro student achievement. While the average increment in achievement due to changes in the school racial composition is .11 standard deviation units when students are matched on the family background measure alone, the parameter reduces to  $+.02$  when the degree of classroom desegregation is held constant as well.

5. The component effect parameters shown in Table 1 which combine to yield the  $+.02$  value specify this previous generalization more precisely. The only group of Negro students for which increases in the percent white enrolled in their school has any noteworthy influence on their academic performance are those in mostly white classes. The  $+.09$  effect parameter for this group suggests that Negro students in mostly white classes exhibit increased academic performance if they also attend mostly white schools. For the other groups of students, school desegregation has no beneficial effect. In different words, Negro students who remain in segregated classes receive no benefit in terms of their

<sup>1</sup> This trend in effect parameters could result from differences in the achievement increments between particular categories of the classroom racial composition variable (non-linearity), together with different distributions among the categories of this variable for students in racially different schools. An examination of unweighted parameters and parameters based on comparisons of the extreme categories of the classroom variable showed that such factors were not the sole source of this trend.

academic growth from attendance at desegregated schools. Indeed, the small negative effect parameters for students in mostly Negro classes suggests that segregated classes may be more detrimental for Negro student achievement if they occur in mostly white schools rather than mostly Negro schools.

Taken together, the above results strongly suggest that it is desegregation at the classroom level which encompasses the factors having important influences on Negro student academic performance. No matter what the racial composition of the school, increases in Negro student achievement accompany increases in the proportion of their classmates who are white. The only students who appear to derive benefit from attendance at mostly white schools are those in predominantly white classes within the school. As far as differences in their achievement are concerned, the students in segregated classes may as well be in segregated schools as desegregated ones.

### Other Studies

Other studies have suggested that the student peers who form the immediate environment for an individual will have a greater influence on him than those in his school with whom he has little regular contact or association. Studies by Campbell and Alexander (1965) and McDill, Meyers, and Rigsby (1966) have shown that the attributes and values of a student's close friends will usually affect him more than any characteristics which may typify the general student body of his school. In explaining these differences between the influence of an immediate peer group and the more general student environment, these studies make the distinction between contextual or structural effects and interpersonal influences. The total collectivity may affect individual behavior by creating the set of norms and standards to which many of the individuals in the school respond. An individual's close friends may exert their influences not so much by collectively defining the climate and expectations for behavior, but through individual encounters where personal attitudes and values are revealed. When the values of a close friend coincide with the standards defined by a larger social context, his interpersonal influence will be to enforce and strengthen these norms.

If the different groups of fellow students in a school are placed on a continuum according to their proximity to a particular individual student, the fellow classmates would lie in an intermediate position between the total student body of a school and his close friends. As such, fellow classmates might serve to influence behavior in both the structural and interpersonal sense. Any standards and expectations which are set by fellow classmates will be more frequently and readily perceived by an individual than any climate or value structure estab-

lished by the student body at large. The regular social encounters between fellow classmates makes their potential for enforcing a set of standards on an interpersonal basis particularly strong.

Other tabulations of these data not reported here suggest an explanation for the apparently larger effects of classroom desegregation within the mostly white schools. In mostly Negro schools, the differences between the student composition of predominantly Negro classes and predominantly white classes are not large. There is little to distinguish the environment which might be defined by the student body at large in these schools from the climate in a particular classroom.

Within mostly white schools, on the other hand, desegregated classes appear to be considerably different from the others in terms of student values and achievement standards. Here, the greater potential of classmates to define and enforce norms will appear, because the classroom climate is distinctly different than the school-wide student environment.

### **Controls on Program and Track Placement**

An understanding of the mechanisms which place Negroes in segregated classes within desegregated schools is needed before the above results can be accepted with confidence. Table 2 and 3 present data which explain two mechanisms. These two tables show that the likelihood of a Negro student having mostly white classmates is a function of the program and of the track or ability group in which he is enrolled. Except for the predominantly Negro schools, the Negro students in the college preparatory program more frequently have mostly white classmates than students in other programs. With the same exceptions, Negro students in the high track level of English courses are more likely than other Negro students to be in mostly white classes. Hickerson (1963) found that Negro students in a racially mixed school were under-represented in certain academic classes, programs and activities.

Assignments to particular programs and tracks may often be based on existing achievement differences between students. Because of the correspondence between classroom racial composition and the program or track level within the school it is necessary to investigate whether the observed relationships between classroom racial composition and Negro student achievement are simply a function of assignments within schools based on existing achievement levels.

The next tables show comparisons between effect parameters calculated on the entire sample with parameters obtained after the sample is partitioned into subgroups of students enrolled in the same program or track. If the observed relationship between classroom

TABLE 2  
PERCENT OF NINTH GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS IN MAJORITY WHITE CLASSES,  
BY PROGRAM OF STUDY AND PERCENT WHITE ENROLLMENT IN THEIR SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

Program of Study	Percent white enrolled in the school				
	0-9	10-19	30-49	50-69	70-99
College Preparatory	2.2 (452)	16.5 (187)	32.2 (255)	41.9 (179)	88.0 (133)
General	2.8 (253)	15.5 (116)	8.6 (140)	36.0 (89)	67.5 (114)
Vocational, Commercial, Business, or Industrial Arts	2.1 (514)	14.3 (210)	14.9 (275)	33.8 (201)	69.7 (99)

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parentheses represent the number of cases on which percentages are based

TABLE 3  
PERCENT OF NINTH GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS IN MAJORITY WHITE CLASSES,  
BY TRACK LEVEL IN ENGLISH COURSES  
AND PERCENT WHITE ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

Track Level in English Courses	Percent white enrollment in the school				
	0-9	10-29	30-49	50-69	70-99
High	3.1 (291)	24.1 (170)	30.0 (183)	50.0 (118)	70.8 (72)
Middle	1.6 (845)	17.2 (313)	14.6 (343)	33.4 (326)	72.0 (218)
Low	4.0 (74)	16.7 (36)	22.0 (50)	32.8 (61)	66.7 (27)

<sup>1</sup> Numbers in parentheses represent the number of cases on which percentages are based

racial composition and Negro student achievement is to be explained simply by prior achievement differences which preceed classroom assignments, then the parameters calculated from the partitioned sample should be reduced to a value close to zero.

In these comparisons, the four categories of the classroom racial composition variable were collapsed into two categories. The average achievement increment presented in Table 4 is between Negro students in classes where less than half of the students are white and those in classes where half or more are white.

In Table 4 it is shown that partitioning the students by their program of study does not greatly reduce the classroom racial composition parameter. The parameter is +.23 when comparisons are made for students matched on family background and the school racial percentage categories. When students are matched on their program of study in addition to the other variables, the value is +.20.

TABLE 4

WEIGHTED PARAMETERS OF EFFECT OF CLASSROOM RACIAL COMPOSITION ON NINTH GRADE VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT, GIVEN FAMILY BACKGROUND AND PERCENT WHITE IN THE SCHOOL, BY STUDENT'S PROGRAM OF STUDY

Program of Study	Effect Parameter
All students responding to program of study question (24 comparisons, 3,245 cases)	+ .23
All students, partitioned by their program of study (72 comparisons, 3,245 cases)	+ .20
College Preparatory (24 comparisons, 1,206 cases)	+ .15
General Program (24 comparisons, 667 cases)	+ .47
Commercial, business, vocational or industrial arts (24 comparisons, 1,372 cases)	+ .12

### The Classroom Effect is not Result of Program Assignments

The parameters for the separate subgroups in each program category are not uniformly smaller than the original value. This is also evidence that the classroom effect is not simply the result of program assignments. The parameters for students in vocational, commercial, and industrial arts programs and in the college preparatory program are about half the value calculated without the program control. For students in the general course of study, the average achievement increment due to classroom desegregation is larger than the original value.

Table 5 gives parameters measuring the classroom desegregation effect separately for students who report they are in the high, middle, or low track sections of English courses. Because the school racial percentages were combined in different ways for each of these subgroups,<sup>2</sup> three separate parameters without the track control are shown as the point of comparison. The effect parameter for high track students alone is to be compared with the parameter calculated for the

<sup>2</sup> There are four school racial percentages categories for the middle track group, three categories for high track students, and two for the low track group. Categories were combined to gain sufficient cases for estimating achievement increments and so that students would be matched on the school track criterion as well as the track level. An estimate of the school criteria for admission to each track level was obtained by calculating the average achievement score separately for all ninth grade students who reported they were in the high, middle, or low track. Generally it was found that within track levels and categories of the school racial percentages, the track criteria for the average Negro student was not positively associated with his proportion white classmates. One exception to this was the high track students in schools where 80 percent or more of the enrollment was white. These students were eliminated in the calculations for Table 5.

entire sample of students matched in a corresponding way on the family background and school racial enrollment variables. For the other track subgroups, a separate parameter calculated from matching cross-tabulations of the entire sample is presented for comparison.

The effect parameter shown in Table 5 which was calculated for high track students is not greatly reduced from the value obtained for the entire sample. These values are  $+.14$  and  $+.17$ . Similarly, the parameters for the middle track group and the entire sample have comparable values,  $+.23$  and  $+.21$ . For the low track group, the parameter is about half the size of the value for the entire sample, although it is not reduced to zero.

If, instead, the effect parameters for each track subgroup are compared to parameters from the rest of the sample which does not

TABLE 5  
WEIGHTED PARAMETERS OF EFFECT OF CLASSROOM RACIAL COMPOSITION ON NINTH GRADE NEGRO VERBAL ACHIEVEMENT, GIVEN FAMILY BACKGROUND AND PERCENT WHITE IN THE SCHOOL, BY STUDENT'S TRACK LEVEL IN ENGLISH COURSES

Track Level	Effect Parameter
	$+.17$
All students (18 comparisons, 4,717 cases)	$+.14$
High track students (18 comparisons, 991 cases)	$+.16$
All other students (18 comparisons, 3,726 cases)	$+.21$
All students (24 comparisons, 5,075 cases)	$+.23$
Middle track students (24 comparisons, 1,979 cases)	$+.18$
All other students (24 comparisons, 4,096 cases)	$+.22$
All students (12 comparisons, 5,075 cases)	$+.13$
Low track students (12 comparisons, 255 cases)	$+.23$
All other students (12 comparisons, 4,820 cases)	

include the subgroup, the results are the same. Table 5 also shows these residual values which are very similar to the parameters obtained from the complete sample.

Since the classroom racial composition effect remains within subgroups of Negro students who are matched on their track or their program of study, there is evidence that the observed achievement increments due to classroom desegregation are not simply the result of differences which preceded the classroom assignments.

### In Conclusion . . .

Analysis of ninth grade Negro students in the Metropolitan Northeast has suggested that the potential effects of school desegregation on Negro achievement can be offset by segregation within the school. Only the Negro students in mostly white classes demonstrate any added achievement growth due to attendance at mostly white

schools. On the other hand, classroom desegregation has an apparent beneficial effect on Negro student verbal achievement no matter what the racial enrollment of the school. Evidence is provided that the differences in verbal achievement between Negro students in mostly white classes and those in mostly Negro classes cannot simply be explained by selection processes which operate within the school.

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## **Achiever Personality and Academic Success Among Disadvantaged College Students**

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Encouraging efforts are being made to extend opportunities for collegiate education to increasing numbers of Negro youth from disadvantaged backgrounds. Many colleges and universities are actively recruiting not only students who meet specific entrance requirements, but also "high risk" students whose qualifications fall short of conventional admissions standards. In spite of these beginning efforts, Negroes are seriously under-represented in colleges as a whole, and the scarcity of Negro students attending academically selective institutions is especially pronounced.

In an incisive analysis S. A. Kendrick (1967), executive associate on the College Entrance Examination Board staff, examined the prospects of overcoming this inequity by bringing a greatly augmented proportion of Negro students to selective colleges. Even assuming intensive recruitment efforts, substantial financial aid, and the relaxation of admissions standards, his forecast is pessimistic. Beyond the fact that less selective or non-selective colleges are formidable competitors for the Negro student of high verbal aptitude, there are three major factors that contribute to what he terms "The coming segregation of our selective colleges".

## SAT Scores and Academic Performance

First is the relatively small proportion of Negro high school seniors who would be expected to score high on the verbal section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Using Coleman's (1966) data for scores on the verbal items from the School and College Ability Test (SCAT), Kendrick estimated scores that would be obtained on the highly similar verbal SAT. These projections suggest that 10 to 15 percent of these students would score 400 or above on the verbal SAT, and that only one or two percent would be likely to score 500 or above. Since the median SAT score is over 650 in highly selective colleges and over 500 in the moderately selective, the prospects for finding large numbers of recruits who qualify for admission on the basis of verbal SAT scores are not hopeful.

If verbal SAT score were not a valid predictor of academic success for Negro students or if Negroes performed better academically than would be expected on the basis of SAT scores, there would be less cause for concern. The inference to be drawn from Cleary's (1966) study of Negro and white college students in three integrated colleges is that the SAT is not biased against the Negro students. In other words, college grades for Negroes were not underestimated when SAT scores (verbal or mathematical) were used as predictive variables.

The third factor is the essential failure, at this late teen-age level, of remedial programs designed either to raise SAT scores or more importantly to improve the academic performance that SAT scores predict (Shaycoft, 1967; College Entrance Examination Board, 1968).

It must be emphasized that Kendrick's report, summarized above, and the present study treat existing conditions, not conditions that would have prevailed had socially inflicted deprivation not taken its toll. It can be convincingly argued that social inequities have the effect of depressing SAT scores among the disadvantaged, but it does not follow that these scores then underestimate the functioning aptitudes of disadvantaged persons or that remedial programs undertaken with students of high school or college age can markedly increase aptitude.

Although Cleary's study, cited above, is probably the best controlled research of its kind to date, the evidence concerning test bias is not conclusive. Certainly the implications of her results are so weighty that further similar research is required. Evidence presented by other investigators indicates that intellectual predictor variables may not function in the same way for Negroes as they do for whites. Green and Farquhar (1965), studying high school

students, report significant correlations between verbal aptitude and grades for Negro girls (.25), white girls (.21) and white boys (.62) but *not* for Negro boys (-.01). In another study of over 1500 Negro students at integrated colleges, Clark and Plotkin (1963) conclude that SAT scores cannot be used in the prediction of academic success for Negro students in the same way that they are used for whites. They found, for example, that although Negroes' median score on the SAT is lower than whites', a higher proportion of Negroes than whites who begin college obtain degrees.

Whether or not findings, as they become available, prove the SAT to be a valid and unbiased predictor of academic performance for Negroes, there is another extremely important consideration. It is the unsettling fact that scores obtained on the SAT typically account for less than 25% of the variability in college grades. One reason is that selection of students on the basis of SAT scores narrows the range on the predictive measure and thus reduces its predictive power. Another reason, and one that may be crucial at this juncture, is that verbal aptitude is not the only factor that enters into the achievement of academic success. Motivational variables are also important. It would seem profitable then to explore the possible value of any promising non-intellective predictor variable, preferably one that is independent of SAT scores.

## The Achiever Personality Scale

Such an instrument, the Achiever Personality scale, was constructed by Benno G. Fricke as one of fourteen scales comprising the empirically validated *Opinion, Attitude and Interest Survey* (OAIS). Validation procedures involving more than 10,000 students over a ten year period at the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan are presented in the test handbook (Fricke, 1965) where the scale is described as follows:

This scale measures personality attributes associated with the traditional criterion of *academic success*, grades. Students who score high on the Achiever Personality scale tend to realize their potential ability and/or achieve high grade-point averages in college. It predicts college grades about as well as the typical academic ability test. Furthermore, and this is important, scores from the Achiever Personality scale do not correlate with scores from the ability tests; that is, this scale measures something important in academic success not measured by the ability tests. In short, the Achiever Personality scale is a good indicator of academic motivation and conscientiousness.

Since its 1962 completion in final form, the OAIS has been routinely administered to all entering freshman after they have been

admitted to the University of Michigan but before they start classes. It is not yet used in the selection of students for admission to the University. Results at Michigan and reports from a variety of other colleges and universities consistently uphold the claims made for the test (Fricke, 1967). Until now, however, the predictive validity of the scale has not been demonstrated for special groups such as disadvantaged Negro students or disadvantaged students as a whole.

### **Studies of Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds at a Selective University**

In 1964 an Opportunity Award program was established at the University of Michigan to extend greater educational opportunities to disadvantaged high school seniors. Although the program is not carried out for the benefit of Negro students exclusively, it is recognized that disadvantages have been imposed upon Negro Americans for generations.

During the first two years of the program 133 students, of whom 85% are Negro, completed at least one semester as Opportunity Award recipients but only a little more than half of the group achieved passing grades in their freshman year. It was for this reason that we looked at variables associated with academic success for these students.

The results of two studies are reported in this paper. Subjects in the initial study are the award recipients who entered the University as freshmen in 1964 and 1965. Data are reported, according to sex, for the 70 women and 59 men for whom scores on all independent variables were available. In this, a longitudinal study, two criteria of academic success are employed. First is a passing grade point average (GPA) in the freshman year. Any student who fails to maintain a GPA of at least 2.00 (C) may be placed on academic probation or required to withdraw from the University. A GPA of 2.00 or above is therefore considered passing; below 2.00 as failing. The other measure of success is actual continuation as juniors (1965 entrants) or seniors (1964 entrants) or the eligibility to continue at the beginning of the 1967-68 academic year. We called unsuccessful those students who withdrew on the basis of poor scholarship prior to the start of that school year.

The second study is an attempt to replicate the original findings with the Opportunity Award freshmen entering in 1966. Of the 90 students (again 85% of whom are Negro) scores were complete for 46 women and 43 men. The single measure of success is a passing GPA in the freshman year.

In both studies, the independent variables are: SAT score for which we used a composite of the two subtests (i.e., verbal plus mathematical), High School Percentile Rank (HSPR), scores on the Achiever Personality scale (Ach P), and an index of High School Quality. We included high school quality on the assumption that those students from the poorer schools may be relatively more disadvantaged in the college setting. As this index, we used the percentage of graduates going on for additional study after high school. Combining the 1964 and 1965 entering freshman classes, separate medians or best median cutting points for men and women were found for each of the four independent variables. "High" therefore indicates a score above the appropriate Opportunity Award group median; "Low" is below. Scores designated low SAT for the men are within the lower 15 percent and for the women within the lower 7 percent when compared with all freshmen at the University. The median HSPRs for both Opportunity Award men and women are virtually identical to that for all freshmen (i.e., 92), and the median Ach P scores, expressed as percentile ranks (47 for men; 58 for women) are not appreciably different from the median of 55 for all freshmen. Indices of High School Quality were not obtained for all University freshmen. Medians obtained in the initial study were applied, according to sex, in the study of 1966 Opportunity Award freshmen, and the Chi-square test was used as the principal method of statistical analysis throughout the two studies. All tests are *two-tailed* involving one degree of freedom, and the Fisher Exact Probability Test was used when the expected frequency in any cell was less than 10.

## The Results . . .

### *A Passing Freshman GPA for 1964-1965 Entrants*

High school rank was not associated with freshman grades for either men or women. The failure of this traditional predictor variable to relate to grades is most reasonably explained by the fact that the measure treats as equivalent, ranks in very good and very poor high schools. In any study which does not correct high school rank for the difficulty of the school, a comparable problem exists. It is magnified in this study by the fact that the Opportunity Award Program tends to draw the highest ranking students from high schools which include few college bound students and moderately high ranking students from high schools which send a majority of students to college. The correlation between high school rank and high school quality is  $-.29$  for the women and  $-.36$  for the men. Both are statistically significant. ( $p < .05$ ).

TABLE 1  
PERCENTAGE OF MEN OBTAINING A PASSING GRADE POINT AVERAGE  
IN THE FRESHMAN YEAR: SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED BY SAT SCORE,  
HIGH SCHOOL QUALITY, AND ACH P SCORE

Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	High School Quality	Achiever Personality			
		N	High	N	Low
High	High	7	71%	9	67%
High	Low	5	40	9	44
Low	High	7	86	6	50
Low	Low	9	67	7	14

TABLE 2  
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN OBTAINING A PASSING GRADE POINT AVERAGE  
IN THE FRESHMAN YEAR: SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED BY SAT SCORE,  
HIGH SCHOOL QUALITY, AND ACH P SCORE

Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	High School Quality	Achiever Personality			
		N	High	N	Low
High	High	14	93%	11	27%
High	Low	6	83	4	25
Low	High	6	83	5	20
Low	Low	12	58	12	0

Tables 1 (men) and 2 (women) show the percentage of students obtaining a passing GPA in the freshman year. Students are simultaneously classified on three variables: SAT total score, High School Quality, and Ach P score. Since our major concern is with the predictive power of Ach P, the tables are set up for immediate comparisons between students who differ in Ach P score but are alike in SAT score and High School Quality. The effects of the other variables will be discussed and the interested reader can readily reconstruct the tables to highlight these effects.

#### *For the Men . . .*

For the men, there is a positive relationship between High School Quality and grades, although it does not quite reach statistical significance ( $\chi^2 = 2.89$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ). SAT, however, is a totally ineffective predictor of success. Of those men with high SAT scores, 57% achieved passing grades, but so did 55% of those who scored low on the SAT.<sup>1</sup> Looking at only the men with low

<sup>1</sup> Correlation matrices were constructed which show results in accord with Chi-square analyses. Of special interest is the fact that, for both boys and girls, standard deviations for SAT scores and GPA correspond to those for all University freshmen.

SAT scores, we find that it is a high score on the Ach P scale that is significantly related to their success ( $p = .04$ ). Ach P is unrelated to grades for men with high SAT scores, and for this reason the relationship over the table as a whole falls short of significance ( $\chi^2 = 2.22$ ;  $.10 < p < .20$ ). Nor is the association found within the categories high High School Quality or low High School Quality when high SAT are included along with low SAT men in these classifications. Ach P scores are independent of SAT scores and of High School Quality in this study, but Table 1 shows further that the relationship between Ach P and grades for low SAT men is not an artifact of High School Quality. Larger percentages of high Ach P than low Ach P men receive passing grades whether they come from good or poor high schools.

### *For the Women . . .*

For the *women*, both High School Quality and SAT scores are associated with freshman grades, although these relationships are just short of statistical significance (High School Quality;  $\chi^2 = 2.80$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ; SAT;  $\chi^2 = 3.65$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ). Since SAT is positively associated with High School Quality for the women, it is necessary to examine the effect of each of these variables controlling for the other. The results indicate that high SAT women graduating from better high schools do not obtain higher grades than (a) high SAT women from poorer high schools or (b) low SAT women from better high schools. Favorable classification on *both* SAT and High School Quality is not associated with higher freshman grades than favorable classification on either SAT or High School Quality. The picture is somewhat different when comparisons are made between women disadvantaged by both SAT and High School Quality and those who are disadvantaged on only one. There is a tendency for girls low on both measures to obtain lower grades than girls low on either one but high on the other. These trends fall somewhat short of conventional requirements for statistical significance. Only when low SAT and low High School Quality exist in combination is academic performance adversely affected. The only statistically significant finding is obtained when women high on both are compared with women low on both ( $p = .02$ ).

The overall association between Ach P and grades is highly significant for women ( $\chi^2 = 25.39$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Ach P scores are independent of SAT scores and of High School Quality, but even more important are the findings that show the positive Ach P-GPA relationship to be independent of both SAT score and High School Quality (Ach P and GPA for women when classified as: low SAT,  $p = .001$ ; high SAT,  $p = .001$ ; low High School Qual-

ity,  $p = .001$ ; high High School Quality,  $p = .001$ ). Even further, as Table 2 clearly shows, a larger percentage of high Ach P than low Ach P women achieve passing grades within each of the four combinations of SAT score and High School Quality. Two of these relationships reach statistical significance (Ach P and GPA for: high SAT women from high quality schools,  $p = .002$ ; low SAT women from poorer quality high schools,  $p = .004$ ). The latter relationship is particularly important because SAT and High School Quality are both positively related to grades. The finding shows that even among women unfavorably classified on both of these variables, those with high Ach P scores nevertheless tend to succeed in greater numbers than those with low scores.

The question arose as to whether the striking positive association between GPA and Ach P might be an artifact resulting from a systematic relationship between Ach P and some other variable. Among the more important considerations is semester hour load. We found that results favoring high Ach P students cannot be accounted for by lighter academic schedules. There was no relationship between Ach P score and the number of semester hours completed, either for all men, or for men with low SAT scores. For the women, high Ach P students actually completed more semester hours than did low Ach P women ( $\chi^2 = 3.76$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ).

It should also be noted that each of the reported relationships between SAT and GPA and between Ach P and GPA for both boys and girls was found for the 66 students who began as Opportunity Award freshmen in 1964. Every relationship was replicated for boys and for girls entering in 1965. We combined the two classes in this report in order that frequencies be large enough for simultaneous classification on the three major independent variables.

### *Academic Eligibility to Continue as Upperclassmen*

The next question is whether or not the initial academic advantage held by students scoring high on the Ach P scale is maintained beyond the freshman year. Many students who attain less than a passing GPA as freshmen are not required to withdraw from the University, but are permitted to begin the sophomore year on a probationary basis. This additional success measure, while not independent of first year grades, tends to reflect continuing academic success or the ability to overcome a marginal freshman record. Data are reported in Tables 3 (men) and 4 (women).

For the men, the earlier positive association between High School Quality and success was not maintained. Equal percent-

TABLE 3  
PERCENTAGE OF MEN ACADEMICALLY ELIGIBLE TO CONTINUE AS  
UPPERCLASSMEN. SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED BY SAT SCORE,  
HIGH SCHOOL QUALITY, AND ACH P SCORE

Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	High School Quality	Achiever Personality			
		N	High	N	Low
High	High	7	71%	9	67%
High	Low	5	60	9	67
Low	High	7	86	6	33
Low	Low	9	89	7	29

ages of men from high and low quality high schools had achieved academic success by the junior and senior years. Over the table as a whole, SAT scores are still unrelated to academic success, but a very interesting trend approaches statistical significance. SAT score is positively associated with eligibility to continue as upperclassmen only for those men scoring *low* on the Ach P scale ( $\chi^2 = 2.59$ ;  $.10 < p < .20$ ). Ach P is associated with eligibility ( $\chi^2 = 3.56$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ), but this near significant finding over the table as a whole is again shown to be entirely a function of the relationship between Ach P and success for low SAT boys ( $p = .006$ ). Among the men who are disadvantaged both by a low SAT score and having attended a high school of poorer quality, Ach P is now significantly related to success ( $p = .05$ ).

For *women*, the relationship between SAT and success now falls far short of statistical significance ( $\chi^2 = 1.49$ ;  $p < .20$ ). There is, however, a near significant tendency for women from high-quality high schools to maintain academic eligibility as upperclassmen ( $\chi^2 = 3.62$ ;  $.05 < p < .10$ ). When comparisons are made between women alike on SAT or High School Quality but differing on the other, non-significant trends are observed for both variables. Only when comparisons are made between women with

TABLE 4  
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ACADEMICALLY ELIGIBLE TO CONTINUE AS  
UPPERCLASSMEN. SUBJECTS CLASSIFIED BY SAT SCORE,  
HIGH SCHOOL QUALITY, AND ACH P SCORE

Scholastic Aptitude Test Score	High School Quality	Achiever Personality			
		N	High	N	Low
High	High	14	100%	11	45%
High	Low	6	67	4	25
Low	High	6	83	5	40
Low	Low	12	75	12	17

favorable classification on both variables and unfavorable on both, do the differences approach statistical significance ( $p = .06$ ). All of the earlier relationships between Ach P and freshman grades are fully maintained when upperclassman eligibility is the success criterion. Ach P is related to eligibility over the entire table ( $\chi^2 = 18.15$ ;  $p < .001$ ), and for women when classified as: low SAT ( $p = .004$ ), high SAT ( $p = .005$ ), low High School Quality ( $p = .004$ ), and high High School Quality ( $p = .002$ ). Percentages continue to indicate that the positive Ach P-academic success relationship may hold within each of the four combinations of SAT score and High School Quality. The association is again significant for women with high SAT scores from high quality high schools, ( $p = .006$ ), and for women with low SAT scores from poorer quality high schools ( $p = .01$ ).

### *A Passing Freshman GPA for 1966 Entrants*

Results from 1966 findings may be succinctly summarized: For neither men nor women is there an indication that SAT score, High School Quality or Ach P score bear any meaningful relationship to freshman GPA. If only the men were considered, these results would most readily be interpreted as a failure to replicate findings for Ach P. Since neither SAT nor High School Quality was significantly associated with grades for 1964-65 men, findings for 1966 men are inconsistent only for the Ach P scale. However, the pattern of findings for the women suggests an alternative explanation. For the 70 1964-65 women, the correlation between SAT and grades was .44 ( $t = 4.04$ ,  $p < .0001$ ) and between High School Quality and grades, .41 ( $t = 3.73$ ,  $p < .0005$ ). The same correlations for the 46 women entering in 1966 were .10 and .06 respectively, both falling far short of statistical significance. Thus the failure to replicate was not confined to the Ach P scale.

A possible explanation may be found in a change in counseling practices. In order to maximize the chances of success for the 1966 Opportunity Award students, each entering freshman was assigned to one of six counselors who had expressed a special interest in the program. Prior to that year Opportunity Award students were randomly assigned to counselors in the same manner as all other entering freshmen. Indications are that academic demands were reduced for the 1966 Opportunity Award freshmen. We could not confidently assess the demands as light or heavy that were made upon each of these students because such factors as easy versus difficult courses and the grading practices of individual instructors enter into these decisions along with the more objectively determined semester hour load. Data on semes-

ter hours considered alone do support the possibility of lightened demands for the group as a whole. Within the combined group of 1964 and 1965 entering freshmen, only 8% began their first semester with a course load of 12 hours or less instead of the normal load of 15 hours. The corresponding figure for 1966 freshmen was 24%, and this difference is highly significant ( $\chi^2 = 9.31$ ;  $p < .01$ ). When the percentage is broken according to standing on the SAT, 31% of the 1966 students with low SAT scores and 17% of the high scorers carried reduced course loads in their first semester. A systematic selection of easier programs of study for the weaker students, as defined by a low score on a predictor variable, would tend to reduce the comparability of GPAs for stronger and weaker students and thus to diminish the likelihood that any predictor variable would be associated with grades.

It is of some interest that, insofar as policy determined a reduction in academic demands, it was not measurably effective *over-all* in leading to improved academic performance. Although 58% of the 1966 students achieved passing grades in the freshman year as compared with 53% in the earlier years, the average GPA for women remained the same, and for men it was actually slightly lower in 1966.

Clearly, systematic studies specifically designed to investigate the effectiveness of modified study programs are in order.

## Summary and Implications

When the first two groups of Opportunity Award students entered the University as freshmen in 1964 and 1965, the academic demands made upon them were essentially the same as for all other freshmen. Special efforts were in fact made to assure that these students not be singled out in any way. Results, under these conditions, show that the traditionally used indicators of academic success are ineffective predictors of performance for Opportunity Award men. Neither HSPR nor SAT score bore any relationship to freshman grades for these men. When SAT scores are associated, at less than a significant level, with eligibility to continue as upperclassmen, it is only for men who score low on the Ach P scale. Ach P, on the other hand, is significantly related to both freshman grades and to later success, but only for those men scoring low on the SAT. These findings suggest that SAT and Ach P scores may interact in such a way that each is a valid predictor only for men who score low on the other.

For women, SAT score, but not HSPR, is associated with freshman grades, particularly for those students coming from low quality high schools, but it is ineffective as a predictor of upper-

classman eligibility. The relationship between SAT scores and freshman grades holds for both low and high Ach P women although in each case the pattern of frequencies reflects the influence of Ach P. Ach P is strongly associated with the two criteria of success for low as well as high SAT women.

The results that show a positive relationship between the SAT and academic achievement for women, but not for men in this study are in agreement with the findings of Green and Farquhar (1965). They indicate that combining men and women in studies of SAT bias among Negroes, as was done within the two colleges that are coeducational in Cleary's report (1966), may obscure a differential predictive power of aptitude measures for the sexes.

### *Many Students Do Very Well Despite Low SAT Scores*

Apart from the issue of SAT validity for the disadvantaged, the most meaningful finding of this study is the fact that many students are able to meet stiff competition successfully, *despite* very low scores on the SAT. To summarize the impact of these findings for students classified as low SAT in the study: Among the 64 students whose total SAT scores were in the lower 15 per cent (men) and lower seven per cent (women) of University freshmen as a whole, 71% of the students with high Ach P scores as contrasted with 17% of those with low Ach P scores were academically successful freshmen, and the advantage held by the high Ach P students persists in their becoming upperclassmen. Moreover, the scale is shown to be a valid predictor even among the subgroup of low SAT students who are further disadvantaged by coming from the poorer high schools. These young people are of special interest to any program designed to provide opportunities for collegiate education to potentially able, but severely disadvantaged high school seniors. They are the least likely to be recruited under standard admissions policies, still many are capable of making the grade.

If admissions officers at the University were already systematically recruiting a disproportionate number of high Ach P Opportunity Award students on the basis of high school principal's judgments of motivation and conscientiousness, for example, the supply of highly motivated (as defined by high Ach P) students left unrecruited might not be substantial. However, evidence that this is not the case is provided in yet unanalyzed data that show very encouraging percentages of high scores in a sample of high school seniors in a large northern city and also among freshmen at a predominantly Negro southern college.

### *Use of Personality Measures in Student Selection*

The use of personality measures in student selection has been frequently criticized. If their use resulted in the rejection of otherwise qualified applicants, the force of the objection would be difficult to refute. If instead, they were employed to select among students who would be rejected on the basis of high school percentile rank and/or SAT score, we are on firmer ground. It can be argued that *not* to use a powerful predictor variable in these cases is discriminatory for students who score high on that variable, since their academic performance would be underpredicted on the basis of traditional selector variables. Merely accepting the premise that colleges should actively recruit "high risk" students among the disadvantaged provides no guidelines for which of these students to select. Colleges can recruit some number almost at random and expect a high attrition rate, or they can select those most likely to succeed. Our preference is for the latter course, and the Ach P scale shows promise for use in the identification of these potentially able students.

As another solution to the present shortage of SAT eligible Negroes for recruitment to selective colleges, the suggestion has been made (Kendrick, 1967), that instruction be specifically designed to suit the needs, ability, and background of those who score low on verbal aptitude measures. The creation of double standard systems such as this has, over the years, led to justifiable resentment in many high schools, and the effects may indeed be deplored in the selective colleges by generations to come. It seems premature to resort to policies so charged with controversial implications when alternative courses of action might still be available. Whatever the ultimate merits of the Ach P scale may prove to be, it is this kind of solution that seems well worth pursuit at this critical time.

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## **The Effect of Upward Bound Programs on the Attitudes, Motivation, and Academic Achievement of Negro Students**

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Project Upward Bound is a precollege enrichment program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity for high school students from low-income families. The authors directed the national evaluation of this program for two years beginning in June 1966; this work has been reported in detail as part of the *Characterization of Upward Bound Project* (Hunt and Hardt, 1967a; Hunt and Hardt, 1967b; Hunt, Hardt, and Victor, 1968). The present report will use these general findings to consider the effects of the Upward Bound program specifically upon Negro students as compared to white students.

The purpose of Project Upward Bound as stated in the guidelines is "to generate the skills and motivation necessary for college success among young people from low-income backgrounds and inadequate secondary school preparation" (*Upward Bound Guidelines*, 1966). Students selected for Upward Bound programs were required to meet the OEO poverty criterion and, in addition, had to evidence potential academic ability although this need not have been manifest in academic performance. Although the specific programs varied enormously in size, approach, student characteristics, and staff, it will

be helpful to indicate that a typical program might consist of about 75 high school students who lived during the summer in residence on a college campus and, while there, experienced an eight-week intensive educational effort. After completion of this intensive phase, academic year follow-up was conducted in cooperation with the student's high school to maintain the momentum gained during the summer. During his senior year, efforts intensified to encourage the student to apply for admission to some form of post-high school educational experience, preferably college, and to facilitate his admission to such institutions.

### **Higher Education is One Way Out of Poverty**

Among the OEO programmatic strategies for dealing with the problem of poverty, Project Upward Bound obviously is based on the premise that higher education is one way out of poverty. Some indication of the effectiveness of the first year of major effort (1966-1967) can be seen by noting that approximately 75 to 80 percent of the 6,000 graduating seniors who had been in an Upward Bound program were admitted to some form of post-high school education which, for over 90 percent of them, was college. Although the problem of continuing support for such students in college remains, it seems nonetheless that this relatively high rate of acceptance is quite encouraging.

In 1966, 215 programs which enrolled 18,958 students were supported, while in 1967, 248 programs enrolling 21,626 students were supported. Over half of the 1966 students (11,218) returned for a second summer in 1967. During the summer of 1968, the size of the program continues to increase. In 1966, 51.4 percent of the students enrolled were Negro, while in 1967 the proportion was 50.4 percent. The proportions of the other major non-white ethnic groups were, in 1967, 8 percent Spanish-American (including both Puerto Rican and Mexican-American) and 5 percent American Indian. The remaining 35 percent was almost entirely white with a very small number of Oriental students.

### **Design and Procedure in Characterization Project**

The design of the national evaluation, or Characterization of Upward Bound Project, consisted of identifying a ten percent representative sample of target programs (21 of 215 in 1966, 3 were added in 1967 to increase the group to 24 of 248), and studying all students in these target programs. Effect of the program upon student attitude and motivation was measured by administering a battery of paper-and-pencil tests to students during the first week of the summer program, during the last week of the summer program, and during the

following spring of the academic year. Effect of the program upon academic achievement was measured by collecting the student's Grade Point Average (GPA) from his high school in June before the summer program and in February after the program. GPA results were also collected for a control student not attending an Upward Bound program but whose pre-program GPA was similar to the Upward Bound (UB) student.

During the two years of the Characterization Project we have collected attitude and motivation data at six points in time (June, 1966; August, 1966; March, 1967; June, 1967; August, 1967; and March, 1968), and we have collected GPA information in June, 1966; February, 1967; June, 1967; and February, 1968. Attitude and motivation measures were obtained by members of the Characterization Project staff who administered the battery of paper-and-pencil measures to the students during the summer UB program and at one of the spring UB meetings. GPA results were obtained by paid grade recorders (e.g., guidance personnel or teachers) in each of 189 high schools.

If a program such as Upward Bound is to produce any appreciable effect upon culturally disadvantaged high school students when all the evidence points to the extreme difficulty of producing changes in such students, it seems reasonable to assume that it will require some time. Therefore, we will present results for changes produced in attitude and motivation only for those students for whom we had results at all six points in time. Similarly, GPA results were based on only those students for whom we had complete results at all four points in time. By electing to present the results in two-year longitudinal form, we risk a certain degree of non-representativeness, but we felt this risk was relatively minor compared to the importance of describing the cumulative impact.

Fortunately, in June 1966, we began with a large sample of about 1800 students, so we are still dealing with fairly large samples. The group of Spanish-American and Indian students for whom we had complete data was not considered large enough to include in the formal analysis. For this reason, we will compare Negro students only with white students. Before describing the specific change measures, we should state clearly the specific purpose of the present report. We will compare the *effect*, or change, produced in Negro and in white students by the Upward Bound program. We will not be concerned, except in passing, with Negro-white initial differences, e.g., initial level of self-esteem, because the samples are not necessarily representative of low-income high school students of different racial groups. Even though they may start out at different levels, we can compare Negro UB students and white UB students in terms of how much each group changed.

## Attitude and motivation

### *Description of Primary Change Measures*

Using the objectives of Project Upward Bound as a guide, a battery of paper-and-pencil measures was assembled into an Upward Bound Student Questionnaire (Hunt and Hardt, 1967a). Some of these measures had been used earlier, e.g., internal control (Rotter, 1966) while others were specifically developed for this questionnaire, e.g., possibility of college graduation. The following nine primary change measures have been the major indicators of program impact upon student's attitude and motivation.

- . . . *Importance of college graduation* was measured by a 5-point rating scale ranging from 1 ("of little importance") to 5 ("extremely important")
- . . . *Possibility of college graduation* was measured by a 5-point rating scale ranging from 1 ("not possible") to 5 ("extremely possible")
- . . . *Self-evaluated intelligence* was measured by the rating of "Myself" on a 7-point scale in semantic differential form ranging from 1 ("dumb") to 7 ("smart")
- . . . *Motivation for college* was measured indirectly through scoring the student's story completion to a short stimulus about the future. The story was scored simply for the presence or absence of mention of college.
- . . . *Interpersonal flexibility* was measured by a 21 item objective scale (Hunt, 1964) which is thought to index the degree to which one can take on other perspectives, e.g., "The best way to understand a person is first to put yourself into his shoes to see how he looks at things." Possible range was from 21 to 84, since there were four alternatives ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree for each item.
- . . . *Self-esteem* was measured by a 10-item objective scale (Rosenberg, 1965) which indexes a person's present feeling of self-adequacy, e.g., "I feel that I have a number of good qualities." Since each item had four alternatives as above, the possible range of scores was from 10 to 40.
- . . . *Internal control* was measured by a 13-item scale (Rotter, 1966) thought to reflect the degree to which a person sees himself as controlling the outcome of his experience, e.g., selecting the alternative "Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little to do with it" rather than "getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time." Since a forced choice form was used, the possible range was from 13 to 26.
- . . . *Future orientation* was measured by 8 items on a 4-point scale (Strodtbeck, 1958) and one in forced choice form, all purporting

to measure the degree to which a person is willing to postpone immediate gratification for future reward, e.g., disagreeing with the item "People should just live for today and let tomorrow take care of itself." Range was from 9 to 34.

*Non-alienation* was measured by 5 items permitting four response choices (Srole, 1956) and three in forced choice form, all which index the opposite of distrust and disengagement, e.g., disagreeing with item "These days a person doesn't know who he can depend on." The range was from 8 to 30.

## Results

These results are based on responses of 213 Negro students (99 male and 144 female students) and 90 white students (28 male and 62 female students) from the 21 target programs. (Number for a particular measure may be slightly less because a student omitted one or more responses.) Although we do not have two-year data on a comparable control sample, we have cross-sectional data on students at different school grades from ninth to twelfth grade. Comparing these younger and older students on the nine primary change measures provides a gross indication of the changes which are likely to be attributable to age or non-UB experience (Hunt, Hardt, and Victor, 1968), and we will interject these comparisons where they are relevant.

The statistical analysis in Table 1 is based only on a comparison between the students' scores in June 1966 and March 1968. However, in Figures 1, 2, and 3, the pattern of change over the two-year period is represented by plotting the scores for the two groups at each of the six points in time for each of the nine measures. The scores at June 1966 and at March 1968 which appear in Table 1 are the same as those in the figures for the first and final points in time; however the figures also show what happened in the intervening four times.

*Importance of college graduation.* This index decreased significantly for both Negro and white groups. We have earlier noted (Hunt and Hardt, 1967b) that the initial level was so high (e.g. 4.66 on a 5-point scale for the Negro group) that the decrease may simply represent a regression effect.

*Possibility of college graduation.* This index showed a slight, non-significant increase in both groups. Figure 1 indicates that the tendency for this measure (as for the other measure of academic adequacy, self-evaluated intelligence) showed a pattern of increase during the first summer followed by a decrease in the following academic year for both Negro and white groups. Apparently, the first summer program effects were "washed out" when the student returned to high school. The same pattern recurred for the white group, but the Negro group showed a

TABLE 1  
SUMMARY OF CHANGE MEASURE SCORES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS

Measure	Group	N	Mean Scores		Change	t
			June 1966	March 1968		
Importance of college graduation	Negro	203	4.66	4.52	-.14	2.41*
	White	90	4.54	4.36	-.18	2.02*
Possibility of college graduation	Negro	193	4.08	4.12	+.04	.53
	White	89	3.66	3.76	+.10	.79
Self-evaluated intelligence	Negro	213	5.37	5.44	+.07	.80
	White	90	5.18	5.14	-.04	.26
Motivation for college	Negro	212	.21	.50	+.29	5.71**
	White	90	.33	.62	+.29	4.58**
Interpersonal flexibility	Negro	210	57.88	59.39	+1.51	3.86**
	White	90	58.50	60.39	+1.89	3.34**
Self-Esteem	Negro	211	28.73	30.27	+1.54	4.94**
	White	90	28.01	29.53	+1.52	3.74**
Internal Control	Negro	207	21.74	22.81	+1.07	6.32**
	White	90	22.92	23.41	+.49	2.19*
Future orientation	Negro	212	25.84	27.78	+1.94	7.20**
	White	88	28.50	30.56	+2.06	5.38**
Non-Alienation	Negro	212	18.51	18.13	-.38	1.59
	White	91	20.70	20.88	+.18	.55

\*  $p < .05$

\*\* $p < .01$

tendency to retain the second summer gain during the academic year.

*Self-evaluated intelligence.* As can be seen in Figure 1, this index (which is also a measure of academic adequacy) showed the same pattern as possibility of college graduation for the white group. For the Negro group, there is again tentative evidence that the second summer produced a more enduring change since the diminution during the academic year (between August 1967 and March 1968) is not present for the Negro group. However, neither group showed a significant overall increase.

*Motivation for college.* Scores on this measure showed a highly significant increase for both groups. Before inferring that this increase was entirely a result of the Upward Bound program, it should be noted that scores on this index show an increase with age groups from .16 for eighth and ninth grade students to .20 for eleventh grade students (Hunt, Hardt, and Victor, 1968). Therefore, part of this increase may be attributable to age.

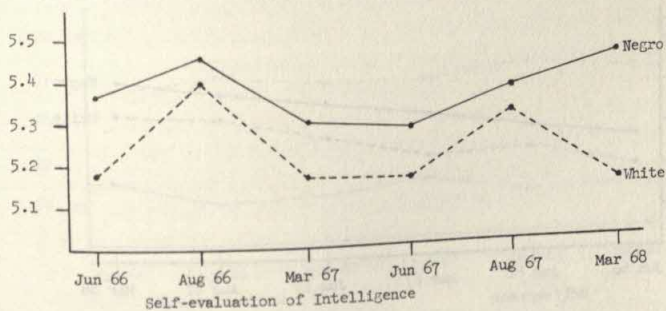
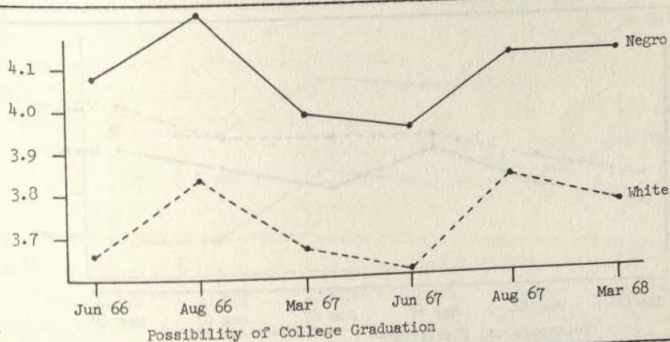
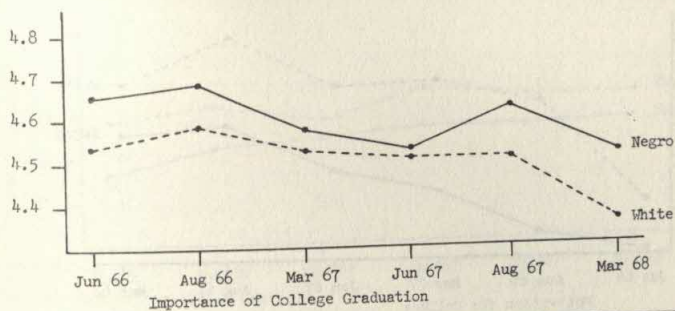


FIGURE 1  
IMPORTANCE AND POSSIBILITY OF COLLEGE GRADUATION, AND SELF-EVALUATED  
INTELLIGENCE SCORES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS

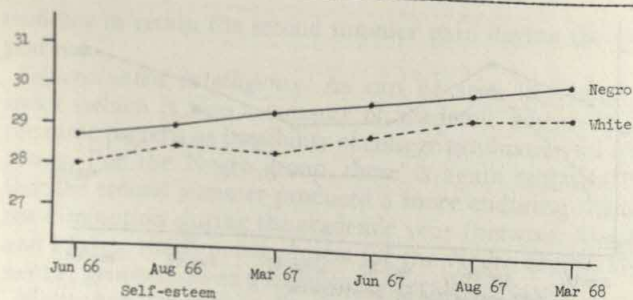
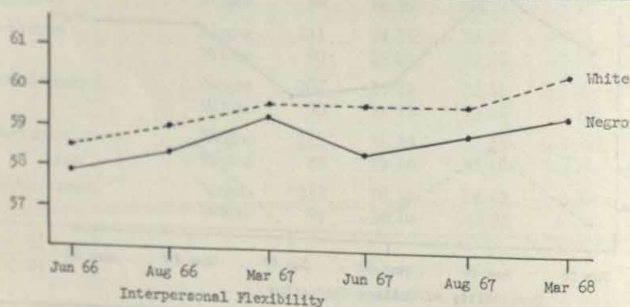
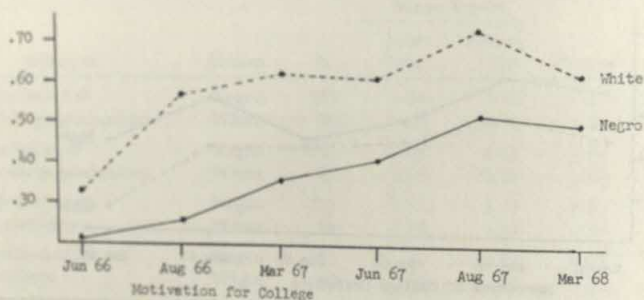


FIGURE 2  
MOTIVATION FOR COLLEGE, INTERPERSONAL FLEXIBILITY, AND  
SELF-ESTEEM SCORES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS

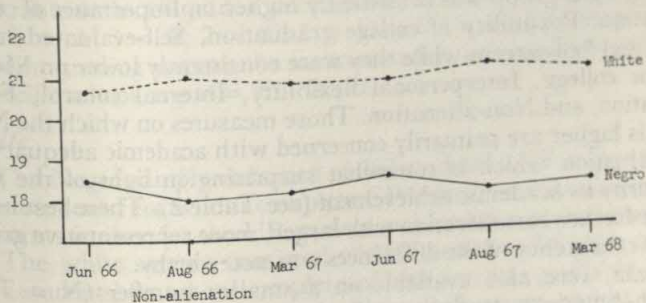
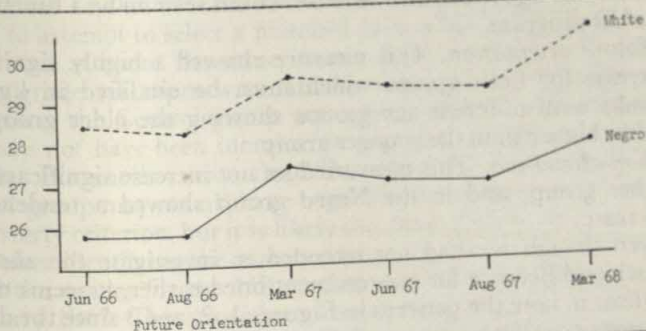
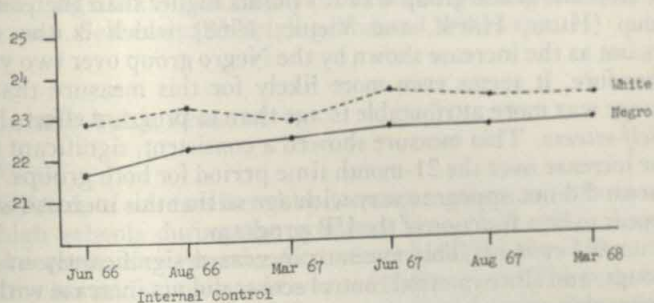


FIGURE 3  
INTERNAL CONTROL, FUTURE ORIENTATION, AND NON-ALIENATION  
SCORES FOR NEGRO AND WHITE STUDENTS

- . . . *Interpersonal flexibility.* Both groups showed a significant increase on this index. However, in the cross-sectional analysis, the eleventh grade group was 1.5 points higher than the younger group (Hunt, Hardt, and Victor, 1968) which is the same amount as the increase shown by the Negro group over two years. Therefore, it seems even more likely for this measure that the change was more attributable to age than to program effect.
- . . . *Self-esteem.* This measure showed a consistent, significant positive increase over the 21-month time period for both groups. Self-esteem did not appear to vary with age so that this increase would appear to be a function of the UB program.
- . . . *Internal control.* This measure increased significantly in both groups, and since internal control scores did not increase with age within this age span, this increase would seem to be a function of the UB program.
- . . . *Future orientation.* This measure showed a highly significant increase for both groups which must be qualified in light of results with different age groups showing the older group 2.3 points higher than the younger group.
- . . . *Non-alienation.* This measure does not increase significantly in either group, and in the Negro group showed a tendency to decrease.

Even though we had not intended to investigate the absolute Negro-white difference for reasons mentioned earlier, it seems necessary at least to note the patterns in Figures 1, 2, and 3 since the differences were so consistent over time. Compared to the white UB group, the Negro UB group was consistently higher on Importance of college graduation, Possibility of college graduation, Self-evaluated intelligence, and Self-esteem while they were consistently lower on Motivation for college, Interpersonal flexibility, Internal control, Future orientation, and Non-alienation. Those measures on which the Negro group is higher are primarily concerned with academic adequacy and self-evaluation which is somewhat surprising in light of the white superiority in academic achievement (see Table 2). These results will require further consideration with larger, more representative groups, but the consistency of the differences was noteworthy.

Data were also available on a smaller number ( $N = 78$ ) of Spanish-American students, and a very small group ( $N = 16$ ) of American Indian students at all six-points in time. The pattern of results for the Spanish-American sample was almost identical to that for the Negro and white students in that significant positive increases occurred for the same five change measures. In addition, the Spanish-American group showed a significant positive increase in Possibility of college graduation. Results for the American Indian group should

be regarded as very tentative since the sample was so small. However, the pattern for the Indian group was quite different in that they increased significantly on Motivation for college, Possibility of college graduation, Self-evaluated intelligence, and Self-esteem.

## Academic Achievement

### *Procedure*

GPA data were collected by locating a grade recorder in each of 189 high schools during the academic year 1966-1967. Using the school records, each recorder first selected another non-UB student of the same sex and school grade whose GPA in June 1966 was identical to or close to that of each UB student. Grade recorders were also urged to attempt to select a matched mate of the same ethnic or racial group and at about the same income level. However, the degree to which grade recorders were able to follow this suggestion varied. Therefore, the Control group was quite comparable in initial GPA, but may not have been identical in regard to racial and social class criteria. Put another way, the 283 students in Table 2 who are the control group may not all have been Negro and may not all have met the poverty criterion, but it is likely that most of them did.

After identifying the matched mate, the grade recorder next recorded the grades for the UB student and for the control student at February 1967. This procedure was repeated in June 1967 and February 1968. In order to obtain GPA results for all students on a comparable scale, all grades were transformed into a 4-point scale on which 4 = A; 3 = B; 2 = C; 1 = D and 0 = F. In schools using a 100-point grading system, the transformation was made according to the specific school, e.g., 4 = 92-100; etc.

### *Results*

The Negro sample consisted of 283 students (147 male and 136 female students) for whom complete GPA data were available at all four points in time for the UB student and for his matched mate control. The white sample consisted of 150 students (65 male and 85 female students) for whom complete information was available.

As Table 2 indicates both the Negro UB group and its control group showed an identical pattern of GPA scores, both of which decline significantly. The white UB group showed a slight increase in GPA, but it was less than that of its control group and neither was significant.

The results in Table 2 do not distinguish between GPA changes at different grade levels. In another analysis over one year (June 1966

TABLE 2  
GPA RESULTS FOR UB NEGRO, UB WHITE, AND CONTROL STUDENTS

Group	N	GPA June 1966	GPA Feb. 1968	GPA Change	t
Negro UB	283	2.31	2.13	-.18	3.96**
Control	283	2.24	2.06	-.18	3.90**
White UB	150	2.53	2.58	+.05	.93
Control	150	2.54	2.63	+.09	1.65

\*\* $p < .01$

to June 1967) the GPA changes for senior UB Negro students and non-senior UB Negro students were noted. The 135 Negro seniors increased from 2.01 to 2.14 while their senior control mate also increased from 2.00 to 2.10. However, the non-senior Negro group ( $N = 364$ ) showed a sharp decline from 2.21 to 1.97 which was paralleled by their control group which decreased from 2.15 to 1.94.

From these results it appears that GPA change is at least as much determined by the student's grade level as by his racial group or his participation in a UB program.

## In Conclusion . . .

### *Attitude and Motivation*

The pattern of effect produced by the Upward Bound program upon student attitude and motivation was almost identical for Negro and white students. Statistically significant increases were observed for both groups on measures of Motivation for college, Interpersonal flexibility, and Future orientation, but these increases cannot be attributed solely to program effect since all three have been shown to increase with age.

More important, therefore, were the statistically significant increases for both groups on measures of Self-esteem and Internal control which do not appear to increase with age for culturally disadvantaged high school students. Both Self-esteem and Internal control have been tentatively linked with better academic achievement so it would seem possible that such increases might later produce improved academic achievement.

### *Academic Achievement*

When the UB Negro group was compared with its control group and the UB white group with its control group, neither UB group showed a GPA change different from its control. Therefore, one could

conclude that the results of academic achievement were no different for UB Negro students than for UB white students.

However, the UB Negro group and its control group both decreased significantly so that, although in one sense the UB program effect has been no different for the two UB groups, the task of improving the academic achievement of culturally disadvantaged Negro high school students is considerably more difficult than for culturally disadvantaged white high school students.

The present report has presented a very small portion of data collected for the Characterization of Upward Bound Project, and many of these results will be put into clearer perspective with subsequent analysis. However, it seems fair to conclude on the basis of the results reported that the effect of the Upward Bound programs has been quite similar upon both Negro and white students, and finally that the task of producing positive change in the academic performance of culturally disadvantaged high school students, whether Negro or white, is a very formidable one which will require continued cumulative effort and innovation.

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## Encounters of Some Negro and White Freshmen With a Public Multiversity\*

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This study describes the characteristics of a group of Negro and white freshmen at a major public university, their expectations of, and their experiences during, their initial year of school. One of its purposes is to highlight those characteristics, expectations, and experiences which differentiate the Negro students in our sample from the white students and to determine which of these elements appear to be most relevant to academic, personal, and social development.

White students comprise a random sample of white freshmen who entered the university's liberal arts college in the fall of 1966. The Negro sample is randomly selected from students brought into the college under a program specially designed "to provide disadvantaged minority group students with the opportunity to pursue higher education". These are students who appear capable of academic success at the university but who require educational assistance and financial aid. Nominations for the program are generally made by secondary school principals or counselors. Although selection is not restricted to Negroes, to date most students recruited have been

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Negro. The large majority of Negro students entering the liberal arts college enter under this program.

It is possible that certain characteristics which distinguish our Negro and white students may be direct reflections of the selection process itself. However, because this program is similar to those used by many other institutions, the Negro students in the sample will probably resemble Negro students being sought and admitted by other public and private institutions.

## **Instruments and Data Collection (And a Note on Analysis)**

Most of our data were obtained from four instruments: the College Student Questionnaire (CSQ) Part I (Peterson, 1965); the College and University Environment Scales (CUES) (Pace, 1963); the Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI) Form Fx (Center for the Study of Higher Education, 1962); and the Class of 1970 Questionnaire (questionnaire devised by Donald R. Brown, Judy M. Kahn, and Patricia O'Connor at the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, University of Michigan).

These instruments, all of which were administered prior to the students' first semester at the university, provided data on students' perceptions of themselves, descriptions of their backgrounds and their educational plans, data on certain of their attitudes and on their expectations about the university and their life there. The CUES and the Class of 1970 Questionnaire were readministered to random samples of both original groups at the end of the freshman year, yielding data on their experiences at, and perceptions of, the university.

At the *pre-college* testing, about 80 percent of our samples (35 Negroes and 285 whites) completed the CSQ and the OPI; and about 60 percent (26 Negroes and 230 whites) completed the CUES and the *pre-college* form of the 1970 Questionnaire. Of those we invited to the *post-freshman* year testing, approximately 70 percent (29 Negroes and 152 whites) appeared and completed the CUES and the *post-freshman*-year form of the Class of 1970 Questionnaire.

The item differences we report in this paper are, in nearly every case, significant at the 5 percent level, using a two-tailed test of differences between proportions. Exceptions are items significant at the 10 percent level which clustered with items meeting a stronger criterion of significance. Because different numbers of students responded to different instruments, and because we are dealing with proportions, a minimum difference between groups that we can call significant will range from about .15 (15%) to .30 (30%). *Pre-college* significant differences can be as small as 15 percent. *Post-freshman* year differences,

depending on the samples being discussed, generally can be no lower than 25 percent.

Many more significant differences between our various samples surfaced than we would expect by chance. We sought to interpret these differences as patterns wherever possible, especially when looking within instruments at item differences.

In cases in which the number of respondents was small, we were concerned that a single small set of aberrant individuals could provide significant differences on clusters of related questions. Examination of patterns of responses to several of these clusters suggested that this was not the case.

## **The Background of Students**

### *Family Size and Structure*

The family background data for our subjects show that Negroes were slightly more likely than whites to come from broken homes, but this difference is not striking. When one parent was absent from the home, it was usually the father. Negroes were likely to come from larger families: the median number of siblings for our white students was two; for Negro students, three. Of the Negro students, 29 percent (2% of whites) came from families with more than six children.

Despite these differences, black students reported their families to be at least as closely knit as did white students. Family ties were experienced as being somewhat different for our samples of Negro and white students. For example, although black students reported that they were less likely than whites to turn to parents for advice on important matters, they indicated a greater determination to satisfy parental wishes through their own lives and careers. In both cases, therefore, one can say that there seem to be strong internalized family bonds. We might note here that there was no greater evidence of matriarchal family structure among Negroes than whites.

### *Social and Economic Background*

There were marked differences between Negroes and whites on various indices of socioeconomic level. The data suggest that, at the university under study (as at many others, public and private), white students are drawn increasingly from upper-middle-class families. The median family income of our sample was between \$12,000 and \$14,000 a year for white students; \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year for Negro students' families. When differences in family size are taken into consideration, per capita income of the families of Negro students was probably less than one-half that of whites.

Striking differences between Negro and white families also show up in parents' education and occupation. About 70 percent of the fathers of Negro students were engaged in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, compared with 7 percent of the fathers of white students. A majority of white students' fathers held owner, managerial, or professional positions. A similar difference appeared when occupation levels of mothers who worked were examined. Negro students' mothers were more likely to be employed than mothers' of white students. They were also more likely to have white collar occupations than were their fathers, indicating the somewhat greater accessibility of higher status jobs to Negro women. Further, about 70 percent of the fathers of Negro students had completed no more than a high school education, while 55 percent of the fathers of white students in our sample had some kind of undergraduate or graduate degree. The educational figures were similar, but not quite so striking, for the mothers.

Although our data suggest that the modal white student at the university is being drawn from a highly educated, upper-middle-class, financially comfortable population, many whites entering the university are neither upper-middle nor even middle-class in background. Perhaps 30 percent of the fathers of our white respondents hold blue collar or clerical jobs. Thirteen percent of our white students report a family income under \$8,000. We are currently in the process of studying a sample of whites and Negroes, individually matched on a set of social and economic background variables.

### *High School Experiences*

Negro and white students report high school backgrounds and accomplishments that were surprisingly alike. No pictures emerged of decayed urban core schools and opulent suburban schools. Negro students did indicate that fewer of their classmates planned to go on to college than whites, but in general, they expressed a great deal of satisfaction with high school. From their responses, one gets the strong sense that they were encouraged and rewarded as students, that they regarded themselves as students, and wanted to be thought of as students (not athletes, or activity leaders, or socially popular).

If we compare the overall experiences of the Negroes and whites in our samples during the high school years as they describe them, we find that the Negro students reported studying more, working more outside of school, dating less (perhaps a consequence), and engaging more in such solitary and passive activities as watching television. The latter could be tied to babysitting or other sorts of family-care duties.

### *Personal Characteristics of the Student*

Our sample of Negroes seemed to hold and to seek more concrete, tangible, simplistic conceptions of the world than our white sample. They more often intended to use their education to acquire skills and knowledge necessary to deal with the world as a concrete and tangible place. In this respect, their profiles resemble those of engineering and nursing students more than those of white liberal art students. To put these characteristics into perspective we should note that the Negro students indicated more often than white students that they had been encouraged to deal with the world as a set of concrete tangible entities, rather than to develop abstract, intellectual ways of conceptualizing their environment.

### **The Reluctance to Become Involved**

Coupled with this concrete, practical orientation is a sense of detachment from the inner workings of things and from people. In dealing with the workings of things, this detachment expressed itself as a reluctance to try to change the environment or even to seek new and exciting situations. In dealing with people, it takes the form of distrust, "being careful that others don't take advantage of you", and is accompanied by feelings of ambivalence toward others which was often projected onto others. Having projected this ambivalence, respondents often tended to respond to others with mistrust and wariness.

This reluctance to become involved with other people correlates with a tendency, more evident in Negroes than whites, to attempt to keep one's self under tight emotional control. This is especially evident in responses on the OPI to statements about control of aggression, sex, and to those statements dealing with excitement mentioned earlier. That these attempts at emotional control are not just manifestations of a desire to "appear good" on the questionnaires is suggested by various self-reported manifestations of attempts to bottle up impulses. For example, our sample of Negro women indicated with greater regularity than our white women that they experienced impulse derivatives (e.g., having "strange and uncontrollable thoughts", "feeling like two people at once").

### **Broad Band Defense Against Emotion**

Although our Negro men were less likely than their white counterparts and than women generally to report impulse derivatives in this fashion, they did, however, report with greater frequency such experiences as leveling of affect and greater difficulty in lifting depressed

sions. The great degree of self-professed emotional control among our Negro males might indicate the use of rather desperate, broad band defenses against the emotions, defenses which might fail under the multiple stresses inherent in adapting to the university environment, forcing the student to experience a great deal of anxiety, or to rely on even more primitive defenses.

Negro women, more often than white women, expressed an easy superficial sociability, a wariness about intense personal contacts, and efforts at strong emotional control; coupled with these characteristics were fear of sexual exploitation and several discrete hints at distrust of, and hostility toward, males. These self-reports are similar in certain respects to discussion of black female psychology in *Black Rage* (Grier and Cobbs, 1968). When added to information on dating relationships these factors suggest that sex and dating may be especially stressful for Negro women students who leave their familiar environment for a racially mixed university.

### Response Bias . . .

In evaluating and interpreting self-report data, such as our OPI data, we must keep in mind that the respondent may tell us how he feels and behaves, or he may tell us how he wishes or tries to feel or behave, or how he thinks we would want him to feel or behave. We were strongly reminded of this when we found that our Negro males had relatively high median scores on the Response Bias scale of the OPI, indicating relatively frequent endorsements of statements suggesting having personal characteristics desirable in college students (e.g., being intellectually oriented, free of disturbing impulses and anxieties, well-organized and task oriented). We also found that Negro males in our sample had, on the average, slightly higher scores than our other samples, on the Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (SDS) (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964), a scale designed to measure a need for social approval, a need with characterological implications.

The OPI data on Negro males are consistent with other data on our respondents' plans, experiences, and reactions to various situations, and with observations of these students reported by advisors and counselors. This suggests that despite the relatively high Response Bias scores, we should be wary of dismissing Negro male OPI data as the products of attempts to respond in terms of beliefs about the characteristics the tester regarded as desirable. We are again reminded that self-report questionnaire data are one kind of data, providing clues, suggestions, hypotheses, which may help in explaining and predicting aspects of these student encounters with the university; they are not completely accurate and exhaustive indicators.

Many of our Negro students seemed to believe strongly in the truth of religious or superstitious assertions. We asked about various aspects of religious beliefs and about astrology, and found that Negroes were much more likely than whites to acknowledge that there are ways to seek truth other than the scientific and empirical. It is possible that skillful instructors can use these beliefs in another order of reality as points of access into the fantasy life of the student. These beliefs may utilize concepts and images not used in dealing with concrete entities and everyday experiences, and which can be used to open the student to still other ways of experiencing and conceptualizing emotional and willful aspects of himself.

Among our Negro males, these religious or superstitious beliefs were allied with a strong moral sensitivity, and self-professed (again, perhaps desperate) inner-directedness. They were also connected with a tendency to make personal moral judgments about others, to be morally vigilant, rather than punitive and aggressive in shaping the thinking and behavior of other people. Some of the female-male differences among Negroes appear to resemble closely the female (concrete, situation-oriented)-male (abstract, moral) adolescent character distinctions drawn by Adelson and Douvan (1966).

### **Student Expectations about their Lives at the University**

We asked respondents to state, in their own words, their goals in attending college, and we classified these goals into four categories: (a) Academic, (b) Identity, (c) Social and (d) Vocational.

As a group Negro students tended to define their primary goals in terms of vocational preparation. Second most important to this group were goals relating to Identity ("finding myself", "getting to know myself better", "testing my own ability", and the like). Third in importance among blacks were Academic goals, and least important were Social goals (learning how to get along with other people, developing social skills, and so forth). Among white students, identity goals were more important than vocational. As with their black counterparts, these were followed by academic and social goals. Again, the data suggest the relatively strong career orientation of our Negro students.

There were few differences in the areas of study which Negro and white students indicated they intended to pursue. Our Negro students indicated at least as great a desire to earn advanced academic degrees as did whites (this was especially true among Negro women who, more often than white women, plan to have a career). These results are consistent with data in other studies of career and educa-

tional plans of Negro students vs. white students. Other studies have noted higher educational aspirations for Negro students and have suggested that, for Negroes, amount of formal education is a more important determinant of social status than occupation level and income. Given the more concrete, practical preferences, and the relative emphasis among Negro students on vocational preparation, one would guess that, over time, barring changes in goals and preferences, a number of Negro students who intended to study in fields aimed at preparation for academic careers will tend to move into more vocational, pre-professional, or applied fields. It may well be that these students expected the academic fields to be more practical in orientation than in fact they are. We intend to follow the movement of these students among disciplines over time.

Below, when we compare expectations and later experiences, it will be seen that both Negro and white students were fairly realistic in their estimates of the level of academic demands and academic competition at the university. Median expectations regarding grade point average were not far above attainments for both groups. The discrepancies were slightly greater for Negroes than for whites.

### Academic Prediction

Those students (most of our sample) who felt that they would probably not do as well academically as they wanted were asked what they thought would be the reason for this discrepancy. Both Negro and white students cited heavy academic demands and stiff competition from other students as the primary explanations. They also mentioned a variety of contributing factors including tension and anxiety about grades, poor high school preparation, bad study habits, lack of ability, etc., but few differences were discernible between Negroes and whites. Again, Negro students were more likely than whites to feel that their high school preparation would hinder their performance. Consistent with this, Negro students, on the average, felt they were less well prepared academically (or less able, our data don't permit us to separate these two things meaningfully) than did the average white students.

When asked, white students appeared slightly more confident they would finish school than did Negro students, but the difference was not great. Most students in both groups felt they would complete their bachelor's degree. In fact, other data suggest that most of these students, Negro and white, will.

We asked questions about a variety of other possible sources of satisfaction and frustration that were relevant to the university environment. Generally, responses to these questions indicated that Negro students foresaw a more study-oriented life, more restricted in breadth

of activity, than did white students. Despite these anticipated constraints, and apprehension about the possibilities for academic success, the Negro students seemed to expect about the same balance of satisfaction and dissatisfaction as did the white students, suggesting that their goals generally aligned with their expectations.

If we look in detail at the responses to questions about the kinds of activities the students intend to engage in, we find that, with respect to organized campus activities (such as artistic, aesthetic, and sports events and programs) there were no Negro-white differences. However, Negro students expect less participation than do whites in social life (dating, attending parties, dances, and so forth) and more reliance on solitary recreational activities (listening to records, watching live or televised sporting events, etc.).

We also asked students a variety of questions about the possibilities for satisfactory intellectual and social contact with faculty and with other students. Although the responses were varied, students generally expected to find a congenial student body and an approachable and interested faculty. Negro women students, however, did tend to expect more difficulty in dating than did white women, although there was no difference between these groups in expected difficulty in establishing friendships.

Given all these questions about academic and non-academic expectations of the university, we then asked, "If you don't complete your college education, what would be the single most important factor?" Both Negro and white students most frequently mentioned such academic factors as poor grades and sufficient academic ability and tense competition. Following this came marriage, lack of money, and lack of motivation. The draft at this time (fall of 1966) seemed not to be viewed as an important potential problem by the male students. There were no striking Negro-white differences in response to this question, although Negroes did tend to speak more often of grades, academic ability, and academic competition than did whites; and whites were more likely to speak of lacking or losing motivation. Part of this difference could be due to differences in the career orientations of Negro and white students.

Several questions could be analyzed in terms of the extent to which respondents felt themselves responsible for their own successes or failures. First, we re-classified responses given to questions about reasons for falling short of sought grades into two classes: intro-punitive and extrapunitive. We found few differences in tendencies to choose either intro- or extrapunitive reasons. Additional questions asked respondents to what extent they felt that luck accounted for the good and bad things that happened to them. In response to these questions, Negro students were less likely to say that luck plays a part than the white students. This is consistent with some general findings

Caplan and Paige (1968) collected in interviews with adult Negroes in a large northern city. These latter data, when stretched, suggest that better educated, more achievement-oriented Negroes feel that positive and negative events in their own lives are due more to their perseverance, skills, and knowledge than to luck, chance, or the intervention of other people. These data suggest that astrology may be believed in as a source of information about future events rather than as a way to enlist occult powers to intervene in personal events.

As a perhaps isolated but interesting piece of data, we asked our students about their ideal teacher: "Please rank the following characteristics in order of their importance to you in the ideal teacher: (a) be warm and friendly, (b) make students less anxious, (c) induce in the students pride and accomplishment, (d) encourage students to think of still unanswered questions". Negroes were more likely than whites to favor (c); whites were more likely than Negroes to select (d). Seeing these responses, we wish that we had asked more questions about Negro pride. However, responses to other questions, especially those which permitted open-ended answers, suggest that "Negro pride" or "Negro unity" or a constant vigilant press for Negro equality and rights, did not focus the experiences and concerns of our sample of Negro college students as some would say they appear to do today.

Looking at global expectations of the university, both Negro and white students expected the university to exemplify and press toward intense scholarly activity, to stress awareness of the contemporary world and its problems, and to be a community in a real sense. They did not strongly expect the university to emphasize practical and applied aspects of knowledge nor did they expect the university to attempt to limit the various behaviors of individual students. As one might expect, Negroes were more likely than whites to expect the university to have a practical orientation, to be "aware" (in the above sense), and to exhibit a sense of community.

## Experiences During the Freshman Year

At the end of the freshman year, we asked randomly selected respondents from our original samples a variety of questions about their experiences at the university. If we look first at academic experiences, we find that students generally did more poorly than they thought they would. In our samples, the median Negro student grade was C; the median white student grade, B to B-. The discrepancy was slightly greater for Negro students. When asked why they fell short of their expectations, students gave the same answers as in the fall; however, there was much more emphasis on both lack of interest and self-discipline. Curiously, lack of interest is especially pronounced in the responses of white male students. We have not yet had a chance

to determine whether these students are distinct in terms of expectations, academic orientation, fields of study, definiteness of career plans, or some other possibly relevant factors.

Students' ratings of their own ability relative to their classmates prior to their freshman year remained unchanged with one exception. On the average, Negro students (both male and female) felt at the end of their freshman year that a smaller percentage of their classmates had the ability to enter the occupations they, themselves, had chosen than they felt in the fall. Since responses to a similar question on relative ability without the constraint of their own occupational choice indicated little change over the year, we wonder whether the change noted above was accompanied by changes in perceptions of the difficulty of their anticipated occupations or changes in the respondents' own occupational choices. If the data fall out neatly, we might be able to test these two possibilities.

When we look again at students' descriptions of their own goals after a year of college, we find that the ordering of primary goals changed from the pre-college orderings in one important respect. For both Negro and white students, Academic goals were now more apt to be the primary goals than were Identity, Vocational, and Social goals. Respondents' perceptions of global characteristics of the university varied more than had their expectations of these characteristics at the beginning of the year. This finding is common to numerous other studies, at other institutions. Further, and consistent with other studies, our students (both Negro and white) came to experience the university as less scholarly, less aware, and less cohesive than they had anticipated it would be. The greatest shift in expectation appears to be in the area of awareness. Although most students did not expect the university to have a particularly practical orientation, they found it even less so. Only in the area of *Propriety* does the university appear to them to make greater demands than they had anticipated. This also is not an unusual finding, and may reflect simply the fact that there are school and dormitory regulations, lenient though they may be. On all these scales, the changes from expectation to experience were very similar for both Negroes and whites.

Looking in more detail at experiences, we find that Negro students were generally less satisfied by their year at the university than were white students. Some of this dissatisfaction might be due to experiences of academic failure, or to feelings that they could not meet the competition for grades. This seems to be especially likely for the Negro male students, who tended to find academic competition much stiffer than they had expected. Academic challenge is not the whole story, however.

We find that Negro students were more likely than were whites to regard both faculty and dormitory personnel as relatively imper-

sonal, cold, unfriendly, not likeable. This was not an indiscriminate negative reaction to these people. For example, at the same time that Negro male students attributed these qualities to dormitory advisors, they were likely to find these individuals interesting, sophisticated, clever, and humorous. This suggests that these students may well have wanted to use their white male advisors as role models, but that they found the kind of personal contact desired (in some sense) not possible.

When we asked students what they did with their time, we found the kind of relative constraint among Negro students that they had anticipated. They reported less engagement than whites in broadly cultural, intellectual, and artistic enterprises, either as spectators or creators or performers; and mentioned generally taking part in fewer non-academic activities. For most students, the least satisfying aspects of university life (of the aspects we examined) were the social and intellectual content of dormitory life. In this respect, Negro students were even less satisfied than were whites. We did not ask the students what was lacking or what they expected. The dissatisfaction with dorm life might be just another expression of the coldness and indifference they perceived on the part of other persons at the university.

As we anticipated, Negro women students, on the average, experienced more difficulties in dating than did either male or female whites, or Negro males. Negro males, in fact, experienced, by their own report, greater ease in dating than did white males. We have no data on interracial dating patterns.

What we have yet to do is to determine which of the various possible sources of satisfaction are most important in producing net feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction in our students, and to determine whether, for males and females, and for Negroes and whites, factors generally are given the same weights in determining this balance.

### Concluding Remarks . . .

We feel somewhat ambivalent about reporting these data. We wish to stress the particular nature of our samples, and to point out that we are not referring to all Negro and white students, either actual or potential. Further, we are concerned that, because of their therapeutic use, certain of the concepts which we use to describe personality characteristics have evaluative as well as descriptive connotations. We also realize that studies which draw Negro-white distinctions may, in that very act, do damage.

Several factors did convince us to publish this research despite our concerns: (a) reports from counselors and advisors who deal with Negro and white students on a steady basis do not contradict our findings; (b) we feel that the information we have gathered can be useful

in forecasting the impact of the university on its students and vice versa, and in helping to reduce the Negro drop-out rate; (c) we hope that (if only as a negative instance) our work will spur new research into this area.

To review the findings briefly, the data suggest that Negro and white students differ most strikingly on family characteristics, such as income, occupation and education of parents, and in the nature and frequency of academically relevant pre-college experiences.

Comparisons of self-report data from the OPI which bear on personality characteristics reveal less striking, but significant, differences between the modal characteristics of the groups. Negro students were on the average more concerned with getting the world (the personal, social, and physical world) under control, dealing with its surface manifestations, and reducing it to simple, concrete, factual terms. Negro males were more similar to their white counterparts than were females with respect to the variables tapped by the OPI. It was pointed out, however, that part of the similarity might have resulted from the use of emotional control mechanisms which could be stressed to the point of failure in the academic and social environment of the university.

To the extent that it is advantageous for liberal arts students to be intellectually-oriented, to have facility with abstractions, and the like, our modal Negro students appeared to require more of a re-orientation than did the modal whites. In addition to making these academic adjustments, students are asked to fit into a complex social environment shaped in large part by various groups of upper-middle-class white students, and by faculty members and administrators. Descriptions which our Negro and white students gave of their lives prior to college, of their experiences, and of the economic conditions under which they were raised, suggest that a vast amount of extra-academic readjustment, of coping with unfamiliar and stressful situations, is demanded of the Negro student (and, we must not forget, the non-modal white student).

Modal Negro-white differences in experiences, levels of skills and abilities, characteristic modes of expression and communication, ways of viewing the world, and the perhaps resultant differences in reacting to and seeking out experiences and objects in the environment are all suggested by our data. These differences suggest that the establishment and maintenance of Negro-white friendships will face problems over and above those arising from racial pre-judgments. Since the dominant student culture shapes the activities, the entertainment offered by the university and its community, and stores' inventories of clothes, books, and even foods, the Negro student may tend to find that even these aspects of the larger academic community are tailored for someone else.

There are many potential student reactions to the academic and non-academic demands of the university environment. The student might meet or overcome them (by developing skills and competencies); he might circumvent them (by forming black ghettos or developing black curricula within the university); they might cause his defeat (by furthering psychopathology or forcing him to leave the university). Most of the group of Negro students from which we drew our sample have met these demands. Presently 71 percent are juniors and are pursuing their degrees.

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## Biographical Sketches

MURIEL BEATTIE is a graduate student in social psychology at the University of Michigan. Her thesis is concerned with the relationship of interpersonal and other types of trust to the internal-external control measures discussed in this issue.

DONALD BROWN is Professor of Psychology, Research Associate of the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching, and a Fellow of the Residential College of the University of Michigan. He took his A.B. at Harvard and graduate degrees at Berkeley. He was also a Fellow of The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford. His most recent book is *The Role and Status of Women in the Soviet Union*.

EDGAR G. EPPS is Professor of Sociology, Associate Director of the Division of Behavioral Science Research of the Carver Research Foundation, and Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. He earned his baccalaureate degree at Talladega College, the M.A. degree at Atlanta University, and his doctorate at Washington State University. He is currently working on a study of family background and motivation of urban Negro high school students.

GERALD GURIN is a Program Director at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. He received his Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan. Among his publications is *Americans View Their Mental Health*, of which he is co-author. Recently he has been engaged in studying psychological and motivational factors in trainees in manpower training programs.

PATRICIA GURIN is Assistant Professor of Psychology and Research Associate at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. She

received her Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan. She is co-editor of *Race Relations and the Social Sciences* and co-author of a monograph, *Motivation and Aspiration in the Negro College*.

ROBERT H. HARDT is Professor in the School of Criminal Justice, State University of New York at Albany. He was formerly Associate Professor of Sociology and Acting Director of the Youth Development Center, Syracuse University. His research interests are in the fields of juvenile delinquency and adolescent behavior.

JAMES HEDEGARD is a Research Associate of The Center for Research on Learning and Teaching and a Lecturer in Psychology at The University of Michigan. He took his doctorate at Michigan and has been actively studying the Detroit riots. He is also working on problems of defining appropriate goals for students at the college level.

DAVID E. HUNT is Professor at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Previously he was Professor of Psychology and Senior Research Associate, Youth Development Center, at Syracuse University. He is author (with O. J. Harvey and H. M. Schroder) of *Conceptual Systems and Personality Organization*. He is currently interested in exploring the implications of conceptual level theory of development of innovative programs in education.

IRWIN KATZ is Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan. He received his Ph. D. at Stanford University in 1949. He is the author of over 40 research and theoretical articles, and an editor of two books: *Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development* (with Martin Deutsch and Arthur Jensen), and *Race Relations and Social Science Research* (with Patricia Gurin).

ROSINA C. LAO is a Study Director at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. She received her bachelor's degree from the National Taiwan University and her Ph.D. in social psychology from the University of Michigan. Her thesis was a study of *The Relationship of Expectancy Patterns to Competent and Innovative Behavior of Male Negro College Students*.

JAMES McPARTLAND is an Assistant Professor of Social Relations and is a member of the Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools at The Johns Hopkins University. He received his doctorate in Social Relations at Johns Hopkins. He is co-author of *Equality of Educational Opportunity* and contributed to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*. He is currently conducting research on student participation in the decision-making processes of secondary schools.

DORIS METZGER MILLER was trained at Bryn Mawr College where she received an M.A. degree. A special interest in disadvantaged college students led to an appointment at the Center for Research on Learning and Teaching to study the University of Michigan's Opportunity Award program. Other research interests include the developmental aspects of motivation and achievement related motives of women.

PATRICIA O'CONNOR is Lecturer in Psychology at the University of Michigan where she received her Ph.D. She has co-authored papers on achievement motivation and worked on research and development in programmed instruction. Her major current research interest is the validation of a projective measure of need Cognizance.

STANTON PEELE is an advanced graduate student in the University of Michigan's Doctoral Program in Social Psychology. He is currently working on the issues of economic development in the Third World from an organizational psychology standpoint, specializing in the problems of Kenya.

JOSEPH VEROFF is Professor of Psychology at the University of Michigan. He has done research in the assessment of achievement, affiliation, and power motivations in college groups, in children, and in national cross-sectional samples. He has authored articles on motivational aspects of various social problems, and on the development of social motivation.



EPPS, EDGAR G. Negro academic motivation and performance. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 5-11.

The problem of academic motivation among Negro Americans is of increasing concern to behavioral scientists. The papers in this number are concerned with motivational issues that are thought to be relevant for Negro academic achievement. The issues dealt with include the conceptualization of the problem, the specification of areas in which future research may be fruitfully directed, the modifiability of motivational tendencies, the effect of desegregation on motivation and performance, and a concern for identifying nonintellective predictors of academic success.

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EPPS, EDGAR G. Correlates of academic achievement among northern and southern urban Negro students. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 55-70.

This study reports the results of a survey of northern and southern urban Negro students. Family social status, personality and attitude scales, student grades, vocabulary score, and amount of expected future education were examined in a correlation analysis. Results indicate that there is considerable intercorrelation among the personality and attitude variables. Partial correlation indicated that only a few variables are independently related to academic achievement. Important sex and regional differences in the relative influence of variables were also found. Socioeconomic status was found to be negligibly related to grades among southern males, northern males, and northern females, but to be significantly correlated with grades among southern females. Socioeconomic status is most strongly related to amount of expected future education and vocabulary score. Two variables, self-concept of ability and conformity, are less subject to sex and regional variation than others included in this study. The former is a strong correlate of grades and amount of expected education, while the latter is most effective for predicting vocabulary score.

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GURIN, PATRICIA, GURIN, GERALD, LAO, ROSINA C., and BEATTIE, MURIEL. Internal-external control in the motivational dynamics of Negro youth. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 29-53.

This paper delineates two differentiations in the concept of internal-external control of reinforcement that are particularly relevant for understanding the motivational dynamics of people disadvantaged by minority or economic status. One is the distinction between the belief that internal or external control operates *generally* in our society and the feelings about one's control or lack of control in one's personal life situation. The other is the distinction between a belief in external control when the external factors are structured as "fate" and "chance", and when they are seen as systematic societal barriers and constraints. Data are presented from two studies of Negro youth suggesting that both distinctions are necessary in the prediction of performance and aspiration. Whereas individual aspiration and performance were positively related to the belief in one's personal control, they were, if anything, negatively related to the generalized belief in internal control. On a measure which contrasted internal with external "social system" alternatives in accounting for failure among Negroes, it was the externally rather than internally oriented youth who showed the more "effective" *individual* aspirations for nontraditional occupations and greater participation in *collective* attempts to deal with the system barriers to Negro achievement.

The problem of adequate representation of the various ethnic groups in the medical profession is a subject of increasing importance. The purpose of this study is to determine the extent to which the various ethnic groups are represented in the medical profession in the United States. The study was conducted in the following manner: A list of all the medical schools in the United States was obtained. The names of the students in each of these schools were obtained. The names of the students were then classified according to their ethnic group. The results of the study are as follows:

### THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION PUBLISHED WEEKLY CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1936 Vol. 52, No. 18

This study reports the results of a survey of the medical profession in the United States. The study was conducted in the following manner: A list of all the medical schools in the United States was obtained. The names of the students in each of these schools were obtained. The names of the students were then classified according to their ethnic group. The results of the study are as follows:

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HEDEGARD, JAMES M., and BROWN, DONALD R. Encounters of some Negro and white freshmen with a public multiversity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 131-144.

How do Negro and white freshmen at a large public university appear at entrance and after one year? Data are presented on several personality scales, demographic variables, environmental perception measures, and aspiration levels as well as analyses of a large item pool of students at entrance and at the end of one year.

Negro male students differ least from white students while Negro females present a more divergent picture and greater challenge to the liberal arts curriculum. The implications of these data for college curriculum, counseling, and recruiting are explored.

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HUNT, DAVID E., and HARDT, ROBERT H. The effect of Upward Bound programs on the attitudes, motivation, and academic achievement of Negro students. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 117-129.

Data collected from a national sample of Upward Bound (UB) students were examined to determine whether the programs produced differential effects among Negro and white participants. A longitudinal analysis of students who participated in UB programs for two consecutive summers revealed that significant positive changes occurred in several measures of attitude and motivation, e.g., feelings of self-esteem and internal control. The patterns of change were quite similar for Negro and white students. When changes in high school grades of UB students were compared with those of a control group of non-UB high school students, no significant impact of UB programs could be detected. However, while both white UB students and their controls maintained stable grades, both Negro UB students and their controls showed a decline in grades over this eighteen month period. The findings suggest that while programs such as Upward Bound can produce significant changes among Negro and white students in attitude believed relevant to college success, the alteration of patterns of academic performance will require innovative programs which represent a continued cumulative effort.

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KATZ, IRWIN. A critique of personality approaches to Negro performance, with research suggestions. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 13-27.

What are the main causes of low academic motivation in Negro children? Of various hypotheses that have been proposed, perhaps the most influential are those that emphasize the unfavorable effects of personality traits acquired in early childhood. These "personality deficit" hypotheses have not hitherto been critically evaluated. They are here examined against the available evidence. Alternative hypotheses are also discussed, and directions for future research are proposed. The latter involve analysis of motivational processes, using such concepts as self-evaluation, self-reinforcement, expectancy, and incentive value.

REYNOLDS, JAMES M. and STONE, ROBERT A. (1954) *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 47: 1-10

How do Negro and white children react to the Negro and white children? This was the question which was asked in a study of the social behavior of Negro and white children in a large school of Negro and white children in the city of New York. The study was conducted by James M. Reynolds and Robert A. Stone. The results of the study are reported in the paper. The study was conducted in a large school of Negro and white children in the city of New York. The study was conducted by James M. Reynolds and Robert A. Stone. The results of the study are reported in the paper.

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McPARTLAND, JAMES. The relative influence of school and of classroom desegregation on the academic achievement of ninth grade Negro students. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 93-102.

Using information on ninth grade Negro students in the Metropolitan Northeast from the U.S. Office of Education's *Educational Opportunities Survey*, this study explores the relative influence of classroom desegregation and school desegregation on academic performance. Controlling for family background differences, Negro student achievement within predominantly Negro schools and within predominantly white schools is positively associated with the proportion of their classmates who are white. This relationship remains when differences in the student's program of instruction and track level are taken into account. Negro students who remained in segregated classes exhibited no apparent benefit from attendance at desegregated schools. It is only for Negro students in mostly white classes that increases in the percent white enrollment in their school accompany increases in their average verbal achievement.

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MILLER, DORIS METZGER, and O'CONNOR, PATRICIA. Achiever personality and academic success among disadvantaged college students. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 103-116.

This study reports predictors of academic success for Opportunity Award recipients at the University of Michigan, eighty-five percent of whom are Negro. Results indicate that score on the Achiever Personality scale of Fricke's Opinion, Attitude and Interest Survey is strongly associated with the attainment of passing grades as freshmen and with academic survival as upperclassmen.

The failure of either SAT score or high school percentile rank to predict success for men, and of high school performance to predict success for women gives further import to the Achiever Personality findings. It is suggested that the Achiever Personality scale be used to identify students who, failing to qualify by usual admissions criteria, nevertheless have a high probability of success at selective colleges.

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VEROFF, JOSEPH, and PEELE, STANTON. Initial effects of desegregation on the achievement motivation of Negro elementary school children. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 3, 71-91.

As part of a program evaluating the effect of a compulsory transfer of pupils from one entire school whose racial balance was predominantly Negro to receiver schools whose racial balance was predominantly white, both Negro and white children's autonomous and social comparison achievement motivations were assessed just prior to the desegregation move in 1965. The measures were repeated one year later (1966) after the first year of integration. Besides the children from the transferred school, the subjects of the study included children in a school with a 50-50 racial balance and the children in the schools that received the transferred pupils. Analyses of variance of the 1965 scores, the 1966 scores, and the changes from 1965-1966, indicated that the transfer seemed to have a positive effect on the autonomous achievement motivation of Negro boys and tended to counteract a tendency to overaspire in desired levels of social comparison in older boys. Other results suggested that school settings where a child primarily has contact with children of a social status lower than his, where he may be in a salient minority status, may promote defensive overaspiration in some groups. There were age, sex, and race differences that had implications for desegregation programs.



## The Activists' Corner

Nevitt Sanford

*The Wright Institute, Berkeley*

David Krech

*University of California, Berkeley*

### Dear Nevitt:

With each approaching deadline for our *Activists' Corner*, I come up with a new set of second thoughts about the whole project. Usually, these second thoughts have been of secondary importance and are quickly forgotten (or repressed), but this time—as I continue to ponder about the July, 1969 issue—the second thoughts linger on and have already acquired primary saliency. This current set of persistent second thoughts revolve around Hertzler's phrase "gruesome immortality". Hertzler used that phrase (if I remember correctly) to describe the continued existence of an institution long after the reasons for its being have disappeared. What bothers me, Nevitt, is that perhaps we are keeping *The Activists' Corner* alive beyond its time.

You will remember that way back—long before Cornell and Harvard, and the ascent of Nixon and descent of de Gaulle—when we were preparing the material for our first appearance in the JSI (April, 1968), we promised our brethren that we would use our column to help activate SPSSI—in a literal sense. From our column, we told them, they would hear clarion calls to psychologists to get in there and *do, act, apply*; and further, we also promised that we would discuss with them how they best could prepare themselves and their students

to do, act, and apply. The JSI Editorial Board, in announcing our column, also defined that as our function, but they did so in much more orthodox social science language, “. . . the Board has inaugurated a new department of the *Journal*, devoted, so to speak [Nevitt, do you know *anyone* who speaks this way? Listen . . .] to the reduction of anomie and the increase of reference-group salience among those who care about the intersection of the social sciences with social problems”.

Well, Sir, I believe that we have tried our damndest to reduce anomie and increase reference-group salience among the good guys, and we have written at length on our notions of how we might increase the intersection of the social sciences with social problems. Tucked away in an unobtrusive and quiet corner of the *Journal*, undisturbed even by having our column appear in the table of contents of each issue, [Editor's note: Mistakes we sometimes make—but this time we aren't guilty. The Table of Contents has proudly displayed *The Activists' Corner* in each issue], we have given our best thought to such questions as the proper working relations between science and society, research and action, university and social policy, graduate training and social training in the field, and much, much more (after all, Nevitt, we have appeared now in three issues of Volume XXIV, and two of Volume XXV to date). We have tried; but I have had an unhaunted feeling, Nevitt, that no one has been looking over our shoulders as we wrote our columns. Oh, that is not altogether true, of course. At one time, we did have a flurry of letters (was it six—or seven?) and, mindful of the Editorial Board's charge, we hastened to publish most of those letters, hoping thereby to reduce the anomie and increase the reference group salience of these, our six or seven readers, who obviously did care about the intersection of the social sciences with social problems. But, of course, this is just being smart-alecky. I suspect that there are hundreds (well, alright, *dozens* then) of SPSSI members who care and are doing a great deal about social problems. But they simply don't write to us about it, and neither do they need our urgings and “Well Dones”! If this is so, for whom then, *are* we writing?

Perhaps we're just not with it, Nevitt. In our *Activists' Corner*, we've been urging psychologists to become social advisors and to make social psychological wisdom available to men of action, and we've been trying to get up some steam among the Men of the Academic Establishment to change our Ph.D. educational programs so that we could turn out such advisors and men of wisdom. But it just may be that all that we have been saying is as irrelevant to the social science activist as are the reminiscences of the 1930 campus radical to the modern campus activist. It just may be that there simply exists no

market for our wisdom. The young activist, having found social psychology so wanting (have you read any new textbooks lately?) may have long ago come to the conclusion that social psychological ideology can only be the opiate of the revolutionary, and he will have none of it. He will, therefore, have none of *The Activists' Corner* (*Activists' Corner*, indeed!) with its essays on how to improve our Ph.D. training programs, our research institutions, our textbooks, etc. Do you suppose that there is anything to these dark mutterings of mine? I hope not—and hoping not, I think not. Nevertheless, Nevitt, thee must admit that the response to our column is something less than reassuring. Should we think seriously of calling it quits? Of course I hanker after immortality (resurrection, quarterly, in the JSI), but *gruesome immortality*!?

David Krech

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### Dear Krech:

I see what you mean. Our piece about training in social psychology seems to have silenced everybody—friend and foe alike. It will be interesting to see what sort of response we get to Bill Somerville's article about educational opportunity programs. Surely that is a subject about which many people must be thinking. But before giving up our venture we might try one more gambit.

Here is a piece about the Activist himself. Maybe this is "where it's at" today. Maybe the younger social scientists mean by "action" a throwing of themselves into political struggles, living lives of *engagement*, and savoring the *experience* thus gained. They are readers of Malraux and Camus as well as of Weber and Parsons. This is a pretty far cry from the "liberal" approach we have been taking. Perhaps we have been assuming more rationality and good will in society than is justified, and that our younger readers suspect—incorrectly I hope—that we will ultimately go the way of Daniel Bell and Zbigniew Brzezinski, assuming comfortably that all ideological and moral issues have either been solved or become irrelevant and that what is good for social science is good for the nation.

Nevitt Sanford

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## The Activists' Corner

*Gentlemen:*

You may be interested in a personal account of one individual's response to the recent political and academic crisis at U.C., Berkeley. The writer is a graduate student in sociology; he was a teaching assistant when the events to be described took place. This report deals primarily with one individual's personal change that was in part stimulated by his engagement in an institutional conflict.

What I want to communicate here is not an analysis of the events themselves but rather the ways in which my image of myself and my image of the society around me changed as a result of these events. It is the new, subjective meanings generated when any community or institution undergoes a threat to its stability that interest me here. These new meanings and the experiences from which they derive, occur whenever the fabric of social relationships is radically altered, when people's images of themselves and each other change, habitual behavior patterns fall apart and new definitions of the situation occur. What was important to me about this strike was that I had to alter my relationships with people: some of my professors continued to teach and counsel students while I did not; while I was out picketing four hours a day, they would cross my line numerous times, looking neither to the right nor to the left and saying nothing. My own graduate student friends were split on the issue. Instead of studying, all my time was taken up with picketing, union meetings and resting in between. And, as we shall see, I came to see the university and my role in it in a dramatically new light.

I had chosen to take a stand in a public way in support of an issue that had only minority backing in the community at large. I had to announce to my students the fact of, and reason for, my position; by visibly walking the lines every day, strangers and friends alike could see that I was making a symbolic gesture of support for a group, and a set of ideas for change, which I thought would benefit the institution of which we were all a part. They, for a variety of political and personal reasons, chose not to support me in staying away from class. So the other side, in this case, constituted the vast majority of persons at the university: perhaps 100 of a total of 700 graduate student employees and approximately 1,000 students (including part time supporters) out of a total of 27,000 actually engaged in strike activities.

My participation in the strike represented the first time in my life that I was in a formal stand of opposition against the institution to which I heretofore had given my willing, albeit grudging, allegiance. While I had been sympathetic to the Free Speech Movement and some of the more recent student demonstrations, I had never before risked my job and possible arrest as a condition of that past support.

*New Experiences*

From my fairly narrow existence as a graduate student, with its rather self-centered, monkish style of scholarly asceticism, I was suddenly caught up in a world of new meanings, experiences and emotions. The emotional and experiential paucity of my life of the last six years was laid before my eyes. I suddenly saw what it was like to be personally involved in a collective action far larger than myself. Whereas before I thought mainly about my work, my future, my wife and family, now the reality of the present, the adventures of each day and their attendant meanings filled my subjective life. Each day brought forth events which changed the rationales for action and the collective support for those rationales. My own thoughts were filled with reflections about what action the Faculty Senate might take, whether the administration would be able to fire us, how many TA's were actually striking and what the violence between students and police portended for my future, personal stand.

But it was the self-defining features of this intense, present orientedness that I wish to speak of here. My sense of security with others increased in part because of an intense, and frequent contact with other people in my position. The sheer number of such contacts exceeded manyfold my normal rate of interaction. A sense of fellowship with other people, who believed as I did and were willing to take the same risks, broke down my previous barriers to contact and friendship. I found that my political attitudes changed perceptively towards the Left. For the first time, I came to see the legitimate authorities in the society as linked together in a network of power which they shared with each other but not with disadvantaged groups in the society, especially when these groups acted as if they wanted some of that power. I experienced a lack of trust of these authorities which I previously had never seriously questioned. Escaping arrest by police while walking a peaceful picket line was a significant catalyst here. Finally, I began questioning my own future career as a conventional academician, my fitness for it; indeed, I saw that I would have to re-examine the ideological underpinnings of my work as a sociologist.

*The Assessment System*

I came to appreciate the enormous importance that assessment by professors has for the educational system. Formal tests, term papers, preliminary exams, dissertations are all formal performance trials in which the student's competence is imputed and recorded. Assessment also occurs through the mere informal letters of recommendation written for a student by various professors. The sum total of these assessments is then packaged and sent on to the next set of

assessors who in turn make their judgements using criteria not unlike those employed in the educational system. Students, I came to believe, beat the system by beating the assessment game: they gained the freedom to do what they wanted by persuading the assessors to the erroneous belief that their standards of competence and progress were being met. While much of the freedom won had educational benefit it was in spite of the formal program of study, not because of it.

A further consequence of assessment as it occurs in institutional life is its influence on the self-esteem of the assessee. He normally internalizes the performance criteria employed by the assessors so that their system of evaluation becomes his own. And, too, he relies greatly on the way the assessor applies these criteria, for this dictates in turn the kind of rewards he can gain in his institutional life. In terms of his life chances, the way he evaluates himself is not nearly as important as the way official assessors make this evaluation. But since his standing in the eyes of his fellows is dependent upon how well he has been assessed, he may borrow their image of him as an index of his worth as a person. This is to say, then, that how one is evaluated along numerous socially defined criteria may become the exclusive basis for measuring one's total self worth.

### *Can One Refuse to Play?*

But in thinking about assessment in this way, is it possible to go on and conceive of its opposite? Or, to put it more practically, is it possible to refuse to play the role of an assessee? Here, I want to return to our discussion of the strike. A couple of days after the TA strike had begun, a friend told me that he was going back to work because he feared that his sponsor did not agree with his stand; he worried that he might therefore punish him by not writing properly enthusiastic letters of recommendation for jobs. To be sure, he gave more principled reasons as well, but a negative assessment at a crucial time in his career obviously concerned my friend. This little episode shows clearly that status assessments can be social control mechanisms whereby superordinates grant or deny, through the medium of their judgment, societal rewards to their subordinates. On a more personal level, the process of judging how well one is being evaluated leads to a good deal of "self-consciousness" or, perhaps more appropriately, "other" consciousness.

How this sensitivity is triggered varies according to the status of the interaction partner. For me, for example, it was triggered by such persons as "big shot" professors with whom I had to have extensive dealings; a friend told me it usually took him about a year of work association with these persons before he felt truly comfortable with them. In my case, I would become virtually inarticulate in their presence; I would still be able to rattle on, but I would feel shaken, not

sure of my ground. I was eventually to prefer the company of younger, assistant professors with whom I felt I could easily have conflictful discussions. Very smart graduate student peers would intimidate me as well, as would anyone whose ability in academic matters greatly excelled my own. These people would in a sense control my responses to them by making me less willing to present myself naturally and openly. But in so doing, I was stunting my own growth, both intellectually and in terms of the development of my sense of integrity.

It was to become my conviction after the strike that one could in fact refuse to play the role of the assessee. It struck me that the reason I was so affected by my official assessors was that I had assumed that I wanted their esteem, that I wanted to try to become a scholar at a major university, to achieve recognition in the professional community; in short, since I valued the rewards they could help me get, I tried to appear in their eyes as someone who in fact, or potentially, deserved these rewards.

### *I Live for Myself With Others*

This fundamental inauthenticity has led me to see my work as a sociologist in a new light. I want primarily to do research that will lead to a greater understanding of myself and the society around me. I want to strive for a unity in my intellectual and personal life that avoids the conventional bifurcation between work and non-work. At present, I want to learn more about formal relationships between assessors and assessees wherever there is a hierarchy of positions that require judgments to be made about the qualifications of potential occupants. The problematic features of this phenomenon have led to a new interest in rereading some of the great thinkers in sociology, especially Weber, Durkheim, Sorokin, Simmel, and Mead. Instead of reading them because they are people you are expected and required to know about as a graduate student, I will read them for any ideas. This will help me in my own understanding of some of the problems associated with my interest. My alertness in reading these scholars will be more acute because of my discovery of a developing perspective in sociology to which I am becoming increasingly committed.

In personal relationships I shall try not to be affected by my imagining of the reactive judgment of others. It is possible that my participation in an intense, collective action gave me my first real experience in representing something other than myself in interaction. I became in the strike the vehicle for dispersing information and persuading others to a different opinion. I was no longer conversing about matters that had a high intensity value from the point of view of their reflection on me. And, in so doing, I came to learn and appreciate the satisfaction of unaffected interaction.

The relationship of the strike to these personal changes is not

clear, nor need it be. I wish mainly to make the point here that important adult changes in self-image, ideology and other-relatedness can be induced by a social crisis if one has a fairly high level of self-consciousness; if, that is, one has a framework for understanding the self.

A Sociology Student

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### **The Activists' Corner Belongs to the Activists**

I wanted to print the above document because I thought it would help to make clear that *The Activists' Corner* belongs to the activists, and that activism includes the sort of laying it on the line that has been described here. Perhaps now other activists will discuss with our correspondent some of their own experiences and ideas, perhaps building some solidarity and sharpening his and their own thinking about what "engagement" means and how it may be made more effective.

Our document shows that political activism on the contemporary model can be a soul-trying as well as an exhilarating experience. If graduate students are to take it upon themselves to change the university, or their own departments, they might as well know the costs, as well as the possible benefits. And professors might as well know how it is with some of their students, and about the possibilities of student activism in their own departments.

### **Change Will Come from Student Action**

This last will, I expect, soon become commonplace. I visited a Mid-Western psychology department recently and found myself in the middle of a "confrontation" between graduate students and faculty. I presented some of the ideas contained in our *Activists' Corner* piece about training in social psychology and the response of the more outspoken students was, "This is all very well but how are these suggestions to be implemented?" We did not say so in our article nor did I make a point of it in talking with that psychology department but it seems obvious that the changes advocated are not likely to come about unless students supply the motive force. I believe they are about to begin doing just that.

When they do, several issues raised by our correspondent will become highly relevant. One thing he makes clear is that activist students want to shape their personalities and their society, or their institution, at the same time. This has to some extent been recognized by their opponents who say, "They are just trying to solve their own

problems," and hope thus to discount radical activity. This misses the point. What our document says is that personality and the training institution in which a young man works are very much all of a piece—constitute a system—and that in truth he cannot "solve his problems" without change in that institution.

### **Engagement is not Necessarily Anti-Intellectual**

We should note, too, that the "engagement" which young men value for its experiential or personality-developing qualities is not necessarily anti-intellectual. Particularly striking in our document is the effort at intellectual mastery of the whole series of events including happenings in the outside world and changes in self-conception; in other words the effort is at an integration of thought and passion, of social analysis and social action. This kind of thing stood out in Keniston's "Young radicals". They were eager to be studied psychologically and saw no conflict between this sort of preoccupation with themselves and dedication to social action. I would say this expresses movement toward a pretty high level of development, and may be a model for the future.

Our correspondent, of course, is mainly concerned to show something of the impact of social crisis upon personality, to show particularly that crisis can be developmental. The same point has been made by a colleague who teaches at San Francisco State College. He had students in a psychology class keep diaries during the period of crisis there last fall and winter and was amazed at the degree to which all of them changed, in personality as well as in understanding and outlook. Many of these changes were of the sort which devoted teachers most desire to bring about through their classroom teaching—but, of course, rarely do. The Governor of California, and perhaps some professors, will probably be sorry to hear it but those students who really want to "get an education" are fortunate if they become involved in some "disruption". I suppose, however, that there must be some optimum amount of disruption, or some limit to how much those immediately involved can stand.

### **Present Versus Future Orientation**

Finally, and most important from my point of view is what this document suggests about present vs. future orientation. It seems to me that our correspondent belongs with those young activists who have made a great contribution to moral thought through their critique of what nations and institutions are willing to do for the sake of some imagined future. Every educated person is now familiar with the evils that have been done for the sake of "building socialism", and nearly

all are aware of the evils we have committed in Vietnam "for the sake of our grandchildren". Young people who seriously doubt that they will have a future have been able to make us sharply aware of the inseparability of means and ends and, hence, of the insupportability of actions which in our society today have become commonplace. What is not so well recognized is the extreme future-orientation of science and the training of scientists. It is appalling to think now of all the evil that has been done in the name of "building our science"; and I am thinking here not only of the harmful effects of deception in psychological experiments but of the neglect of undergraduate education by departments bent on strengthening themselves at whatever cost. And when it comes to the training of scientists, we seem willing to heap all manner of indignities upon students, to bring them almost to the point of total dehumanization, in order that they might be able to do the scientific work that will eventually make it possible to build a society in which nobody needs to be dehumanized. Students are asking why, if that is our aim, we do not begin by making of our departments models of human communities. Why indeed?

Nevitt Sanford

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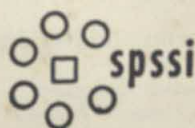
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# The Journal of SOCIAL ISSUES




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## Editorial Notes

### COMMENTS AND REJOINDERS

Readers wishing to discuss or comment upon any of the articles in this or other issues of *JSI* may submit their reactions or criticisms to the editor-elect, Bertram H. Raven, Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, California 90024. Criticisms or observations of general interest will be published in a *Comments and Rejoinders* section of *JSI*.

### Activists' Corner

With the assistance and encouragement of Nevitt Sanford and David Krech, we will continue to publish "the occasional essay, the 'rejoinder to the rejoinder,' the impudent question about a pressing social problem that no one seems interested in from a scientific point of view, the posing of dilemmas, the illuminating news item, the speculative commentary." Readers who wish to submit comments in any of these categories are encouraged to send them (three copies, typed double-space, please) to the editor-elect.

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## INTRODUCTION

J. Diedrick Snoek  
Smith College

Although no single thematic note will suffice to introduce the papers in this issue, one common concern may be discerned among many of our authors: An intense and uneasy awareness of the "feedback effects" of social science research and writing upon our own society. On the testimony of this issue we may conclude that many of us now believe that scholarly communication is no longer exclusively a private matter. The publicist, as much as the action-researcher, operates in an arena where words may count as well as actions, and the social scientist needs to concern himself with the impact of his work on popular images, beliefs, and impulses as well as with society's capacity to tolerate ambiguity.

The issue is joined explicitly by Alfert, in the *Comments and Rejoinders* section, where she concerns herself with the widespread publicity given to Jensen's views on race and intelligence as a case study in "the promotion of prejudice." Jensen replies, with considerable heat, that he is the victim of dogmatism. Deutsch, in his Presidential Address, also has taken Jensen's article as his point of departure in examining the role of ideology and organization in retarding social change. He writes: "... we can not ignore the fact that many widespread, but not validated, assumptions can and do have enormous impact on the experiences of individuals." *Ergo*, for better or for worse, social scientists can not escape the fact that their work helps to increase or lower resistance to social change.

White continues his clarification of some of the social psychological dynamics underlying inter-nation relations in his Lewin Memorial Award Address. In his paper, he argues "for better communication directly between us and the policy-makers in Washington, and better communication also between us and other scholars (historians, political scientists, area specialists) who in turn influence policy-makers a good deal more than we do." Unlike the other authors, therefore, White appears to be concerned that social psychology may not be having enough impact.

Wicker's article treats an old problem, the relation between attitudes and behavior, in a systematic review demonstrating how infrequently our customary attitude measures manage to predict individual actions. But Tajfel writes "... the greatest adaptive advantage of man is his capacity to modify his behavior as a function of the way in which he perceives and understands a situation," in a masterful article re-focusing our attention on the cognitive aspects of prejudice. Parenthetically, Tajfel is concerned with the effects of social scientific views as well. He expresses strong concern about the widespread publicity given to theories emphasizing instinct and unconscious motivation (or as he terms it "the blood-and-guts model") whose tentative views, he feels, "are already being used here and there to buttress and justify certain political opinions and actions."

On the cool side, well-removed from politicized public attention, we include an article by Riegel, who proposes some new ways of thinking about systematic explanation of historical processes, drawing upon psychological theories of development. While the bulk of our research at this moment has an ahistorical orientation, it seems inevitable that, as more and more longitudinal empirical data accumulate, researchers will once again turn to problems of historical explanation. Riegel attempts to light the way to models of explanation rigorous enough to permit projections of the future.

The paper by Block describes some common features of the alienation syndrome in two very disparate groups: white college undergraduates and black streetcorner men. Block then considers the implications of these similarities for thinking about the root-causes of our social problems and the directions available to two kinds of black leadership.

A final example of sensitivity to public images occurs in Block, Haan, and Smith's report on their study of childrearing practices reported by politically active and inactive students. They write:

... the childrearing doctrines of the recent past, based on differentiated responsiveness to the legitimate needs of the child, are being repudiated in

the popular press, perhaps in reaction to the indictment of Dr. Benjamin Spock who provided the blueprint for contemporary childrearing practices. Parents are being implicated for their "permissiveness" and their failure to establish limits for their children. Fundamental to the arguments for "law and order" and restoration of "respect for authority" is the assumption that contemporary youth are lacking in internal controls because they were not disciplined sufficiently in their malleable years. Our data speak directly to these questions.

This then is the third whole number of the *Journal of Social Issues* devoted to selected papers that are marked by their individual distinction and relevance to social issues rather than by their focus on a single theme. The number of quality manuscripts submitted for consideration and the positive response to the previous issues has served to convince the Editorial Board that this experiment should be continued. In the new Editorial Board, responsibility for the annual "singles" issue will be assumed by Dr. Barry E. Collins of U.C.L.A.'s Department of Psychology, to whom all future manuscripts should be directed. We welcome the new Special Issues Editor and wish him good reading and good luck.



## Organizational and Conceptual Barriers to Social Change<sup>1</sup>

Martin Deutsch  
New York University

The somewhat tenuous correspondence to be found between the stated title of this paper and its content is a function not only of when the title was submitted with respect to the date of this meeting, but also of the pressure of an intervening controversy in our field. This controversy resulted in the bulk of the titled content appearing in a parallel paper, to which reference is made later.

There is, I hope, a closer correspondence between this paper and the Society's Statement of Purpose, which reads in part: "In various ways, the Society seeks to bring theory and practice into focus on human problems of the group, the community, and the nation as well as the increasingly important ones that have no national boundaries."

This orientation is also reflected in Ferkiss' preface to his excellent discussion of the nature of man in a technological society (1969), in which he says, ". . . if one takes the task of the social scientist seriously, one must go where the problems are, and if one acts as a human being as well as a scientist, one must go where the relevant problems are [p. viii]."

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<sup>1</sup>Presidential address to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, delivered at the annual convention of the American Psychological Association in Washington, D.C., September 1, 1969.

In what follows, I have attempted to explore the perennially relevant problem of the role of the social scientist in helping to bring about rational social change, with particular reference to the current concerns and changes in our society.

Two areas of central concern in psychology that have great social relevance are conceptions of the nature and evolution of intelligence, and the impact of race and class membership on the life experiences of individuals. Major emphasis in the social sciences has been placed on categorizing types of relationships hypothesized to exist between various psychological characteristics and demographic classifications. Among these psychological characteristics is intelligence, a concept of prime importance. What is too infrequently recognized is that our construct of intelligence is heavily biased by preconceptions. These embrace temporal restrictions, biological assumptions, frequent overgeneralizations from genetic data, and a rigidity as to the parameters of intelligence. The latter comes from the reification of mental test scores and the mechanical equating of those scores with the entity they presumably represent. It is necessary to recognize that areas such as intelligence, race, demography, etc., have extremely high public visibility and that, as a result, published findings and theories related to them can have inordinate impact on social processes.

We have recently seen an example of this, and indeed are still in its backwash. With all due respect to that journal, an article in the *Harvard Educational Review* does not ordinarily attract the enormous publicity and discussion aroused by Arthur Jensen's paper in the winter issue (1969). The article had both proximal and distal public and scientific impact; examination of the social repercussions of this impact provides considerable insight into the pressure of social forces within our current cultural matrix.

In the present discussion, I would like to explore the interactive characteristics of these phenomena and the changing role of the social scientist. It seems to me he is now in a position to make thunder, but not to change the annual rainfall: for that matter, he is just on the frontiers of adequately predicting it! I also want to consider some of the psychological and political ramifications of conceptions of intelligence as well as to question some more or less sacred cows. (My rather extensive discussion of the technical assumptions and deficiencies of Jensen's major thesis as well as the data he uses to support it appears in the summer, 1969 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*.) Intrinsic to any such analysis is consideration of barriers to both social and conceptual evolution.

My own heavy involvement in scientific and professional work has related to the issues Jensen raises: the role of environment in behavior and intelligence; stimulation of intellectual development; and general compensatory intervention efforts. My

work has consistently led to conclusions quite opposite to those drawn by Jensen about the processes involved in the acquisition of knowledge, the functional dynamics of intelligence, and the severe limitations of a psychometric approach to the description of intellectual performance in human populations.

At the same time that I deplore the nature, conclusions, and effects of Jensen's article, I support the right of free inquiry into *all* issues, popular or unpopular. One must deplore and reject the many *ad hominem* criticisms to which Jensen has been subjected. There are enough issues raised and arguments presented in his article to provide concrete bases for disagreement and the presentation of an alternative point of view.

Jensen's article takes the basic position that intelligence test differences between groups—most particularly between black and white groups—are reflections of differences in genetic endowment. Since the average scores of blacks are consistently below the average scores of whites, his conclusion is that genetic differences presumed to exist between the two groups operate to make blacks inherently less competent. Contrary to the impression given by the mass media, Jensen offers no new data to support this position, but only a reorganization of existing old data. (It is important to remember that the data are mostly psychometric and not experimental or genetic.) The policy implications he derives from this conclusion involve implementation of different curricula for black children as well as different expectations of their eventual intellectual level. Jensen includes numerous caveats with respect to not assuming a certain level on the part of any given *individual* on the basis of the known *group* differences, but he does not include any suggestions as to how one can identify a potential conceptual thinker in early childhood other than by his skin color.

In our present rather explosive social climate in the United States, it is not surprising that the publication of this argument and these views by a respected professor of education with extensive experimental productivity has been met by a storm of emotions and rhetoric.

In general, the published popular commentaries on the article have accepted most or all of Jensen's assertions regarding intelligence, many of his statements about the measurement of intelligence, most of his genetic discussions, and, with only a few cautions, his verdict on compensatory education. The impression is created that the article is a fair and lucid discussion of the issues. In fact, however, the article falls into serious contradictions in a number of places, and completely lacks a sophisticated understanding of the magnificent complexity of environment-organism interactions.

An important consequence of Jensen's article has been to

focus attention on the role of social scientists in interpreting behavior. The article has also highlighted the implications of such interpretations for formulating social and educational policy. The responsibility thus assumed by social scientists is a grave one.

There is a tradition of using public issues and controversies as the focus for investigating social process. Examples are readily available in studies of conflicts about fluoridation, activities of extremist or cultist groups, conflict resolution, etc. The recurring controversies about the nature of intelligence and the admixture of environmental and genetic components which influence it have special characteristics. They are not only social phenomena to be studied by social scientists, but they also derive from central issues and data in the social and behavioral sciences. Therefore, we in these fields have the task of concern with the basic data and their interpretation, as well as with the study of the impact of the controversy. When school systems use a particular concept such as genetically determined levels of intelligence as the basis for educational policy, there exists more than a theoretical issue of the dissemination and use of scientific knowledge. We have perhaps lagged behind the physical sciences in considering the potential impact of our work on the attitudes, behavior, and opportunities of people, as well as on the operation of social systems. The mushroom cloud brought many physicists down from whatever ivory towers they may have been in. Psychologists as a group have so far resisted the journey which is just as urgently demanded by the dysfunctioning of so many aspects of our social organization. When atomic fission killed people, physicists could no longer regard experimentation with it solely as a laboratory activity. While there is no direct correlate in psychology, we cannot ignore the fact that many widespread, but not validated, assumptions can and do have enormous impact on the experiences of individuals. In evaluating the question of the continued relevance of this issue, one should consider, for example, whether or not the mores of contemporary psychology are such that studies are more likely to focus on the pathologies of Kohl's 36 children than on the structure and operation of the institutions that manhandled them.

In a sense, it is the job of the social scientist to question all sacred cows, roast most of them, and protect some. A problem in doing this is selecting and identifying the sacred concepts, as they are so influential in the delineation of issues that they tend to be invisible. Finding them can require crawling out of one's *Zeitgeist* and simultaneously reversing figure and ground, thus creating cognitive dissonance, which research indicates can be very anxiety-provoking. It follows that maintaining the status quo is self-reinforcing and thereby retards any cognitive renegotiation. At times of social crises (historically, a more or less constant state)

it can be even more difficult to risk dissonance with familiar concepts. At the same time, an atmosphere of uncertainty and change can make it easier to see contradictions in fundamental assumptions. Today's contradictions between man and machine, between a fortified institution like our educational system and the aspirations of minority groups, between the defense budget and urban decay, and between dignity and poverty facilitate the locating of incompatible or incongruent assumptions. In a sense, the social sciences and social scientists already reflect the dissonance, urgency, and alienation of the current social matrix. What better time is there, then, to identify some of the elusive implicit frames of reference and their ramifications in the total fabric of social theory and action?

Such activity certainly follows Ferkiss' dictum that the human scientist must go where the relevant problems are. But the human social scientist can, I think, play a unique role in lowering the barriers to social change by his activities when he arrives at the relevant problems. He can not only study them, but also, by the kind of questioning of tacit assumptions proposed, he can assault the obstacles to their solution. Indeed, many of the implicit assumptions of the social sciences buttress the barriers to change—or constitute major obstacles themselves.

In the last few years, discussions of barriers to social change have focussed mainly on bureaucratic and institutional structures which operate in ways to perpetuate the status quo and to frustrate the initiation and later the continuation of innovations. Without denying the validity of those analyses—indeed, no one who has attempted to introduce innovations into an existing structure could fail to know the frustrating reality of such concrete obstacles—I should like to focus on the operation of implicit assumptions and sacred cows as barriers to change and innovation. Social scientists are best qualified to remove the obstacles created by their own assumptions, as well as the realities and pseudo-realities of their cultural context. It would seem necessary that they do so if they are to participate actively in the evolution of a democratic society. It should be possible to gain perspective on sterile lines of investigation as well as to promote thinking and research in heretofore ignored or "irrelevant" areas in a variety of ways, which include: bringing frames of reference to the foreground, evaluating them logically in the light of current data, modifying some, and discarding many. In other words, we can get out of ruts we perhaps are not aware of being in. In the process we can influence, or at least bring into question, the many aspects of public policy which may rest on outmoded or invalid assumptions. The policies affected could range from the use of police power to the use of marijuana and from influencing environmental quality

to influencing the quality of children's experiences.

An influential area in which sacred cows abound is intelligence. How this human attribute is regarded has come to be more and more important as our society has become more technologically advanced and as specific training or educational experiences have become the requisites for a larger proportion of jobs and occupations. It is not the purpose of this paper to analyze or evaluate concepts of intelligence *per se*; I have selected a central assumption about it as an example of the barriers created by implicit frames of reference. It is an assumption which permeates much thinking and which, if allowed to remain unquestioned, can have increasingly critical effects on educational programs and policies.

This assumption is that intellectual capacity is inborn and simply released by experience (or by time). Despite small-print qualifications, this assumption has had a profound influence on educational policy as well as making possible the field of mental testing which has, in turn, determined the educational opportunities of individuals and their admission into or exclusion from particular schools and occupations. It is obvious that this assumption is only one of many interactive determinants; economic, political, geographical, and historical factors also have major impact on life choices and opportunities. However, since assumptions about intelligence issue from psychology, they are our responsibility.

Let us dissect the anatomy of this particular golden calf, both as an example of a method of analysis and frames of reference that are so frequently accepted. It is not an example chosen at random: this assumption carries with it many of the contradictions that so often make social science irrelevant to social reality. Further, its influence is felt in many areas of public policy and of psychological research—in terms of questions asked, data gathered, and the nature of interpretation.

The assumption rests on and leads to many sub-assumptions; their identification and analysis constitute a method for getting a concrete grasp on a diffuse and pervasive idea. Let me first list and then discuss the primary assumption and its sub-assumptions.

The primary assumption to be questioned is that intelligence is a kind of intrinsic attribute of the individual which either unfolds with the simple passage of time, or—a currently more popular idea—is stimulated to unfold by the individual's experiences.

The subordinate concepts to be questioned include:

1. Intelligence is a biological attribute, related to some degree to genetic endowment and to whatever other variables influence the biology and chemistry of the individual.

2. An individual's maximum intellectual capacity is fixed by his biological and chemical makeup. This capacity may or may not be achieved, depending on a host of social, economic, familial, and experiential factors. (An analogy frequently used is height).
3. Intelligence is normally distributed in the human population in the same way that other biological attributes—such as height—are distributed.
4. Intelligence is an entity that can be measured, and related to and used to predict other variables and attributes.

These are only a few of the sub-concepts that can be derived from the broader one, and it is evident that they are not wholly independent. But let us examine the implications and some of the practical effects of each.

To consider the first and second sub-concepts together, seeing intelligence as basically biological and intrinsic implies that variability in intelligence levels among individuals is "given" rather than developed. In turn, this places emphasis on static categorization of individuals' levels, rather than on finding ways to maximize intellectual development. While always acknowledging the role of experiential factors in influencing the achievement of the intrinsic (and pre-ordained) capacity, the orientation toward environmental effects has been based on a threshold concept rather than on a concept of continuum; the environment has typically been seen as either facilitating or not facilitating the development of the intrinsic potential. Again using height analogously, deprivation of essential nutritional elements during childhood can insure that an individual will not reach the maximum stature which his genetic endowment would permit, but feeding a child a super-enriched diet will not enable his surpassing that endowment. Similarly, the concept as applied to intelligence has attributed the major variability in intellectual level to the intrinsic and fixed factors, with the experiential diet having only a narrow range of influence. Jensen (1969), in fact, states very explicitly that, "The environment with respect to intelligence is analogous to nutrition with respect to stature [p. 60]." This orientation places the ball game for any individual in the ninth inning at birth and somewhere in the seventh at conception.

Since it is the nervous system that is involved with intelligence, intrinsic variability must rest in essence on a concept of continua in neural functions or efficiency. To maintain stable life processes, however, the nervous system must function within quite a narrow range of variation. Given this fact, plus the very wide range of variability in environments and individual experiences, it would seem more parsimonious to attribute the major share of the intellectual variance to environmental factors, reserving to the neural substratum the portion dependent on intactness and func-

tional integrity. (Of course, if the results reported by Krech and Rosenzweig and their colleagues—e.g., Krech, Rosenzweig, & Bennett, 1966; Rosenzweig, 1966—are maintained and confirmed, there will be a basis for seeing experiential variables as actually influencing neural structure and, therefore, for attributing even greater impact to the environment.)

Given the infinitely greater accessibility of environmental factors to measurement and experimentation, the persistence of the attribution of the major variance to intrinsic biology is remarkable. This is especially surprising, since for many years such a belief system substantially ruled out attempts to influence intellectual growth by manipulation of extrinsic factors. Time does not permit lengthy speculation on the possible reasons for such persistence, but it can be briefly noted that many relationships among people and groups of people are governed by fixed status considerations, and that status is to a large extent a function of educational attainment and occupation. A view of intellectual level as largely controllable by man would challenge social organization in a major way, as well as posing a potentially intolerable threat to the educational establishment as currently constituted. The assumption that intellectual level has a low susceptibility to enhancement by environmental means has been modified very slowly, and has been extremely unresponsive to contrary data. For example, when thirty years ago the Iowa studies reported successful raising of measured intelligence as a result of environmental stimulation (e.g., Wellman, 1938; Skeels, Updegraff, Wellman, & Williams, 1938; Wellman, 1940), many commentators advanced explanations for the results which avoided recognition of the challenge to the idea of fixed intelligence—a central aspect of the Iowa investigators' interpretation of their own data.

It has been only in the last few years, with the increasing concern about the negative influence of disadvantageous environments, that some of the rigidity of the concept of fixed levels has begun to give way. And even now, Jensen, for example, dismisses compensatory education—the current form of the attempt to influence cognitive development by environmental means—as an “apparent failure” without critically examining the negative data he mentions or the nature or duration of the programs from which they were derived. If only one well-controlled program involving a substantial number of children over a period of time yielded significant and lasting change in measured intellectual level, the entire thesis would have to be reconsidered. Since current compensatory programs have not been in operation long enough to make such an evaluation, the issue can hardly be considered resolved. In fact, as I have pointed out elsewhere, considering the less than minimal resources our society has been willing to allocate, there is

serious question if meaningful intervention in cognitive development really has as yet been tried. This is apart from the issue of whether its results have been appropriately evaluated.

It must be stressed at this point that questioning the assumption of the primacy of intrinsic factors in intelligence does not negate their role, but instead leaves as an open question the eventual ordering of primary and secondary influences. One does not eliminate barriers by simply switching biases. Instead, the function of questioning should be to open up previously ignored and potentially fruitful lines of thought and investigation. Part of this involves tracing the philosophical implications of different primary assumptions. Obviously, a theory of intrinsically determined intelligence leads to an educational orientation of imparting facts to essentially passive recipients, while an emphasis on potential environmental influence of intellectual level would promote an educational approach whose aim would be the fostering of intellectual growth and which would demand active participation in a learning process.

Continuing with a consideration of the third sub-concept, it can be seen that it contributes further barriers to change in basic orientation and social organization. The assumption that intelligence is normally distributed is in reality a tautology. Standardized intelligence tests yield a normal distribution of scores when applied to large populations. However, test development starts with the assumption that intelligence is a normally distributed attribute, and therefore one index of a test's adequacy typically is whether it reflects this phenomenon. When it is then applied to populations and the scores derived are found to fall into a bell-shaped distribution, all that has happened is the regurgitation of the original input. Again we have the status quo reassuring itself.

Stemming from the final sub-concept is the phenomenon of the loud disclaiming that IQ and intelligence are identical, while at the same time they are being used interchangeably. This amounts to fine print serving as a substitute for a rigorous analysis of what is not being measured as well as for a clear delineation of what is measured.

Enough has been written about the problems and deficiencies of test construction, interpretation, and, more recently, test-taking to make reiteration superfluous. At the same time, critical analysis has been absorbed without any noticeable influence on either the testing or the intelligence games. What is quite evident is that the real nature of the game is the assignment of individuals to cubbyholes with labels and predetermined status designations to be carried through life. This process is a major source of strength for the freezing of social boundaries, aspirations, and motivational systems. As a result, change becomes objectively

increasingly difficult, as an undetermined proportion of the population find cozy corners in their cubbyholes. Operationally, this becomes an exclusionary system and a major avenue for the continuation of inequalities of access to the opportunity structure. Verbal recognition of the culturally bound nature of intelligence tests has not been sufficient to remove the obstacles they create for minority group members. Positions such as the one Jensen advances leave little room for consideration of the highly differential experiences which are a consequence of social class and racial group membership, and for the extent to which this differential limits the validity of any group comparisons.

The removal of barriers to new modes of thought created by our own assumptions can to some extent be under the control of persuasive social scientists. However, as Kenneth Clark pointed out in his Lewin Address (1965), the power for change in society obviously resides in other places. It would be self-defeating to delude ourselves into believing that our agonizing reappraisals themselves will have effects on public policy. If new or changing concepts are to bring alterations to society, the social scientist must find ways of exercising influence to bring them about. Donald Campbell (1969) believes that recognition of the political realities of innovative programs will enable the social science research consultant to promote the kind of evaluation which can eventuate in retention of the truly effective programs. Sanford and Krech (1969) call for the development of "clinicians to society": a specific role designation which presumably would give the social scientist an avenue into the machinery which can bring about change. Here it should be understood that the social scientist is at best a secondary power-broker in our society; increased involvement could also have socially counter-productive consequences.

Using assumptions about intelligence as examples in the foregoing discussion also serves the purpose of emphasizing the impact of experience on individual development. However, exploring this area also highlights how little we know in any systematic manner about the differential encounters people have with their environments, and what makes some of these encounters more influential than others. Similarly, despite all the studies in which human behavior has been assessed, whether without reference to social context or with the acknowledgement of the influence of social factors, we still know nothing of the actualities of human potential.

The need both to learn about the specifics of individual experiences and their effects, and to insure that these and other social science findings could have concrete effects on the direction of change in policies and organization, clearly points to an empha-

sis on action programs and action research as fundamental tools of the social scientist. Instead of being defensive or apologetic about the deficiencies of these methods, he should see them as approaches of choice for the investigation of natural situations. A major avenue through which we might achieve the greatest insight into the dimensions of human potential might well be the formulation and operation of action programs designed to foster the cognitive development of the child from birth on. This would appear to be a potentially effective way of discovering the many mechanisms through which development can be stimulated in all youngsters. At the same time, it would be a method for gaining primary knowledge about the nature of development and the differential roles of intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Such emphasis and such methodology are consistent with the view that a proper role for the social scientist is the use of his skills to facilitate development, encourage growth, and build in greater degrees of freedom for the individual and for the organizations and structures with which he is surrounded. Specifically, perspectives might be modified so that administrative and routine procedures could be relegated in favor of substantive matters that would be more responsive to social growth. In modern social science, as in some contemporary architecture, it might be that form can follow function, instead of administrative forms operating to constrict growth in both human and organizational potential.

The cognitive style of the social sciences—and of the mental health field—too frequently has been oriented to posing questions in negative terms. Pathology tends to be given priority—but then human society certainly provides more opportunity for interchange with the pathological. In a sense, though, we are going through a revolution on the behavioral level, in which students, minority group members, and females are demanding alternatives and are no longer formulating questions only in negative terms. The change is not coming from social scientists, but it is offering stimulation to us to make similar alterations in our orientations to the phenomena we study. The increasing asking of questions in multivariate terms and the acceptance of alternatives and probabilities as answers become themselves potent motivations for social change; constant discomfort and dissonance are thereby reflected as important attributes of the social structure. Primarily, individuals are more motivated to learn how to overcome the effects of systematic social discrimination or dysfunctional social institutions than they are to know the mode of operation of the antecedent experiences. What this might reflect is a change in cognitive style, where, within the context of a technological society, a shift in orientation is occurring from past to current to fu-

ture. At the same time, the discriminatory barriers are becoming increasingly dysfunctional. The continual asking of questions and sharpening of reasoning processes creates the constant discomfort referred to, and makes existing institutions such as the universities or the church increasingly irrelevant if they fail to respond to the present by ridding themselves of the encrustations of the past. Their irrelevance is in direct proportion to the rigidity and elaboration of past-oriented structure: it can be no accident that it is the monolithic Roman Catholic church that is experiencing the greatest upheaval.

The avenues of access to knowledge and information have gone far beyond the teacher-child one-way exchange. The essential non-responsiveness of the schools and the entire educational system to these changed conditions creates a situation of paralysis. By offering access to an increased variety of stimuli through new methods of information retrieval, modern technology can facilitate decreasing dependence of learning opportunities on the restrictions currently accompanying race and social class membership, as well as organizational rigidities. Currently an enormous number of youngsters is just bored by exposure to what is too frequently obsolete curriculum in outmoded structure. The minority groups are being even more proportionately short-changed, and both groups are tending in the direction of "copping out of Dullsville." The tension and frustration created simply cannot be resolved within the existing structures. Thus, another force for change is mobilized. Whether this force operates toward disintegration or improvement is a different issue. Nevertheless, the opportunities for restructuring become enhanced. The question of whether in this restructuring we need to make current forms work better or to evolve new forms probably has different answers for different structures and areas. Both institutions and communities differ in their ability to absorb new methods of operation while maintaining their essential individual characteristics. If one acknowledges that the university should survive, the problem is whether it can if it maintains the rigid bureaucratic stratification which too frequently has come to characterize its operations, if it retains its present artificial curriculum requirements and admissions policies, and if it retains a general detachment from its environment.

Before the recognition that policy modifications would be requisite for survival, educational—or business—institutions could indulge in the ignoring of the realities of social stratification and discriminatory practices. Now, however, it is increasingly incompatible with their viability; they can no longer deny their own prior biases and the varying life-styles of the younger genera-

tion or of individuals from differing cultural backgrounds. No longer can they impose a single behavioral standard or maintain more than a fixed and predetermined relationship to students or employees. In other words, there is a certain accelerating motion toward greater freedom from institutional boundaries and restrictions. A foundation has been created for a general opening of opportunity for individual determination of personal life-styles, and evidence exists that this is true from the crib throughout the life span. At the same time, though, strong repressive forces exist that have a great investment in the world as it was. However, there have been such rapid changes in communications, technology, and almost all aspects of life that the forces with an investment in the past may have difficulty in the present in characterizing the past to which they wish to return.

All this is occurring in an atmosphere of urban decay and racial and class conflict, an idiotic war, deterioration of transportation and other services, increasing pollution of the air and water, and a simultaneous growth of bureaucratic substructures and of indices of social disorganization. In addition, in spite of the never-fought war on poverty, we've had a society committed to a multi-billion dollar war on man supported by a fantastically inconsistent and biased tax system and a draft policy which is highly discriminatory in operation.

In this total matrix it is difficult not to oscillate between optimism about the strength of the movement for positive changes and pessimism about the possibility of achieving it before some bureaucratic mistake gives rise to the final cataclysm. Please note that I remain optimistic enough to believe that the final cataclysm would be precipitated by an accident.

In a recent article I stated,

Our society is in a very critical state of dysfunctioning. Unlike Rome, it could fall to a Carthage, either internal or external. The minds and knowledge of social scientists can play an enormous role in restructuring our social system as mediated through all human organisms. Through the socialization and education of children especially, it would seem that a significant degree of saliency could be reestablished between personal experience on the one hand, and on the other, social evolution founded in the gathering of knowledge and its correct and parsimonious utilization [1969, p. 551].

The burden of discussion in the present paper is the necessity for looking more closely at our environment in order better to understand the aspects which most impinge on individuals and influence their development; in order to maximize those factors which exercise the most positive developmental influence; and in order to minimize the most negatively acting ones. This is a tre-

mendous task, and one which could well involve a large number of social and behavioral scientists. For not only will it be necessary to develop the requisite knowledge and understanding, it will also be necessary to feed the new knowledge past the organizational barriers and into the structures of society's institutions.

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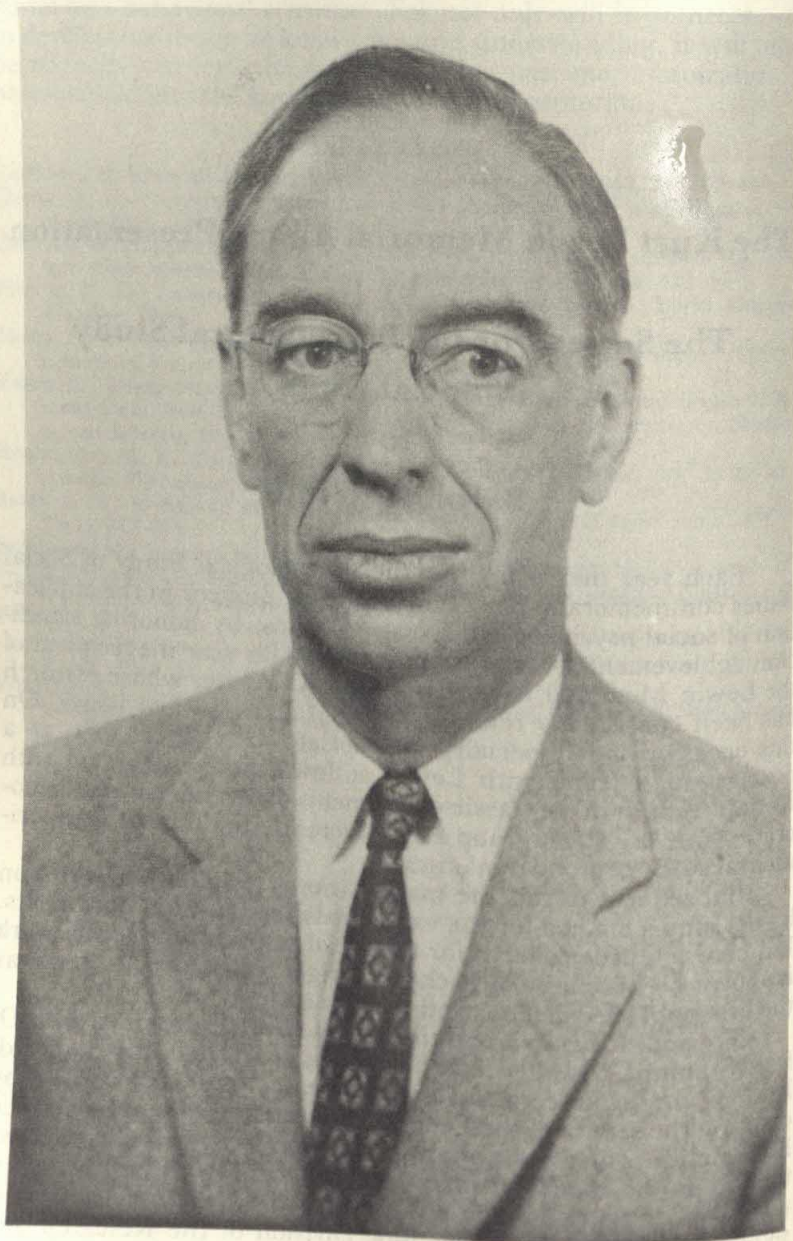
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**The Kurt Lewin Memorial Award Presentation**  
**by**  
**The Society for the Psychological Study**  
**of Social Issues**  
**to**  
**Ralph K. White**

Each year the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues commemorates Kurt Lewin, a great pioneer in the application of social psychology to social problems, by honoring significant achievement in the area of his work. This year the recipient of the Lewin Memorial Award is Ralph K. White, whose research has been consistently relevant to social and political issues. On this occasion it is especially appropriate to recollect that, as a post-graduate fellow with Lewin at Iowa, he collaborated with Ronald Lippitt in the classic experiments on authoritarian, democratic, and *laissez faire* group atmospheres that initiated the experimental study of group dynamics.

Subsequent to this, he made a major original contribution by devising a method for the value analysis of written documents. His characteristic concern for the social implications of his work is shown by his choice of Richard Wright's *Black Boy* to serve as the first published demonstration of his method.

Previous to his collaboration with Lewin, he obtained a Ph.D. from Stanford, and after it held positions at Cornell and Stanford. In 1947 he achieved a fusion of research and application by entering the service of the Federal Government, where he applied his techniques first to the analysis of Communist propaganda and then to public opinion abroad. In 1964, wishing to be free of the unavoidable restrictions imposed by government service, he resigned as Chief of the Soviet Bloc Division of the Research and Reference Service of the United States Information Agency to become Professor of Psychology at George Washington University.



Ralph K. White

In his studies of public opinion he has constantly striven to identify tension-creating international misperceptions, as well as overlooked or unsuspected shared values which could serve to improve international understanding. To this work he has brought not only his special expertise but also first-hand experience gained through visits to both the Soviet Union and Vietnam. He is probably the only American psychologist to have had this opportunity.

Much of Ralph White's work remains buried in government archives, but those studies that have reached the light of day have been uniformly illuminating. His most recent contribution to the cause of peace has been an impressive analysis of the differing perceptions of the Vietnam war by different Vietnamese and American factions—an analysis which warrants the most careful study by political and military leaders.

In a field rent by partisanship and suffused with strong emotions, Ralph White has gained widespread influence and respect by virtue of his meticulous, thorough scholarship, the clarity and originality of his thinking, and his ability to maintain his intellectual balance and objectivity while adhering to strong moral convictions.

As an old friend, I feel it a great personal pleasure as well as a high privilege to present to him the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award. The citation reads:

**Kurt Lewin Memorial Award**  
granted by the Society for the  
**Psychological Study of Social Issues**  
to  
**Ralph K. White**  
1969  
for furthering in his work, as did  
**Kurt Lewin, the Development and integration**  
**of psychological research and social action.**

Jerome D. Frank, M.D.  
Johns Hopkins University



## Three Not-So-Obvious Contributions of Psychology to Peace

Ralph K. White

George Washington University

There are two things in this world that don't quite fit together. One is that mushroom cloud. We try not to think about it—but it's *there*, rising, enormously, behind everything else we do. And then there's the other thing: the whole complicated spectacle of all the old causes of war going on as usual. There's the arms race, and ABM, and—much worse than ABM—that hydra-headed monster, MIRV. Most of all, there's the war in Vietnam. It stands there as a continual, glaring reminder that the United States—our own peace-loving United States—is capable of the kind of bungling that got us into that war. And then comes the thought: *if* even the peace-loving United States could bungle itself into a little war like Vietnam, what guarantee is there that we won't bungle ourselves into a big war—a nuclear war? It might be possible to exorcize the specter of that mushroom cloud if the Vietnam war did not exist. But it does exist.

The sense of bafflement is especially great perhaps among psychologists, because a good many psychologists feel that the bungling that got us into the Vietnam war, and could get us into a nuclear war, consists largely of ignoring certain fundamental *psychological* truths. Most of our American policy-makers (both Johnson and Nixon, for instance) behave as if they don't recognize certain things that we psychologists take for granted—things such as the necessity of empathy (including empathy with our

own worst enemies), the dangers of black-and-white thinking, and the role of the self-fulfilling prophecy in the vicious spiral of the arms race.

### *Communicating with Policy-Makers*

All of this strengthens the case for better communication—better communication directly between us and the policy-makers in Washington, and better communication also between us and other scholars (historians, political scientists, area specialists) who in turn influence the policy-makers a good deal more than we do.

One difficulty in communicating with these people is that from their standpoint we often sound like a little boy trying to teach Grandma to suck eggs. Many of them are experts in their own fields, people from whom we really could learn a great deal. And then we come up with these ideas that they think they have heard many times already, ideas that they often think we have dressed up in pretentious new terminology but that they regard as essentially old, familiar, and in a sense obvious ideas.

The paradox is that it is precisely these so-called obvious ideas that we often see the top policy-makers ignoring when it comes to concrete action decisions. We see that mushroom cloud coming closer because they *act* as if they couldn't see what to *us* seems obvious. So, in order to define the problem accurately, it looks as if we need three categories. First, there are the things that really are obvious, on the verbal level *and* on the action level. Second, there are the things that seem obvious on the verbal level but that are often ignored on the action level. And third, there are the things that are not obvious on either the verbal or the action level.

### *Difficulties in Communicating the "Obvious"*

The second category, although it won't be my main focus in this paper, does seem to me the most important: namely, the things that seem obvious on the general, abstract, verbal level, but that are often ignored on the specific, concrete, action level. As examples, let's take the three ideas I've already mentioned: the necessity of empathy, the dangers of black-and-white thinking, and the role played by the self-fulfilling prophecy in the vicious spiral of the arms race.

When empathy is defined in common-sense terms like "understanding the other fellow's point of view," any policy-maker is likely to say: "Sure, I believe in that, and I try to do it all the time." The chances are he takes pride in understanding the other fellow's point of view—even when he doesn't really understand it.

Or take the black-and-white picture. Anybody who has ever seen a Western movie, and knows about the bad guys and the good guys, the black hats and the white hats, is likely to have some notion, on the verbal level, of the dangers of black-and-white thinking, even if in practice he engages in black-and-white thinking most of the time.

Or take the role of the self-fulfilling prophecy in the vicious spiral of the arms race. To some, the self-fulfilling prophecy may be a new and interesting idea—Senator Fulbright found it a new and interesting idea when he heard it from Jerome Frank—but the vicious spiral of the arms race is an old idea that has been heard many times and might be accepted in theory even by people like Melvin Laird who in practice ignore it. What can we do then? The things that we feel are being most dangerously ignored in practice are the things most likely to make our listeners yawn.

The answer, as I see it, is *not* to stop talking about these fundamental things. It is, rather, to get right down onto the concrete action level and to talk not about these abstractions as such, but about concrete examples of them.

### *Bombing and Empathy*

For instance, take again the notion of empathy. It seems to me that a flagrant concrete example of violation of the principle of empathy was our bombing of North Vietnam. That bombing was urged and continually supported by our most flagrant non-empathizers—the military. But its effects included a continual solidifying of opposition to us among the people in North Vietnam. It was as if we were doing our best to persuade every man, woman, and child in North Vietnam that America really *is* the devil, the wanton cruel aggressor that Communist propaganda has always said it was. Most of our military men in active service not only failed to empathize with the North Vietnamese; it looks as if they actively, though unconsciously, resisted the temptation to empathize. They shut their eyes to the best evidence available: the first-hand testimony of people like Harrison Salisbury (1967), Cameron (1966), Gerassi (1967), Gottlieb (1965), and the Quakers of the ship, *Phoenix*, who went to North Vietnam and came back saying that our bombing was solidifying opposition to us (Zietlow, 1967). They shut their eyes also to the evidence that the bombing was tending to alienate from us most of the other people in the world. And, most surprisingly, they shut their eyes to the evidence of history, represented by our own strategic bombing survey after World War II (Over-all report, 1945) which described how our bombing of Germany and Japan had had the same solidifying effect.

This kind of concrete example may jolt and antagonize some people, but it won't make them yawn. And focusing on such examples should help to make abstract concepts like empathy become more and more a part of the reality-world of the listener, on the concrete action level. It matters very little whether a policy-maker talks about empathy. It matters a great deal whether the impulse to empathize keeps coming up in his mind, at those particular moments when wisdom in action requires that he should at least try to understand the other fellow's point of view.

### *Communicating the "Not-So-Obvious"*

Then there is that third category of psychological ideas and psychological facts that really are relatively unfamiliar to the decision-makers on both levels. I'm going to talk about three of them today: "three not-so-obvious contributions of psychology to peace." (Of course when I say "contributions" I mean potential contributions. What we have done is to learn certain things about the psychological causes of war. Whether these insights and the facts that support them ever actually contribute to peace depends on our own effort and our own skill as communicators.) Also it should be clear that these are not necessarily the most important of the not-so-obvious contributions. There are others that seem to me just as important or more so: Charles Osgood's (1962) GRIT proposal, for instance, and the experimental work Morton Deutsch has been doing (Deutsch and Krauss, 1962), and the monumental job Herbert Kelman did editing that big volume, *International Behavior* (1965). But those are pretty well known. I'm going to focus here on three that are not very well known.

### **The Hovland Principle in Communicating with Communists.**

First, there is a corollary of the Hovland principle that a two-sided presentation of an argument is more persuasive than a one-sided presentation when you are talking with people who initially disagree with you. The corollary is that *we Americans should publicly accept as much as we can honestly accept of the Communist point of view.*

To some psychologists this may seem obvious, but most of our politicians and foreign-policy makers are likely to regard it as far from obvious. To many of them it must sound like subversive doctrine—like being "soft on Communism." That is precisely why we psychologists, if we think the evidence supports it, ought to be saying so—clearly, and often, and with all the research evidence that we can bring to bear.

Let's look at the evidence. You are probably familiar with the

impressive body of experimental data accumulated by Hovland and his colleagues (Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1953), on the general advantages of a "two-sided" form of persuasion—defining a two-sided argument not as a neutral position but as a genuine argument that candidly takes the stronger arguments on the other side into account. And "candidly taking them into account" means not only stating them fairly before trying to refute them, but also acknowledging any elements in them that the speaker honestly regards as elements of truth. You are probably also familiar with their more specific findings, including the finding that the two-sided approach is not always more effective. It is likely to be more effective if the audience is intelligent, or initially hostile to the viewpoint of the speaker, or both intelligent and hostile. Now comes the corollary, which is especially interesting from the standpoint of our relations with the Communist world. The Communist leaders fit exactly the Hovland prescription for the kind of people with whom one should use the two-sided approach. They are intelligent. They could hardly have maintained stability in a vast nation like the USSR if they were not at least fairly intelligent. And, to put it mildly, they are initially in disagreement with us. So it would follow that in communicating with them we should use the two-sided approach.

### *What is Right in Communism?*

What would it mean, concretely? It would *not* mean soft-pedaling any of the things we believe to be wrong and dangerous on the Communist side: the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for instance, or the recent regression toward Stalinism in the Soviet Union, or the anarchy and cruelty of the "great cultural revolution" in Communist China, or the assassination of village leaders in Vietnam. But it would mean coupling candor about what we think is wrong with candor about what we think is right. That raises the question: what *is* right in Communism? Is anything right? Each of us would probably have a different answer, but just to make the main point concrete I'm going to go out on a limb and mention some of the things that I personally think are right.

Most important, probably, is the depth and intensity of the Russians' desire for peace. They hate and fear war at least as much as we do. How could they not hate war, after the searing experience they went through in World War II? We can also give them credit for bearing the brunt of World War II—and winning, on that crucial Eastern Front. I know from my own experience in Moscow that nothing touches the heart of a Russian more than real appreciation, by an American, of what they suffered and what they accomplished in our common struggle against Hitler. There

is real common ground here, both when we look back on World War II and when we look ahead to the future. We and the Communists, looking ahead, find ourselves on the same side in the rather desperate struggle that both they and we are waging against the danger of nuclear war.

Some other things that I personally would acknowledge include Soviet space achievements, which really are extraordinary, considering how backward Russia was in 1917; the case for Communist Chinese intervention in Korea after MacArthur crossed the 38th Parallel; the case for Communist China in the matter of Quemoy and Matsu; the Vietnamese Communist case against Diem and his American supporters; a very large part of their case against what we have been doing in Vietnam since the death of Diem. And, more basically, the proposition that the Communist countries are ahead of us in social justice. In spite of striking inequalities, my reading of the evidence is that they are definitely ahead of us in eliminating unearned income—"surplus value"—and somewhat ahead of us in diminishing the gap between rich and poor. (This and related problems are spelled out more fully in White, 1967-8.)

### *Research on the Need to Seek Common Ground*

If all this has a subversive sound, please recall again the Hovland experiments, and also the rather large number of other experiments that bring out, in one way or another, the desirability of discovering common ground if conflict is to be resolved. For instance, there are the experiments of Blake and Mouton (see Sawyer and Guetzkow, 1965) on how each side in a controversy ordinarily underestimates the amount of common ground that actually exists between its own position and that of its adversary. There is all the research on the non-zero-sum game, and the need to keep the players on both sides from treating a *non-zero-sum* game, in which the adversaries actually share some common interests, as if it were a zero-sum game in which loss for one side always means gain for the other. There is the so-called Rapoport Debate (actually originated by Carl Rogers, apparently), in which neither side is permitted to argue for its position until it has stated, to the other side's satisfaction, what the other side is trying to establish. There is Sherif's Robbers' Cave experiment in which conflict was replaced by cooperation and friendliness when a superordinate goal—an overriding common goal—demanded cooperation (Sherif, 1958). There is Rokeach's work (1960) on the importance of common beliefs as a basis for good will. There is Kenneth Hammond's recent work on the harm done by implicit assumptions that differ on the two sides of an argument, and that

are never really challenged or examined. All of these have as a common element the idea of common goals or common ground, and the desirability of common ground for conflict-resolution.

### *The "Modal Philosophy" and East-West Convergence*

There is also my own content-analysis (White, 1949) of the values in various ideologies (American, Nazi, and Communist) using the value-analysis technique (White, 1951)—a project carried a good deal further recently by William Eckhardt (Eckhardt and White, 1967). The main upshot of that analysis was that there has apparently been a convergence of the value-systems of the Communist East and the non-Communist West. From a study of opinion and attitude surveys in a number of non-Communist countries, and of behavior data and political speeches and writings on both sides of the East-West conflict, a picture emerged of a good deal more common ground, shared by us and the Communists, than the embattled partisans on either side have ever recognized. Neither they nor we depart very far from the most commonly held political philosophy—I call it the "modal philosophy"—which with minor variations seems to characterize most of the politically conscious people in the world (White, 1957). (It is the great piling up of people in the middle zone—a very large "mode" in the statistical sense of the word "mode"—that justifies the term "modal philosophy.")

It includes three main elements. First, a preference for private ownership and free enterprise in at least the smaller economic units: the grocery store, the laundry, the repair shop, the small farm. In that respect the global majority seems to lean more toward our American way of life than toward that of the thorough-going socialists, or the Communists. A second element, though, is a strong emphasis on social welfare—helping the poor. In that respect the modal philosophy is more like Communism. And third, there is a belief in political democracy, including free speech. Most of the people in the global majority reject dictatorship, and most of them reject the word "communism" because to them it implies dictatorship, while they more or less accept the term "socialism," which to them implies democracy. In fact, the term "democratic socialism" probably comes closer than any other single term to representing what this modal philosophy is. This pattern of values and beliefs, or some not-very-wide variation from it, constitutes the great common ground that liberal Americans share, not only with millions of people who call themselves Communists but also with an actual majority of the politically conscious members of the human race.

## Mirror-Image Wars and Territorial Self-Images

A second not-so-obvious proposition is *the frequency of mirror-image wars, and the importance of overlapping territorial self-images as causes of such wars.*

There are two kinds of war. There is the mirror-image war in which each side really believes that the other side is the aggressor (Bronfenbrenner, 1961). And there is the non-mirror-image war in which one side really believes that the other side is the aggressor, while the other side, though feeling justified, doesn't really literally believe that it is the victim of aggression.

An example of a mirror-image war would be World War I. A great many Americans don't realize how well Bronfenbrenner's term, the "mirror-image," applies to what happened in 1914. A great many still picture that war as a case of outright German aggression, comparable to Hitler's aggression in 1939. The historical facts, as we know them now, do not support that belief. The Germans believed, with some factual justification, that they were the victims of aggression. They pictured Russia, France, and England as ganging up on them, and felt that unless they struck first they would be overwhelmed by enemies on two fronts. Ole Holsti and Robert North (1965) with their content-analysis of the documents of 1914, have confirmed what historians such as Fay (1928) and Gooch (1938) had already showed—that when the war actually broke out the Germans were motivated mainly by fear.

Another mirror-image war is the Vietnam war. The militants on each side clearly believe that the other side is the aggressor. The North Vietnamese see the United States as aggressing against the soil of their homeland, and, in mirror-image fashion, militant Americans see the North Vietnamese as aggressing against South Vietnam, both by a campaign of assassination in the villages and by actual troops invading the South.

There is a supreme irony in this mirror-image type of war. It seems utterly ridiculous that *both* sides should be fighting because of real fear, imagining the enemy to be a brutal, arrogant aggressor, when actually the enemy is nerving himself to fight a war that he too thinks is in self-defense. Each side is fighting, with desperate earnestness, an imagined enemy, a bogey-man, a windmill. But you can't laugh at this kind of joke. It's too bloody, too tragic. You can only stand aghast, and ask: how is it possible, psychologically, for one country, or perhaps both, to be *that* much deluded?

Then there is the other kind of war: a non-mirror-image war. Any conflict regarded by neutral onlookers as outright aggression is a case in point: Hitler's attack on Poland, for instance. He must have known, and other Germans must have known, that

Poland was not attacking or threatening to attack Germany. Whatever their other justifications may have been, in this respect the German perception of the war was not a mirror-image of the perception in the minds of Germany's victims.

Since most people probably assume that the Hitler type of outright aggression is the typical way for wars to start, I did a rough check to see whether that is actually true, looking at thirty-seven wars that have occurred since 1913, and putting each of them, to the best of my ability, in one category or the other. The result was surprisingly even: 21 of the 37 wars (a little more than half) were in my judgment the mirror-image type, and 16 (a little less than half) were the non-mirror-image type. The method was rough, but it does seem clear that mirror-image wars, such as World War I and the Vietnam war, are not unusual exceptions. Their frequency is at least comparable with the frequency of non-mirror-image wars.

### *Overlapping and Conflict of Territorial Self-Images*

Now, what can psychology contribute to an understanding of mirror-image wars, aside from applying to them Bronfenbrenner's apt and vivid term, "mirror-image"?

Actually it can contribute a number of things, several of which I've discussed in a book called *Nobody Wanted War* (White, 1968).<sup>1</sup> In this paper I want to focus on just one of them: the notion of the overlapping and conflict of territorial self-images.

It was a striking fact that most of the mirror-image wars in my list—16 out of 21—grew out of territorial conflicts in which there was reason to think that each side *really* believed that the disputed territory was part of itself. The surface of the world is dotted with ulcerous spots that have been the source of an enormous amount of bad blood and, often, of war: Bosnia, Alsace-Lorraine, the Sudetenland, the Polish Corridor, northern Ireland, Algeria, Israel, Kashmir, the Sino-Indian border, South Korea, Taiwan, Quemoy, South Vietnam. Every one of these ulcerous spots is a zone of overlap, where one country's territorial image of itself overlaps with another country's territorial image of itself.

The historians and political scientists are in general quite aware of this as a cause of war, and, under labels such as "irreconcilability," or simply "territorial disputes," they have given it a fair amount of emphasis. But I don't think they have given it nearly

<sup>1</sup>This book is an expanded version of "Misperception and the Vietnam War," *Journal of Social Issues*, 1966, 22(3). *Nobody Wanted War* in a further updated edition is scheduled for paperback publication in April, 1970 (Anchor Books).

enough emphasis, and as far as I know they have never suggested an adequate psychological explanation of it. Their favorite formula, the international struggle for power, does not adequately cover it, because what needs to be explained is the special emotional intensity of the desire for power over a certain piece of territory when that territory is perceived as part of the national *self*, even though it may make little contribution to the overall power of the nation. Taiwan is a good case in point. The Chinese Communists seem fanatically intent on driving the invaders out of Taiwan—the “invaders” being us and Chiang Kai-shek—even though Taiwan would add only a little to their national power.

### *Identification and the Self-Image*

But psychologists can offer some useful clues to an understanding of such territorial conflict. One is the notion of the self-image itself, and of how, by a process of identification, the self-image comes to include many things that were not originally part of it. We use a variety of names in referring to the self-image: many would call it simply “the self”; Kurt Lewin called it the “person.” (His use of the term was broader, but I won’t go into these complexities here.) But whatever we call it, I think most of us would agree that the concept of self-image plays a central role in psychology, and that the process of identification, by which other things come to be incorporated in the self-image, is also very important. Lewin, for instance, spoke of how a person’s clothes come to be psychologically a part of the “person.” If clothes are identified with to such an extent that they seem to be part of the person or part of the “self,” then surely the territory that represents one’s own nation on the map can also be part of it.

### *Territory in Animal Behavior*

Another clue is the analogy with the territorial fighting of animals. Lorenz (1966), Ardrey (1963), Carpenter (1934), and others have described how an animal will spring to the defense of territory that it has identified with and that it seems to regard as its own. Now of course we need to be on our guard against over-hasty parallels between animal behavior and complex human behavior such as war making, but at this point the parallel seems valid, since the mechanism of identification is involved in both. In both cases, too, there is emotional disturbance when strangers—alien, unpredictable, presumably hostile strangers—are seen as impinging on land that is regarded as one’s own, and therefore as part of the self.

*Territorial Overlap and Intolerance of Ambiguity*

Still another clue lies in the notion of intolerance of ambiguity. What calls for explanation, you remember, is the rigidity of overlapping territorial claims, usually on both sides, and the special emotional intensity of those claims. Usually each side refuses to grant for one moment that there could be a particle of validity in the other side's claim. There is a clean-cutness, a simplicity, an all-or-none quality in these territorial perceptions that is clearly a gross oversimplification of the complexity of reality. In each side's reality-world that land just *is* its own; that's all there is to it.

As an example let's take Dean Rusk, and his perception of what land belongs to whom in Vietnam. Of course Secretary Rusk didn't see South Vietnam as belonging to America, but he did apparently see it as self-evidently part of something called the "Free World," and he did assume an American responsibility to resist any Communist encroachment on the Free World. If he had not seen the problem in these simplistic terms, he would hardly have kept coming back, as he did, to the simple proposition that the Communists have to be taught to "let their neighbors alone." To him it apparently seemed self-evident that South Vietnam was a "neighbor" of North Vietnam rather than, as the Communists apparently perceive it, a part of the very body of an independent nation called "Vietnam," into which American invaders have been arrogantly intruding. To Mr. Rusk the notion that American troops might be honestly regarded by anyone as invaders was apparently an intensely dissonant thought, and therefore unthinkable.

*Territorial Self-images in Vietnam*

South Vietnam, I think, is almost a classical case of an area in which territorial self-images overlap and in which, therefore, each side honestly feels that it *must* expel the alien intruders. On both sides ideology is to a large extent rationalization; the chief underlying psychological factor is pride—the virile self-image—defined as having the courage to defend one's "own" land when foreigners are perceived as attacking it. In a sense you could also say that fear is a fundamental emotion in wars of this type, but it is important to recognize that the fear is mobilized by cognitive distortion—by the mistaken assumption that the land in dispute is self-evidently one's own, and that therefore anyone else who has the effrontery to exist on that land, with a gun in his hand, must be a diabolical alien "aggressor." Neither fear nor pride would be intensely mobilized—as both of them are—if it were not for this

cognitive distortion. Each side feels that its manhood is at stake in whether it has the courage and the toughness to see to it that every last one of those intruders is thrown out of *its* territory. To Ho Chi Minh this proposition was apparently as self-evident and elemental as the mirror-image of it is to Dean Rusk. Neither one of them, apparently, would tolerate overlapping, and therefore ambiguous, territorial images. Frenkel-Brunswik (1949) would probably say that neither could tolerate ambiguity. We have, then, in the concept of intolerance of ambiguity, another clue to an understanding of why it is that territorial claims have such rigidity and emotional intensity. And we have the implication that *pulling apart* these overlapping images—clarifying boundaries and getting agreement on them—is one of the things that most needs to be done if we want peace. It may be, too, that deliberate withdrawal from certain hotly contested areas would on balance contribute to peace.

### The "Pro-us Illusion"

A third not-so-obvious proposition is that *there is a tendency to see the people in another country as more friendly to one's own side than they actually are*. Let's call this the Pro-us Illusion. It's a form of wishful thinking, obviously, but like various other forms of wishful thinking, it is seldom recognized as such by those who indulge in it.

#### *. . . in American Perception of the USSR*

One major example of it would be the long-lasting, hard-dying delusion of many Americans that most of the people in the Soviet Union are against their present rulers and on the American side in the East-West conflict. From 1917, when the Communists first came to power, until perhaps the middle 1950's this was a very widespread belief in the United States, and it contributed much to the rigidity of the militant anti-Communist policy of American policy-makers such as John Foster Dulles. The Harvard research by Bauer, Inkeles, Kluckhohn, Hanfmann, and others (1956) did a lot to put an end to this delusion, but it lingers on in some quarters. Not so very long ago a prominent United States Senator declared that the Soviet Union is "seething with discontent" and hostility to its present rulers.

#### *. . . in Our Perception of the Bay of Pigs*

Another example was the belief of many Americans, at the time of our Bay of Pigs adventure, that most of the Cuban people were intensely hostile to Castro in the same way we were, and perhaps ready to rise up against him. It is hard to tell just what was in the minds of our policy-makers at that time, but it looks as if

they thought there was a good chance of some kind of uprising if we could just provide the spark to ignite it. The sad thing is that they could have known better. They had easy access to the research of Lloyd Free, a good solid piece of public-opinion survey work indicating that most of the Cuban people, less than a year earlier, were quite favorable to Castro (Cantril, 1968). But Free's evidence was ignored. According to Roger Hilsman, the policy-makers just didn't try to find out what real evidence existed on the attitudes of the Cuban people (Hilsman, 1968). They made no genuine effort to get evidence that was free from obvious bias. (The testimony of refugees in Miami, which they apparently did get, was obviously biased.) That much seems clear: their curiosity was inhibited. As to the reasons for their inhibition of curiosity, one can speculate along various lines. Perhaps it was a defense against dissonance; Festinger might say that they were embarked on an enterprise, and any doubts about the wisdom of that enterprise would have been cognitively dissonant. Or perhaps it was a defense of their black-and-white picture; they may have sensed that the information they didn't inquire into would have impaired their all-black image of Castro's diabolical tyranny over the Cuban people, and their all-white image of themselves as liberating the Cuban people from a diabolical tyrant. Heider might say they were preserving psychological harmony or balance. In any case it looks as if they shut their eyes because they were unconsciously or half-consciously afraid of what they might see. They cherished too fondly the Pro-us Illusion—and we know the fiasco that resulted.

. . . *in Our Perception of Vietnam*

Now, more disastrously, there is the case of Vietnam. There, too, we more or less kidded ourselves into believing that the people were on our side. In some ways it is very much like the case of Cuba. In both cases there has been a great overestimation of the extent to which the people were pro-us, and consequently a gross overestimate of the possibility of achieving a quick military victory. In both cases, too, there has been a striking lack of interest, on the part of top policy-making officials, in the best evidence that social and political science could provide.

The irony is increased by our solemn official dedication to the great objective of enabling the people of South Vietnam to determine their own destiny. President Johnson, McNamara, Rusk, President Nixon, and others have continually talked about helping "the Vietnamese" to defend themselves against the Viet Cong and invaders from the north—as if the Viet Cong were not Vietnamese, and as if it were self-evident that most of "the Viet-

namese" were gallantly resisting these attacks from within and without, and eager for our help in doing so.

Actually that was always far from self-evident. Some of you may have read my long article, "Misperception and the Vietnam War," nearly three years ago in the *Journal of Social Issues* (White, 1966). If so, you may remember the twenty-five pages of the article (pp. 19-44) that were devoted to a rather intensive effort to cover the evidence on both sides of that question and to find out how the people of South Vietnam really felt about the war. The upshot of that analysis was pessimistic; I estimated that probably there were at that time more South Vietnamese leaning in the direction of the Viet Cong—or NLF<sup>2</sup>—than leaning in our direction.

Since then I have revised and updated the analysis, on the basis of three more years of accumulating evidence. The new information includes all that I was able to glean during two months on the spot in Vietnam, where I had an unusual opportunity to interview well-informed Vietnamese. It includes the Columbia Broadcasting System-Opinion Research Corporation survey, in which more than 1500 South Vietnamese respondents were interviewed (1967), the writings of Douglas Pike (1966), the outstanding authority on the Viet Cong, and a good deal of other miscellaneous evidence. None of this information is conclusive. For instance, the CBS-ORC survey obviously never solved the problem of getting peasants to speak frankly with middle-class, city-bred interviewers: But by putting together all of the various sorts of information, which is what I did in the book *Nobody Wanted War*, (pp. 29-84), we can, I think, make some fairly educated guesses.

The general upshot of the revised analysis differed from the earlier one chiefly in giving a good deal more emphasis to sheer indifference on the part of a great many of the South Vietnamese. It looks as if a large majority are now so disillusioned with both sides that their main preoccupations are simply the effort to survive, and a fervent hope that peace will come soon, regardless of which side wins. It's a plague-on-both-your-houses attitude. But the results of the earlier analysis did seem to be confirmed in that it still looks as if, among those who do care intensely about which side wins, the Viet Cong has the edge. My own very rough and tentative estimates, representing the situation in 1967, were these: something like twenty percent really dedicated on the side of the

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<sup>2</sup>The common term "Viet Cong" seems preferable to "National Liberation Front" here, since the core of the group is unquestionably Communist (which is all that "Cong" means) and the term "liberation" is question-begging Communist propaganda.

Viet Cong, something like ten percent equally dedicated on the anti-Viet-Cong side, and the remainder, something like seventy percent, relatively indifferent. Since in any political conflict the people who count are the people who care, what matters here is the estimate that, among those who *are* dedicated to one side or the other, more are against the position of the United States than for it. The upshot still seems to be that the psychological balance tips *against* the Saigon government and the intervening Americans. That is probably true even now, in 1969, and in previous years it was apparently much more true. For instance, my estimate is that in early 1965, when we first became very heavily involved, it was more like 40 to 10, not 20 to 10, in favor of the Viet Cong.

*If our policy-makers had known . . .*

Suppose our policy-makers had known that most of the emotionally involved people were against us, and had known it clearly, at the time they were making those fateful commitments and staking American prestige on the outcome. Suppose that in 1961-2 when John Kennedy made his major commitment, or in 1964-5 when Johnson made his, they had said to themselves: "Of course we know that if we fight in Vietnam we will be supporting a small minority against a much larger minority." Would they have done it? Would we now have all the tragedy of the Vietnam War? All the blood, all the guilt, all the moral ignominy in the eyes of most of the rest of the world, all the sensitive intelligent young people here at home estranged from their own country? I doubt it. The American super-ego—if well informed—is too genuinely on the side of national self-determination, too genuinely against any clear, naked form of American domination over little countries on the other side of the world, even in the name of anti-Communism. If Kennedy and Johnson had clearly realized that the attitudes of the South Vietnamese people at that time were much more anti-us than pro-us, would this whole Vietnam mess have been avoided? I think so.

Vietnam was avoidable, just as the Bay of Pigs was avoidable. The one essential factor in avoiding both of these tragedies would have been to look hard and honestly at the best available evidence (not social-science data, in the case of Vietnam, but the testimony of the best-informed area experts, such as Joseph Buttinger). Our policy-makers in 1962 and 1965 did not look hard and honestly at the best available evidence; and the chief reason they didn't, it seems to me, was that they were clinging to an image of America as helping a beleaguered and grateful South Vietnam—not intervening in a nasty civil war in which most of those who were emotionally involved would be against us. Like the adventurers who

planned the Bay of Pigs they were not really curious, because they half-knew what the answer would be if they did look honestly at the facts. They too shut their eyes and put their hands over their ears because they were cherishing too fondly the Pro-us Illusion. And we know now the disaster that resulted.

## Summary

The three not-so-obvious contributions (or potential contributions) of psychology to peace are:

First, a corollary of the Hovland two-sided approach: namely, that we Americans should strenuously seek common ground with the Communists, and publicly accept all we can honestly accept of the Communist point of view.

Second, the proposition that the mirror-image type of war is most likely to break out when there is overlapping and conflict of territorial self-images. It follows that reducing such overlap by clarifying boundaries, or even by deliberate withdrawal at certain points, would contribute to peace.

And third, the Pro-us Illusion, with the further proposition that if we Americans had not been indulging in it, neither the Bay of Pigs nor the Vietnam war would have occurred.

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## Attitudes versus Actions: The Relationship of Verbal and Overt Behavioral Responses to Attitude Objects

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Gordon Allport (1954) has described the attitude concept as "the primary building stone in the edifice of social psychology [p. 45]," and the extensive attitude literature in the past 20 years supports this contention. Stimulated primarily by the cognitive consistency theories, thousands of pages have been written recently on attitude formation and change.

One possible reason for the popularity of the attitude concept is that social psychologists have assumed that attitudes have something to do with social behavior. Cohen (1964), in the concluding chapter of his book, *Attitude Change and Social Influence*, states:

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Most of the investigators whose work we have examined make the broad psychological assumption that since attitudes are evaluative predispositions, they have consequences for the way people act toward others, for the programs they actually undertake, and for the manner in which they carry them out. Thus attitudes are always seen as precursors of behavior, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs [pp. 137-138].

But as early as 1934, there was published evidence contrary to the assumption that attitudes and behaviors are closely related. In the 1930's when, according to studies of social distance, there was much anti-Chinese sentiment in the United States, LaPiere (1934) took several extensive automobile trips with a Chinese couple. Unknown to his companions, he took notes of how the travellers were treated, and he kept a list of hotels and restaurants where they were served. Only once were they denied service, and LaPiere judged their treatment to be above average in 40% of the restaurants visited. Later, LaPiere wrote to the 250 hotels and restaurants on his list, asking if they would accept Chinese guests. Over 90% of the 128 proprietors responding indicated they would not serve Chinese, in spite of the fact that all had previously accommodated LaPiere's companions.

The present paper examines several aspects of the relationship between attitudes and actions: (a) importance of the relationship in terms of conceptual, validation, and social considerations, (b) empirical research on the relationship, and (c) factors postulated to influence the relationship.

Before continuing, it will be necessary to consider several terms. Following Insko and Schopler (1967, pp. 361-362), attitudes are conceived as "evaluative feelings of pro or con, favorable or unfavorable, with regard to particular objects"; the objects may be "concrete representations of things or actions, or abstract concepts." No distinction will be made between affective and cognitive components of attitude, since in practice both are tapped by verbal measures, and often questions about feelings and beliefs are included in the same attitude scale. The term overt behavior will be used to refer to nonverbal behavior outside the situation in which attitudes were measured. As Kendler and Kendler (1949) have noted, "attitude-behavior consistency" and "attitude-behavior inconsistency" are rather imprecise terms applied by an observer of verbal and overt behavioral responses. That is, they involve a judgment by the observer, and do not directly refer to social behaviors.

## Importance of Attitude-Behavior Relationships

### *Conceptual Considerations*

In a discussion of "attitude as a scientific concept," DeFleur and Westie (1963) state that there are two general conceptions of attitude in the current literature, probability conceptions and latent process conceptions. The primary difference between them is "the kinds of inferences their proponents would derive from the behavior referent (observable attitudinal responses) [p. 20]":

The primary inference implied in probability conceptions is that attitudinal responses are more or less consistent. That is, a series of responses toward a given attitudinal stimulus is likely to show some degree of organization, structure, or predictability. Responses of a specified type, say verbal rejection behavior, may be more likely to occur than, say, acceptance or indifference responses for a given individual when he is confronted repeatedly with a defined attitude stimulus. If this is the case, such a response organization can be termed a negative attitude. The attitude, then, is an inferred property of the responses, namely their consistency. Stated in another way, attitude is equated with the *probability of recurrence of behavior forms of a given type or direction*.

The second type of attitude conception, the latent process view, begins with the fact of response consistency, but goes a step beyond this and postulates the operation of some hidden or hypothetical variable, functioning within the behaving individual, which shapes, acts upon, or 'mediates' the observable behavior. That is, the observable organization of behavior is said to be 'due to' or can be 'explained by' the action of some mediating *latent variable*. The attitude, then, is not the manifest responses themselves, or their probability, but an intervening variable operating between stimulus and response and inferred from the overt behavior. This inner process is seen as giving both direction and consistency to the person's responses [p. 21].

DeFleur and Westie argue that the latent process conception, which they describe as "by far the most popular," involves the assumption of attitude-behavior consistency. Since both verbal and overt behavioral responses are supposedly mediated by the *same* underlying, latent variable (attitude), then responses of a given kind (e.g., verbal) should both show consistency over time and covary with other kinds of responses (e.g., overt behavioral). And when verbal and overt behavioral responses do not correspond, one is left with the problem of determining which one is the better indicator of the latent attitude. Did LaPiere's hotel and restaurant owners have negative or positive attitudes toward Chinese? One would draw different conclusions depending upon

which type of response he believed more accurately reflected the latent attitude.<sup>2</sup>

The assumption of attitude-behavior consistency is avoided in the probability conception since each kind of behavior "can be regarded as equally legitimate and the probability of each occurring under various circumstances, or their possible correlation, becomes an empirical problem [DeFleur & Westie, 1963, p. 26]." If the proprietors' responses to letters do not correspond to their behaviors, one may conclude that there is no observed response consistency and thus no evidence that there is an attitude toward Chinese.

Proponents of the probability conception of attitude thus regard inconsistency as posing no conceptual problem since responses of different "kinds" or "universes" are involved (cf. B. F. Green, 1954; Kendler & Kendler, 1949). Unfortunately, however, they often fail to specify criteria for determining when one response is of a different kind than another (Cook & Selltitz, 1964). For example, is a verbal commitment to behave a different kind of response than actually engaging in the behavior?

A conception of attitudes which is in some ways similar to both the latent process and the probability notions has been proposed by Campbell (1963). He suggests that the same latent *acquired behavioral disposition* or attitude mediates both verbal and overt behavioral responses, but that the way the attitude is manifested depends upon certain situational pressures. Thus it may be easier to give a negative response on a mailed questionnaire than to refuse to serve a waiting Chinese couple. That is, the *situational threshold* for expressing negative feelings toward an ethnic group on a questionnaire may be lower than the threshold for denying them accommodations in a face-to-face situation.

Campbell argues that most notions of attitude-behavior inconsistency are too broad, and include instances of "pseudoinconsistency" in which verbal and overt behavioral responses do not correspond, yet are predictable if their thresholds are known. In LaPiere's study, inconsistency as Campbell conceives of it would occur only if persons who refused to accept Chinese in face-to-face encounters, indicated on a questionnaire that they would serve them. In Campbell's words, "The fact that 92% of the cases were mediocre in their Sinophilia, having enough to get over the low hurdle, but not enough to get over the high hurdle, is irrelevant to the problem of inconsistency, but rather speaks only as to the heights of the hurdles [p. 160]." Put another way, there were at

<sup>2</sup>See Mischel (1968) for an excellent treatment of this and related issues in the broader context of the measurement and validation of personality traits.

least three levels of intensity of attitude toward Chinese: persons with the most favorable attitudes accepted Chinese both symbolically and in person, at the second level in favorability were those who accepted them face-to-face but not symbolically, the least favorable attitudes were shown by persons who rejected Chinese both symbolically and in person.

Campbell's conception resembles the probability notion described by DeFleur and Westie in that he apparently sees the task of specifying situational thresholds (which determine the degree of consistency of verbal and overt behavioral responses) as an empirical problem. At least he offers no *a priori* basis for categorizing situations in terms of the relative difficulty of expressing favorable or unfavorable attitudes. It should be noted that when situational thresholds are determined empirically, it is not sufficient merely to observe the percentages of people who pass each of two thresholds or "hurdles" and then to label as inconsistent only those who pass the higher threshold but not the lower one. The relative heights of thresholds determined from the responses of one sample must be cross-validated with a second group. The complexity of the problem of specifying quantifiable "heights" or thresholds for different situations is illustrated by the fact that in some studies (e.g., LaPiere, 1934) more people show unfavorable reactions to minority group members symbolically than in face-to-face interaction, while the reverse has also been reported (e.g., Linn, 1965).

### *Validational Considerations*

It has been almost a quarter of a century since McNemar (1946) published a long review and critique of attitude-opinion methodology, yet many of his criticisms, particularly those on the validity of attitude measures, are applicable today. McNemar noted that although complex and "high sounding" definitions of attitudes are proposed, practically all attitude research is on the verbal level. The validity of attitude measures, i.e., "the degree of the relationship between overt nonverbal and verbal behavior [p. 296]," is not known, and apparently is of little interest to most investigators. "Some investigators have sidestepped the problem of validity by denying that anything exists beyond the verbal expressions, hence there is no problem of validity. Others have adopted the idea that scales or questions test whatever they test, so why worry [p. 297]." Research on the validity of verbal measures is, in McNemar's words, "direly needed."

Comparison of public opinion polls with voting behavior was cited by McNemar as relevant to the validity question, but he points out that this is validity only in a group sense. The per-

centage of respondents indicating a preference for a candidate is compared with the percentage of vote; individual validity, i.e., the voting behavior of the particular respondents whose opinions were polled, is not determined.

In contrast to McNemar, and in keeping with their preference for the probability conception of attitude, DeFleur and Westie (1963) reject "the demands that those who construct attitude scales show the validity of their instruments by demonstrating that people behave overtly in a manner consistent with their verbal scale scores [p. 27]." Since "inconsistency between verbal scale scores and other overt actions is to be expected, then the use of *external* criteria for testing validity is ruled out [p. 27]." B. F. Green (1954) offers a similar view, stating that measures should be taken on the particular kind of "attitude universe" (e.g., verbal, action) in which one is interested, rather than using verbal measures on the assumption that they correlate highly with actions.

The difficulty in finding suitable overt behavioral measures with which to compare verbal measures has been noted by a number of writers (e.g., Corey, 1937; Murphy, Murphy & Newcomb, 1937). One general approach to this problem has been to compare verbal and overt behavioral responses of persons assumed to be at the ends of an attitudinal continuum, e.g., attitudes toward prohibition by Methodists and businessmen. Investigations using this "known groups" approach have been criticized by Corey (1937) as providing only "indirect evidence almost of an anecdotal sort for the validity of attitude questionnaires [pp. 273-274]." He points out that the basis for selecting known groups is often their *verbal* behavior, rather than *overt* behavior, so that comparisons may be made, in effect, between two different verbal responses. The generality of validation studies using known groups is also limited by the facts that (a) the range of the attitudinal responses within the groups is restricted, and (b) only members of organized groups are studied. Persons with middling attitudes and those who are not members of organized groups are generally not available for study.

### *Social Considerations*

Dollard (1949) has suggested that a high degree of consistency between words and acts has great "social utility":

It enables men to participate in organized social life with good confidence that others will do what they say they will do, will be where they say they will be. Valid prediction of behavior is not a mere luxury of morality, but a vital social necessity. Every man is under compulsion to keep his prom-

ises, to make his acts correspond with his verbal expressions. He constantly watches others to see that they do likewise [p. 624].

The matching of opinions with more effortful behavior is not left to chance. Our children are given careful training in 'truthful' behavior. They are impressed with the social importance of keeping promises. They are trained in rehearsing directions received from parents and policed to see that they follow these directions correctly. It is probably this acknowledged training which gives us all the spontaneous confidence that verbal behavior on surveys very frequently predicts action in real life. No one can lie with impunity, that is, without anxiety, even to a surveyor [p. 625].

It may be that the training in our society leads the layman to expect attitude-behavior consistency. This expectation is particularly strong as it applies to public officials. Presumably it is very damaging to an elected official when it is shown that his voting behavior has not corresponded to his statements. This lack of predictability may imply that the person is insincere and not trustworthy. And civil rights leaders point up what they call the hypocrisy of many members of white society, who embrace the notions of equality and who express concern for minority groups, yet who fail to translate these feelings into positive programs.

Deutscher (1966b) raises another question relevant to the social significance of attitude-behavior relationships. He expresses concern that conclusions from social scientific research, which are primarily based on verbal responses, are guiding social action programs, which are primarily concerned with overt behavior. He asks rhetorically, "Can we assume that if we are attempting to alter behavior through a training program, an educational campaign, or some sort of information intervention, a measured change in attitude in the 'right' direction results in a change in behavior [pp. 250-251]?"

### **Empirical Research on Attitude Behavior Relationships**

An attempt was made to locate studies which met the following criteria: (a) the unit of observation must be the individual rather than a group, (b) at least one attitudinal measure and one overt behavioral measure toward the same object must be obtained for each subject, (c) the attitude and the behavior must be measured on separate occasions, and (d) the overt behavioral response must not be merely the subject's retrospective verbal report of his own behavior. Studies relating changes of attitude to changes in overt behavior were not included. Although these criteria provide a rather stringent test of attitude-behavior relationships, they are compatible with the assumption cited by

Cohen (1964) that attitudes have consequences for behavior outside the testing situation.

The studies are grouped into three categories on the basis of the attitude object: (a) jobs, (b) minority group members, and (c) miscellaneous objects. These studies are summarized below, greater detail being given for the studies most relevant to the later discussion of factors postulated to influence attitude-behavior relationships. A concise summary of all studies is given in Table 1. Coefficients of association when reported by the investigators are shown in the table. Unfortunately, in some instances investigators have reduced ordinal- and interval-scale data to dichotomies, and have not reported statistics of association. A common procedure is to select the top or bottom quartiles or halves of a distribution. Such a procedure not only fails to take full advantage of available data, but as Shontz (1965, p. 133) has noted, involves "an admission of lack of faith in the measurement of the variable."

For investigations not reporting a statistic of association, the percentage of subjects whose attitudes and behaviors were "consistent" was calculated from available data. Generally the percentage is the sum of the number of subjects who showed positive attitudes and positive behavior plus the number of subjects who showed negative attitudes and negative behavior, divided by the total number of subjects. Rarely were these percentages reported by the investigators. A word of caution about these percentage figures should thus be noted. For several studies, dichotomizing both attitudes and behaviors as positive or negative involved judgments with which others might disagree, and these judgments affect the magnitude of reported consistency. Also, the use of a percentage figure does not take into account the baseline level of behavior, e.g., in Dean's (1958) study, most labor union members did not attend union meetings, regardless of their attitude toward the union.

### *Attitudes and Behaviors toward Jobs and Industrial Organizations*

Research on job attitudes and behaviors has recently been reviewed by Vroom (1964). The present section summarizes the data and conclusions from that review.

Perhaps the most common behavioral measure in industrial studies is job performance, as rated by the employee's supervisor. The rating is then related to the employee's job attitudes. Data on reliability of performance ratings are rarely reported, although split-half reliability coefficients of attitude measures are sometimes given.

*Work performance.* Vroom (1964) cites 15 studies relating job attitudes and performance of individuals in a wide range of occu-

TABLE 1  
SUMMARY OF STUDIES OF ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOR RELATIONSHIPS

Investigator(s)	Subjects	Attitude object	Overt behavior	n	Strength of relationship <sup>a</sup>
A. Jobs, industrial organizations, and work groups					
Vroom (1964)	employees	one's job	job performance	range: 40-890	median $r = .14$ range: .68 to -.03
[Review of 15 studies]				890	$r = .01$
Bernberg (1952)	aircraft plant employees	one's job	job absences	489	$r = -.07$
Vroom (1962)	oil company employees	one's job	job absences	480	biserial $r = .20$ , .05
Weitz & Nuckols (1953)	insurance agents	one's job	job resignations	210	Kendall's $\tau_{au} = .22$ , .11
Webb & Hollander (1956)	Air Force Cadets	flight training program	dropping out of program		
Sagi, Olmstead, & Atelsek (1955)	college students	student activity groups	dropping out of group	123	b
B. Members of minority groups					
LaPiere (1934)	hotel & restaurant proprietors	Chinese	providing service to Chinese	128	9%
Kutner, Wilkins, & Yarrow (1952)	restaurant & tavern proprietors	Negroes	providing service to a Negro	11	45%, 0%
DeFleur & Westie (1958)	college students	Negroes	willingness to have picture taken with a Negro and widely distributed	46	70%
Linn (1965)	college students	Negroes	willingness to have picture taken with a Negro and widely distributed	34	65%, 41%
Green (1967)	college students	Negroes	willingness to have picture taken with a Negro and widely distributed	44	$r = .43$
Fendrich (1967)	college students	Negroes	participation in group discussion on race relations	46	$\gamma = .69$ , .12

TABLE 1 (Continued)  
SUMMARY OF STUDIES OF ATTITUDE-BEHAVIOR RELATIONSHIPS

Investigator(s)	Subjects	Attitude object	Overt behavior	n	Strength of relationship <sup>a</sup>
Warner & DeFleur (1969)	college students	Negroes	signed agreement or disagreement to a request to engage in behaviors involving Negroes	123	63%
Mann (1959)	college students	Negroes	rated prejudice shown in discussion group	102	$r = .51, .22$
Katz & Benjamin (1960)	college students	Negroes	observed behaviors in racially mixed groups	32	c
Rokeach & Mezei (1966)	college students	Negroes	choice of group members with whom to have coffee	68	54%
Kamenetsky, Burgess, & Rowan (1956)	college students	Negroes	signing a petition for fair employment	100	biserial $r = .61, .59, .58, .54$
Himmelsstein & Moore (1963)	college students	Negroes	imitation of Negro model's petition signing	51	47%
Bray (1950)	college students	Negroes, Jews	conforming to Negro's or Jew's autokinetic movement judgments	50 per group	$r = .15$ (Jewish condit.) $r = .11$ (Negro condit.)
Berg (1966)	college students	Negroes	conforming to Negro's autokinetic movement judgments	60	$r = -.10, -.14, -.21$
Malof & Lott (1962)	college students	Negroes	conforming to Negro's judgments in Asch-type conformity situation	60	67%
Smith & Dixon (1968)	college students	Negroes	being conditioned by a Negro E in a Taffel verbal conditioning procedure	80	d
C. Miscellaneous objects Carr & Roberts (1965)	Negro college students	civil rights activities	participation in civil rights activities	332	range of $r$ : .29 to .10

	Industrial employees	Local labor union	attendance at local labor union meetings	248	25%
Cattell, Heist, Heist, & Stewart (1950); Cattell, Maxwell, Light, & Unger (1950)	male college students and businessmen	football, movies, subject's chosen career, sleep	daily log of time and/or money spent	40	range of $r$ : .26 to -.09
Corey (1937)	college students	cheating	cheating on self-graded exam	67	$r = .02$
Freeman & Aatov (1960)	college students	cheating	cheating on self-graded exam	38	range of Kendall's $\tau_{au}$ : .10 to -.19
Tittle & Hill (1967)	college students	student political activity	voting in student election	301	range of $\gamma$ : .50 to .29
Bellin & Kriesberg (1967)	mothers of families eligible for public housing	public housing	applying for public housing	80	60%
Newton & Newton (1950)	maternity ward patients	breast feeding	"success" of breast-feeding judged from amount of breast milk taken by infant	91	74%
Potter & Klein (1957)	maternity ward patients	breast feeding	observed affection toward infant and efforts to facilitate feeding at time of nursing	25	$r = .65$
Wicker (1969)	college students	participating as a subject in psychological research	commitment to participate and actual participation as a subject in psychological research	257	$r = .17$

\*Statistics of association are shown when reported; otherwise, the figure is the percentage of subjects whose verbal attitudes were consistent with their overt behaviors.

\*Group members who remained had more favorable attitudes toward their groups than those who dropped out.

\*An inverse relationship was found between attitudes and behaviors: the more prejudiced white subjects were more accepting of suggestions by Negroes than were the less prejudiced white subjects.

\*Neither high- nor low-prejudice subjects showed significant conditioning effects with the Negro experimenters when compared to appropriate controls; high-prejudice subjects showed significantly greater conditioning with white experimenters than with Negro experimenters.

pations, including insurance agents, plumber's apprentices, farmers, supervisors in an electronics firm, female sales clerks, and others. The  $N$ 's for the studies ranged from 40 to 890. For the 15 studies, the median product-moment correlation between job performance and attitudes is .14, with a range of .68 to  $-.03$ . Of these, only seven coefficients were significant beyond the .05 probability level. Moreover, the authenticity of the .68 coefficient, reported in an unpublished study, has been questioned by Brayfield and Crockett (1955, p. 401-402). The next highest coefficient is .31.

*Work absences.* Only two studies cited by Vroom (1964) clearly meet the criteria of the present review. Bernberg (1952) found no correlation between attitudes toward the company and absences for 890 hourly workers in an aircraft plant. Vroom (1962) reported a correlation of  $-.07$  ( $ns$ ) between job satisfaction and absences for 489 oil company employees. In both studies, absence data were obtained from company records.

*Work resignations.* Weitz and Nuckols (1953) sent questionnaires on job attitudes to 1235 insurance agents. Biserual correlation coefficients between these attitudes and job survival for the 480 agents who returned questionnaires were .20 ( $p < .01$ ) for a direct attitude measure and .05 ( $ns$ ) for an indirect measure. Webb and Hollander (1956) report a Kendall's  $\tau$  of .11 between a questionnaire measure of attitudes toward a flight training program and voluntary continuation in the program among 210 cadets who had shown aptitude for flying. A self-ranking of interest in the program and survival yielded a  $\tau$  of .22. Levels of significance are not reported for these figures. Sagi, Olmstead and Atelsek (1955) report that college students who remained as participants in student groups ( $n = 63$ ) had significantly ( $p < .003$ ) higher personal involvement attitudes toward their group than students who dropped out ( $n = 60$ ).

Thus the evidence from Vroom's (1964) review suggests that job attitudes have only a slight and often insignificant relationship with job performance and absences from work. The few available studies relating job attitudes with resignations tentatively suggest that these two variables may be more closely related.

### *Attitudes and Behaviors toward Members of Minority Groups*

*Providing public accommodations.* The classic study by LaPiere (1934) described in the introductory section showed a considerable discrepancy between verbal responses and treatment of Chinese guests in restaurants and hotels. A similar study is reported by Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (1952). Two white women entered 11 restaurants and taverns in a suburb of a North-

eastern city, and after they were seated, a Negro woman joined them. The Negro was never refused admission, and the service in the establishments was described as "exemplary." The establishments visited were later asked by letter if they would take reservations for a social group which included Negroes. Seventeen days after the letters were sent, no replies had been received. Telephone calls were then made to the establishments, and as a result five managers tentatively and reluctantly agreed to take the reservations, and six refused. When control calls, not mentioning the race of guests, were made to the establishments, 10 immediately took the reservations.

*Agreeing to be photographed.* Three studies compared white college students' willingness to be photographed with Negroes with their responses to verbal attitude scales. DeFleur and Westie (1958) had 250 students respond to Summated Differences Scales (Westie, 1953) to obtain attitudes toward Negroes. Twenty-three students from the top quartile of the attitude score distribution (prejudiced group) and the same number from the bottom quartile (unprejudiced group) were then selected for further study. The two groups were matched on eight social background variables. As a part of an interview procedure, subjects were shown slides of a well-dressed Negro seated with a well-dressed white person of the opposite sex. The slides were used as a projective test. Later, subjects were asked if they would be willing to pose with a Negro of the opposite sex for the purpose of making a similar set of slides. A "standard photograph release statement" given to each subject contained a graded series of seven uses to which the photograph might be put: (1) laboratory use to be seen only by professional sociologists, (2) publication in a technical journal read only by professional sociologists, (3) laboratory use to be seen by a few dozen students, (4) as a teaching aid to be seen by hundreds of sociology students, (5) publication in the student newspaper in a story on the research, (6) publication in the student's hometown newspaper, (7) use in a nation-wide publicity campaign advocating racial integration. The subject signed his name for each use he agreed to. Responses for level of usage of the photographs were dichotomized into scores above and below the mean, and then were compared to the attitude measure. Of the 23 subjects with the most negative attitudes toward Negroes, five signed more than the average number of uses to which the photographs could be put; nine of the 23 unprejudiced subjects signed fewer than the average number of uses. Although a chi-square analysis revealed a significant ( $p < .01$ ) relation between attitude and level of agreement, the proportion of inconsistent subjects (14 out of 46) seems large, considering that the sample was se-

lected to represent the extremes of the verbal scale.

Linn (1965) attempted to improve upon the DeFleur and Westie (1958) design by (a) making the stimuli in the verbal and overt behavioral situations more similar, (b) reducing any influences on subjects due to the knowledge they were participating in an experiment, and (c) making the behavior situation more credible by having Negroes present.

Students in introductory sociology courses completed an attitude questionnaire which included seven items regarding subjects' willingness to be photographed with a Negro of the opposite sex. The items represented essentially the same graded series of uses employed by DeFleur and Westie (1958). Thus Linn's attitudinal measure was the same as DeFleur and Westie's behavioral measure, except that the questions were posed as hypothetical and not actual commitments.

Four weeks later, female students who had completed the questionnaire were asked in class to volunteer for interviews conducted by a psychology testing organization interested in developing a semi-projective personality test. Thirty-four students volunteered. At the interview, the subject was told by the interviewer, a Negro, that the testing firm was developing a TAT which would show a racially integrated couple in various social situations. She was asked to pose for such photographs, and to sign photographic releases for four levels of use of the photographs by the testing company. At the close of the interview, the subject was introduced to a second Negro, who purportedly was representing an organization working on a racial integration campaign. The organization was thus interested in the photographs. The subject then was asked to sign three more photograph release agreements relating to the integration campaign. The seven levels of agreement were identical to items on the questionnaire which had been administered earlier. If the subject agreed to be photographed, an appointment was made to have the pictures taken, and when she appeared, the deception was explained.

On the attitude questionnaire, only two of the 34 subjects said they were not willing to pose with a Negro. However, in the actual situation, 12 subjects refused to sign any of the releases. Also, the mean number of release levels signed on the questionnaire was 4.9 compared to 2.8 in the behavior situation. Attitude-behavior discrepancies of two or more levels on the 7-point photograph release scale were shown by 59% of the sample. Generally, the larger discrepancies were for subjects who indicated on the questionnaire a willingness to have the photographs be widely used.

In a study by Green (1967, 1969), an experimenter posing as a representative of a publishing firm told students in several college classes that his company needed photographs to include in textbooks it was developing. Later he distributed sketches of poses for the photographs. All poses included two persons, and they represented four different degrees of intimacy ranging from portrayal of "equality in a public situation" to "a fairly intimate heterosexual relationship." For each sketch there was an all-white version (both figures were white) and an inter-racial version (one figure was a Negro, the other a white). For both versions of each sketch, the subject was asked to indicate his willingness to pose as indicated in the sketch by signing four photographic releases. The releases varied in the degree to which the photograph would be disseminated, ranging from use in a Peace Corps textbook for underdeveloped countries to use in a *Life* magazine story concerned with Peace Corps textbooks. The dependent variable was the difference between the subject's signed commitment to the all-white and the inter-racial versions of each sketch. An additional independent variable was the social status of two Negroes who assisted the experimenter at the time the photograph release signatures were obtained. In the low status condition, they were sloppily dressed and shuffled about the room when distributing materials to subjects. In the high status condition, both were well-groomed and well-dressed and they were introduced as university students. It was thought that subjects would surmise that the two Negroes present would be the photographic models and thus they would be less willing to sign release statements for the inter-racial photographs in the low status condition.

In the following week, students were asked in their classes (by a different experimenter) to complete a number of questionnaires, including the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (Woodmansee & Cook, 1967) as a part of a "public opinion study of college students." The data analyzed were from 44 subjects who scored from .5 to 1.5 standard deviations from the mean (moderately favorable toward Negroes) or from -.5 to -1.5 standard deviations from the mean (moderately unfavorable) on the Inventory.

An analysis of variance of signed photograph releases indicated that (a) subjects with moderately favorable attitudes were more willing to be photographed with Negroes than were those with moderately unfavorable attitudes ( $p < .01$ ), (b) subjects were less willing to pose for the photographs portraying a high degree of intimacy between themselves and Negroes ( $p < .05$ ), and (c) this effect of degree of intimacy was slight when the pho-

tograph was to have a restricted dissemination, but was strong when many people would see the photograph ( $p < .01$ ). None of the other variables or interactions had a significant effect. It is also reported that the product-moment correlation coefficient between the attitude measure and the behavioral index was .43 ( $p < .05$ ).

*Participating in a civil rights discussion.* Fendrich (1967) has related white college students' attitudes toward Negroes to their verbal commitment to interact with Negroes and their actual participation in discussion groups on racial problems. A scale of attitudes toward Negroes was individually administered to 46 students at their places of residence. At the time of the interview, the investigator also obtained responses to a commitment scale, which included questions on whether the subject would engage in a range of behaviors with a Negro, from having coffee with him to having him spend the weekend at the subject's home. In addition, "subjects were asked if they were willing to attend small group discussions with members of the NAACP that were scheduled in the near future [p. 352]." At the interview, approximately half of the subjects were given the commitment scale first, and the other half responded to the attitude scale first.

Within five days after the interview, subjects were contacted to see if they would attend one of four discussion meetings; those who did attend the meetings were asked at the end of the discussion to sign up for work on various civil rights projects. A four-point behavioral scale was thus available, ranging from refusing the invitation to participate in the discussion group through attending and signing up for further activities. It is not reported whether the interviewer contacted the subjects and led the discussion groups, or whether different persons performed these roles; thus the degree to which the experimenters were blind to the conditions is not known. Association between the attitude scale and the overt behavioral scale was calculated separately for the two groups: for subjects who responded to the attitude scale first,  $\gamma = .12$  (*ns*), and for those responding to the commitment scale first,  $\gamma = .69$  ( $p < .01$ ). The  $\gamma$  statistic represents the proportion of variance in overt behavior accounted for by the attitude measure. Thus, the obtained value of .69 for one group is quite high.

*Making a commitment to interact.* Warner and DeFleur (1969) recently employed a factorial design to examine the influence of several variables, including attitudes, upon overt behaviors toward Negroes. Subjects were 537 students in a border-state university in which the prevailing community norms were hostile to integration. On the basis of responses to a Likert attitude scale, subjects

were categorized as low or high in prejudice. Subjects in each quartile of the attitude distribution were matched on nine social background and demographic variables. The investigators mailed to each subject a letter signed by the president of a fictitious student organization, and asking the recipient to make a commitment to engage in behavior involving Negroes. Half of the subjects were asked to participate in behaviors which allowed them to maintain status superiority over Negroes, e.g., go to homes of potential Negro college students to tell them about life as a college student. The other half received requests to engage in behaviors involving a reduction of social status differences between Negroes and whites, e.g., going on a date with a Negro student. All subjects were asked to sign a pledge that they would engage in the behavior, or if they preferred, to sign a statement that they would not engage in the behavior. For half the subjects in each condition the letter stated that the pledged actions would be published in the campus newspaper, while for the other half the letter assured subjects their pledge and subsequent actions would be kept confidential. The signed document was to be returned in a self-addressed, stamped envelope which accompanied the letter.

Unfortunately, letters were returned by only 123 of the 537 subjects (23%) making interpretation of the results somewhat difficult. The investigators report for each condition the difference between the percentage of subjects who signed a statement complying with the requested involvement with Negroes and the percentage who signed a statement refusing the requested involvement with Negroes. More of the responding low prejudice subjects complied than refused, while the opposite was true of the high prejudice subjects. More subjects complied than refused when the requests involved behaviors allowing subjects to maintain status differences; the opposite result was obtained when the requests involved behaviors requiring subjects to reduce status differences. And when subjects believed that their commitments would be made public, more refused than complied with the request; the opposite result was obtained for subjects told they would remain anonymous. Other analyses suggest that (a) low prejudice subjects tended to behave consistently (comply) when their behaviors were anonymous, while high prejudice subjects tended to behave consistently (refuse) when their behaviors were public, and (b) under the public condition, but not under the private condition, low prejudice subjects tended to behave consistently (comply) when the behaviors maintained status differences, while high prejudice subjects tended to behave consistently (refuse) when the behaviors reduced social status differences.

*Interacting in small groups.* Three studies have examined Ne-

groes' and/or whites' responses to one another in group interactions. Mann (1959) had members of racially-mixed discussion groups rate one another on racial prejudice. Rated prejudice correlated .51 ( $p < .05$ ) with the patriotism subscale of the E Scale, and .22 ( $ns$ ) with a sociometric measure. Katz and Benjamin (1960) found an inverse relationship between attitudes and behaviors in racially-mixed experimental groups: white subjects scoring high on the F Scale (high authoritarianism) "accepted significantly more suggestions from Negro subjects and rejected fewer" than those scoring low on the F Scale (p. 455). And Rokeach and Mezei (1966) have shown that both high- and low-prejudice subjects (as determined from responses to Negro items on the E Scale) tend to choose for future interactions persons who are similar in beliefs to themselves, regardless of the race of the individual.

*Signing a petition.* Kamenetsky, Burgess, and Rowan (1956) administered an attitude questionnaire dealing with "the desirability of legislative measures to abolish discrimination against Negroes in employment," along with a projective measure (a modification of the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration test) to introductory psychology students. Three weeks earlier, the students had indicated in class whether they were willing to have their names printed on a petition to be sent to congressmen urging passage of a Fair Employment Practice Act. The attitude questionnaire was scored according to Likert, Guttman, and  $H$  techniques. The biserial correlation coefficients relating attitudes with petition signing were .61, .58, and .59, respectively ( $n = 100$ , all  $p < .001$ ). For the projective measure, the corresponding coefficient was .54 ( $p < .001$ ).

*Accepting social influence.* Several investigators have attempted to determine whether subjects' attitudes toward minority groups are related to their susceptibility to influence by minority group members. Himmelstein and Moore (1963) used a modeling situation in which a Negro or white confederate signed or refused to sign a petition before a naive white subject was asked to sign. The naive subject was categorized as high or low in prejudice on the basis of his responses to an "attitude scale adopted from the *Authoritarian Personality*." Imitative signing was found to be unrelated to the prejudice measure. Bray (1950) and Berg (1966) have studied the influence of minority group members on subjects' judgments of autokinetic movement. Bray (1950) reports a product-moment correlation coefficient of  $-.15$  ( $ns$ ) between subjects' attitudes toward Jews and the difference between their autokinetic movement judgments and those of a "Jewish" con-

federate; for a corresponding Negro condition, the coefficient was .11 (*ns*). Moreover, anti-semitic subjects conformed more to judgments by a "Jewish" confederate than to judgments by a "Gentile" confederate. Berg (1966) reports the following product-moment coefficients between the discrepancy of subjects' judgments and a Negro confederate's judgments and these verbal measures: F Scale,  $-.14$ ; E Scale,  $-.21$ ; Social Distance,  $-.10$ ; none is significant.

Malof and Lott (1962) used an Asch-type conformity situation to determine the extent to which naive white subjects would be influenced by a Negro or white confederate who gave correct judgments of the length of lines in face of an erroneous judgment by an all-white majority. Subjects were rated as high or low in prejudice on the basis of E Scale scores. The percentages of subjects giving correct judgments in agreement with the confederate were: high prejudice, white confederate, 80%; high prejudice, Negro confederate, 47%; low prejudice, white confederate, 67%; low prejudice, Negro confederate, 80%. The difference between the white and Negro confederate conditions for the high prejudice group is of borderline significance ( $p = .10$ ).

Smith and Dixon (1968) compared the effectiveness of white and Negro experimenters in verbally conditioning subjects' responses. A  $2 \times 2 \times 2$  design was employed, with 2 categories each of race of experimenter, prejudice of subject (based on E Scale responses), and experimental condition (conditioning or control). Attitude-behavior consistency would be demonstrated if high prejudice subjects gave more reinforced responses when the experimenter was white than when he was a Negro, and if the low prejudice subjects did not show differential effects due to race of experimenter. Although the obtained means were in the expected order, the three-way interaction was only of borderline significance ( $p < .10$ ). Further analyses revealed that high prejudice subjects gave significantly more of the reinforced responses to white experimenters than to Negro experimenters ( $p < .05$ ), but high and low prejudice subjects did not differ in the number of reinforced responses in the Negro experimenter condition.

The present review of attitudes and behaviors toward minority group members reveals little correspondence between the two types of variables, and in several cases there are reversals of expected relationships. The only striking exceptions to this overall conclusion are the studies by Green (1967, 1969), Kamenetsky, *et al.* (1956) and Fendrich (1967). In each of these studies, the behavioral measure or a commitment to behavior was obtained prior to the verbal measure. This point will be further discussed below.

### *Attitudes and Behaviors toward Miscellaneous Objects*

*Participating in civil rights activities.* A study by Carr and Roberts (1965) dealt with Negro American college students' attitudes and behaviors toward civil rights activities. Attitudes toward social action were measured on a Likert-type instrument. Subjects also rated the concept, "Negro college students who take part in civil rights demonstrations," on eight semantic differential evaluative scales.

Two behavioral measures were employed. One was a three-level scale of participation in civil rights activities: no participation, participation short of "sitting in" or "demonstrating," and participation in at least one demonstration. This information was obtained by questionnaire and confirmed by student civil rights leaders. The second measure was the total number of times the subject had been involved in any kind of civil rights activity.

Correlation coefficients relating attitudinal and behavioral measures are reported separately for males ( $n = 104$ ) and females ( $n = 228$ ). Four attitude-behavior coefficients (two verbal by two overt behavioral measures) were reported for each sex. For the male sample, the  $r$ 's ranged from .25 to .29 (all  $p < .05$ ). For the female sample, the range was .10 to .25 (two coefficients of .10 were not significant).

*Attending labor union meetings.* Dean (1958) compared labor union members' attitudes with their attendance at local union meetings. An attitude questionnaire was mailed to 500 production workers, of whom 254 responded. Items included questions about the workers' attitudes toward unions in general and toward their local union. A researcher attended 9 out of 12 local union meetings during the year, keeping a record of attendance at each. Subjects were categorized on the behavioral measure as attenders ( $n = 43$ ) or non-attenders ( $n = 205$ ) depending on whether they had attended any of the nine observed meetings.

All attenders and 91% of the non-attenders were categorized as having positive attitudes toward unions in general on the basis of their responses to a single item. Local union leaders were seen by 57% of the attenders as doing a good job for the workers, compared to 34% of the non-attenders. Also, 62% of the attenders and 37% of the non-attenders thought that conditions had improved a great deal since the union came into the plant. To the question of whether workers felt union officers would push their grievances, 85% of the attenders and 69% of the non-attenders said yes. No statistical tests are reported for the above data.

*Time and money spent in activities.* Cattell and his colleagues (Cattell, Heist, Heist, & Stewart, 1950; Cattell, Maxwell, Light,

& Unger, 1950) had subjects keep a log of the amount of time and money they expended upon certain activities (e.g., football, movies, their chosen career, sleep) over two-week periods. Product-moment correlation coefficients relating time and money spent with measures of attitude toward the activities ranged from .26 to -.09.

*Cheating on examinations.* Corey (1937) administered weekly true-false examinations to 67 students enrolled in an educational psychology class. Each student graded his own exam in the following class period, after it had been accurately scored but left unmarked by the researcher. All test questions were true-false statements marked by the students with easily altered "pluses" and "minuses." The difference between each subject's reported test score and his actual score over five tests was his cheating score. The reliability coefficient of cheating behavior for the first two and last two tests was .65.

Attitude toward cheating was measured by a highly reliable questionnaire scored by the Likert method. The correlation between cheating scores and attitudes toward cheating was .02. However, it was found that the difference between subjects' true scores and the maximum possible score correlated with the cheating score .46. In Corey's words, "whether or not a student cheated depended in much larger part upon how well he had prepared for the examination than upon any opinions he had stated about honesty in examinations [p. 278]."

In a similar study, Freeman and Ataov (1960) related students' cheating to responses on four projective measures and one direct measure of attitudes toward cheating. None of the verbal measures was significantly related to cheating behavior; Kendall's  $\tau$  ranged from .10 to -.19.

*Voting in a student election.* In a study of attitudes and behaviors related to participation in student political activity, Tittle and Hill (1967) employed five different techniques to assess attitudes: Likert, Guttman, and Thurstone techniques, plus the semantic differential and a simple self-rating scale. Responses to a questionnaire incorporating these measures were obtained from 301 upperclass college students. The behavioral measure was whether the students had voted in an election held a week before the questionnaire was administered, as determined from voting records. The following  $\gamma$  statistics relating voting behavior and attitudes were obtained: Likert (15 items), .50; Likert (10 items), .46; Guttman, .39; Thurstone, .32; semantic differential, .35; and self-rating scale, .29. Similar coefficients were obtained when the authors related the attitude measures to self-reported voting behavior.

*Applying for public housing.* Bellin and Kriesberg (1967) have related expressed interest in public housing with the act of applying for such housing. Their subjects were 79 mothers of families eligible for the housing; 21 of the respondents had already made applications at the time of the interview, and 12 others applied later. Although a number of verbal measures were obtained in the interviews, the data are not fully reported. Responses to three questions are reported in sufficient detail to be presented here: whether respondents were interested in applying for public housing, whether they felt that public housing apartments provided more for one's money than other kinds of housing, and whether friends and relatives would approve if the respondent moved into public housing.

The following are the percentages of subjects who expressed an interest in the housing: 100% of those who had already applied, 58% of those who later applied, and 39% of those who did not apply. Beliefs that public housing is more economical than other housing were expressed by 76% of those who had previously applied, 50% of those who later applied, and 61% of those who did not apply. The percentages of respondents who said friends and relatives would approve if they moved into public housing were: 85% of those who had already applied, 45% of those who later applied, and 27% of those who did not apply. The authors conclude that, whether used singly or in combination, their questions were not strong predictors of applying among those who had not already applied. They suggest that the more favorable attitudes toward public housing by those who had already applied probably resulted from modification of attitudes to be consistent with action already taken, although they acknowledge the tenability of the alternative explanation that more favorable attitudes led respondents to apply.

*Breast feeding.* Newton and Newton (1950) have investigated the relation of maternal attitudes toward breast feeding to success of breast feeding. Subjects were 91 maternity ward patients who had normal deliveries and who did not refuse to try to breast feed. Attitudes were determined by means of an interview, usually held within 24 hours of the delivery. Verbatim responses to the question, "how do you feel about breast feeding your baby?" were examined by two independent judges, who categorized subjects' attitudes as positive, indicating a desire or determination to breast feed; doubtful, indicating mixed feelings, indifference or indecision; or negative, indicating a preference for bottle feeding. The judges agreed in 93% of the cases.

Babies were taken to mothers six times a day. Until the fourth day after birth, a bottle always accompanied the baby to the

mother. On the fourth day, the baby was weighed before and after being taken to the mother to determine how much milk it received from the breast. The mean amount of milk given at this feeding was 59 gm. for mothers with positive attitudes, 42 gm. for those with doubtful attitudes, and 35 gm. for mothers with negative attitudes. The difference between the positive and negative attitude groups and between the positive and doubtful groups are reported to be "significant," although the  $p$  levels are not specified.

Success of breast feeding was also related to mothers' attitudes. The criterion for success was supplying sufficient milk by the fifth day after delivery that formula supplementation was not needed. The percentages of mothers in the three attitude categories who were successful at breast feeding were positive, 74%; doubtful, 35%; and negative, 26%. The differences between the positive and negative groups and between the positive and doubtful groups are reported to be "highly significant." Only 2% of the mothers with positive attitudes had stopped all breast feeding attempts by the fifth day, compared with 18% of the doubtful group and 30% of the negative group.

Using other analyses, Newton and Newton attempt to show that the above differences between the various attitude groups were not due to mothers' experiences with lactation with previous children or to the mother's judgment about the amount of milk in her breasts.

In another study conducted in a hospital maternity ward, Potter and Klein (1957) compared mothers' attitudes toward babies and their handling of new-born infants during breast feeding. Twenty-five mothers were observed with their babies during feeding periods on the second and fourth or fifth day post-partum. All mothers in the hospital were required to breast feed until discharged. Observed behaviors were recorded and later scored according to the degree to which affectionate and facilitative nursing behaviors were shown by the mother. Attitudes toward babies were determined from six interview questions, including an item on planned duration of breast feeding and a self-rating of maternal feeling. Although the authors do not report the correlation coefficient relating the two measures, Newton and Newton (1967) report it to be .65 ( $p < .001$ ).

It may be, however, that this coefficient is inflated due to Potter and Klein's selectivity in choosing behaviors to correlate with their verbal measure. They report that a number of other, more general behaviors (such as whether mothers talked to their babies and how mothers reacted when the nurse came to take the baby at the end of the nursing period) "were not found to be a

reliable index of attitude toward the infant [p. 42]." Moreover, it is not reported whether the observers, the interviewers, and the raters of behavioral and verbal protocols were blind with respect to the other data on the subjects.

Nine months after they left the hospital, 16 of the 25 mothers were again interviewed. All but one of the subjects scoring high on the attitude toward babies scale reported they had continued to nurse after leaving the hospital. Of those who ranked low on the attitude scale, all reported they had discontinued nursing immediately after leaving the hospital. The cutting points for high and low attitudes, and the number of subjects in each category, are not reported.

*Participating in psychological research.* Wicker (1969) has recently examined the relationship of students' attitudes toward research and their participation as subjects in psychological experiments. Subjects rated the following concepts on semantic differential evaluative scales: scientific research, psychological research, participating as a subject in psychological research, and Psychology Department's policy regarding students' participation as subjects in psychological research. Subjects were 257 students in two sections of an introduction to personality course. The Psychology Department's policy, which was read to the classes immediately before attitudes were measured, states that participation as a subject is voluntary, but those who do participate receive points which may be used to help determine the final course grade in borderline cases.

There were four levels of behavior, corresponding to steps in the recruitment process: (a) stated unwillingness to participate, (b) stated willingness to participate, but unwilling to schedule an appointment at any one of four times the subject had previously indicated he would be available, (c) stated willingness to participate, appointment scheduled, but failure to appear for the experiment, and (d) stated willingness, appointment scheduled, and appearance at the experiment. All behavioral measures were obtained one to four weeks after the attitude assessment. Product-moment correlation coefficients relating attitudes and participation behavior were as follows: scientific research,  $-.04$  ( $ns$ ); psychological research,  $.06$  ( $ns$ ); participation as a subject in psychological research,  $.17$  ( $p < .01$ ); Psychology Department's policy regarding student participation in psychological research,  $.19$  ( $p < .01$ ).

### *Summary of Empirical Studies*

The studies cited above have covered a wide range of subject populations, verbal attitude measures, overt behavioral measures,

and attitude objects. Taken as a whole, these studies suggest that it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviors than that attitudes will be closely related to actions. Product-moment correlation coefficients relating the two kinds of responses are rarely above .30, and often are near zero. Only rarely can as much as 10% of the variance in overt behavioral measures be accounted for by attitudinal data. In studies in which data are dichotomized, substantial proportions of subjects show attitude-behavior discrepancies. This is true even when subjects scoring at the extremes of attitudinal measures are compared on behavioral indices.

Several studies suggest that attitude-behavior consistency may be greater when the overt behavior or a behavioral commitment is assessed in advance of the attitude measurement (Bellin & Kriesberg, 1967; Fendrich, 1967; Green, 1967, 1969; Kamenetsky, *et al.*, 1965; Potter & Klein, 1957). Explanations for such findings have been advanced by cognitive dissonance theorists (Brehm & Cohen, 1962; Festinger, 1957) and a behaviorist (Bem, 1967). But there are also a number of studies in the present review in which behavioral measures preceded attitude assessment, and which show inconsistency (Dean, 1958; Freeman & Aatov, 1960; Kutner, *et al.*, 1952; LaPiere, 1934). Furthermore, if one's ultimate interest is overt behavior, prediction of attitudes from overt behaviors is of less interest than prediction of overt behavior from attitudes, which requires that verbal responses be measured first.

It may be argued by some that if the "proper" attitude measures are employed, greater consistency will result. For example, some might argue that measures of affect are best, and others might argue that beliefs or behavioral intentions are more closely related to overt behaviors. Such arguments are best evaluated by future investigation rather than examination of the research cited above. The verbal measures employed in the studies often are not described in detail; moreover, when details are available, it is often the case that a single measure may be based on some questions which seem to tap affect, and others which seem to tap beliefs and behavioral dispositions.

Insko and Schopler (1967) have suggested the possibility that much evidence showing a close relationship between verbal and overt behavioral responses has been obtained but never published because investigators and journal editors considered such findings "unexciting" and "not worthy of publication." If such data exist, their publication is needed to correct the impression suggested by the present review that attitude-behavior inconsistency is the more common phenomenon.

The presently available evidence on attitude-behavior relationships does not seem to contradict conclusions by two early researchers in the area:

LaPiere wrote in 1934:

The questionnaire is cheap, easy, and mechanical. The study of human behavior is time consuming, intellectually fatiguing, and depends for its success upon the ability of the investigator. The former method gives quantitative results, the latter mainly qualitative. Quantitative measurements are quantitatively accurate; qualitative evaluations are always subject to the errors of human judgment. Yet it would seem far more worth while to make a shrewd guess regarding that which is essential than to accurately measure that which is likely to prove quite irrelevant [LaPiere, 1934, p. 237].

Corey, in 1937 wrote:

It is impossible to say in advance of investigation whether the lack of relationship reported here between attitude questionnaire scores and overt behavior is generally true for measures of verbal opinion. Were that the case, the value of attitude scales and questionnaires would for most practical purposes be extremely slight. It would avail a teacher very little, for example, so to teach as to cause a change in scores on a questionnaire measuring attitude toward Communism if these scores were in no way indicative of the behavior of his pupils.

It is difficult to devise techniques whereby certain types of overt behavior can be rather objectively estimated for the purpose of comparison with verbal opinions. Such studies despite their difficulty, would seem to be very much worthwhile. It is conceivable that our attitude testing program has gone far in the wrong direction. The available scales and techniques are almost too neat. The ease with which so-called attitudinal studies can be conducted is attractive but the implications are equivocal. [Corey, 1937, p. 279].

## Factors Postulated to Influence Attitude-Behavior Relationships

Of course, most researchers employing the attitude concept do not accept the critical viewpoints cited above. They often argue that additional factors need to be taken into account in predicting overt behavior:

An attitude, no matter how conceived, is simply one of the terms in the complex regression equation we use to predict behavior; we cannot expect it to do too much. I think we must take seriously Lewin's formula,  $B = f(P, E)$ . If the latent variable [attitude] is conceived as inside  $P$  . . . one still needs to know the specific nature of the environment, the form of the function relating  $P$  and  $E$ , and the other predispositions and their interactions with the one under consideration before one can accurately predict behavior. The embarrassing thing is that we have not systematically investigated these other sources of influence on overt behavior and not

that we are unable to predict the overt behavior solely from the predisposition. [Weissberg, 1965, p. 424].

Apparently many writers agree with Weissberg that other sources of influence do contribute to variation in overt behavior. Often these factors are mentioned in discussion sections by investigators who failed to demonstrate attitude-behavior consistency. But most researchers do not seem to share Weissberg's embarrassment that the factors have not been systematically studied, since there are very few investigations (Green, 1967, 1968; Warner & DeFleur, 1969) which relate any variable other than attitudes to the overt behaviors. And surprisingly, very few of the investigators who have empirically studied the attitude-behavior relationship have published more than one study in the area.

### *Personal Factors*

In the remainder of the present paper, the factors which are most frequently mentioned as influences on behavior will be listed and discussed. But owing to the absence of systematic research, the arguments for the significance of each factor are often plausible anecdotes and *post hoc* explanations. Clearly, the greatest need in the attitude-behavior area is to operationalize and to test the contributions of the factors which have been offered as reasons for attitude-behavior inconsistency.

The factors to be discussed have been categorized as either personal (that is, individual difference, intrapersonal) factors or situational (extrapersonal, environmental) factors. The personal factors which will be discussed are other attitudes held by the individual; competing motives; verbal, intellectual, and social skills; and activity levels.

*Other attitudes.* A number of writers have argued that there are many attitudes or values relevant to any given behavior, and thus the relationship between the behavior and a single attitude may appear to be inconsistent because other attitudes have not been considered (cf. Cook & Selltiz, 1964; Hyman, 1949; Insko & Schopler, 1967; Newcomb, Turner & Converse, 1965; Rokeach, 1967). Newcomb, *et al.* (1965) cite a public opinion survey conducted at the time of the 1956 presidential election (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960). A national sample responded to six attitude objects: Eisenhower, Stevenson, Democratic party, Republican party, and party positions on domestic and foreign issues. Respondents also reported how they had voted. Reported voting behavior and attitude toward Eisenhower yielded a point biserial correlation coefficient of .52. However, when attitudes toward all six objects were considered, the coefficient was .71.

Insko and Schopler (1967) argue that while an overt behavior may appear to be inconsistent with a given attitude, the behavior may be consistent with one or more other attitudes which are more strongly held. Thus the person who has a favorable attitude toward the civil rights movement, but who does not contribute to it, may have an even more favorable attitude toward keeping a good credit rating, caring for the needs of his family, paying the rent on time, etc.

It may be noted that the "other attitudes" explanation has a behavioral parallel: There are many possible behaviors relevant to a given attitude, and if inconsistency is observed, it may be attributed to the failure to consider other behaviors.

*Competing motives.* Some writers (e.g., Cook & Selltitz, 1964; Deutsch, 1949; Kendler & Kendler, 1949) have suggested that motives or drives underlying a given behavior may be stronger than motives which are in some way related to a relevant attitude. These stronger motives can presumably range from persistent unconscious desires to temporary states of arousal, and can include both "normal" and "abnormal" responses.

Corey's (1937) finding that the number of test questions students missed was a better predictor of cheating behavior than their attitudes toward cheating could fit under the category of competing motives: subjects' motivations to improve their grades were more "potent" than their motivations to behave honestly.

Kutner, *et al.* (1952) have suggested that the prejudiced restaurant and tavern owners in their study experienced the competing motives of (a) either refusing admission or service because they or their patrons were offended by Negroes or (b) doing nothing and thus avoiding a disturbance.

*Verbal, intellectual, and social abilities.* It has been suggested that attitude-behavior inconsistency may result from the inability of the behaving individual to make the appropriate verbal or overt behavioral response (Deutsch, 1949; Dollard, 1949). Persons having low intelligence, poor hearing or reading ability may not understand the investigator's questions or instructions. Also, an individual may lack the ability or knowledge appropriately to translate his attitude into effective acts. Thus a person favoring social welfare legislation may fail to vote for a strong welfare advocate because he is unaware of the candidate's position. Sometimes social skills are lacking. Deutch (1949) suggests that people may not behave in a friendly manner because they do not know how to start being friendly or how to initiate an interaction.

*Activity levels.* Dollard (1949) has suggested that some instances of attitude-behavior inconsistency may be understood by considering the individual's overall activity level. Someone who

is highly active may be more likely to act in ways consistent with his attitudes than "the apathetic individual who is more or less indifferent to the environment and does not act strongly to gain his ends [p. 630]."

### *Situational Factors*

Situational factors constitute the second broad class of variables postulated to influence overt behaviors and thus the degree of attitude-behavior consistency. Systematic research examining both personal and situational influences on overt behavior has shown that predictions of overt behavior can be made more accurately from knowledge of the situation than from knowledge of individual differences. Intrapersonal variables become important as predictors when their interactions with situational factors are considered. (See, for example, Barker, 1963, 1965; Barker & Wright, 1955; Ellsworth, Foster, Childers, Arthur, & Kroeker, 1968; Mischel, 1968; Rausch, Dittman, & Taylor, 1959; Raush, Farbman, & Llewellyn, 1960.) Thus it seems likely that efforts to operationalize and test situational factors will have a higher payoff than similar efforts on intrapersonal factors.

A general postulate regarding situational influences on attitude-behavior relationships is the following: The more similar the situations in which verbal and overt behavioral responses are obtained, the stronger will be the attitude-behavior relationship. The situational factors to be discussed may be thought of as potentially significant dimensions along which environments can vary from highly similar to highly dissimilar. These dimensions include the actual or considered presence of certain people, normative prescriptions of behavior, alternative behaviors available, specificity of attitude objects responded to, extraneous, unforeseen events, and expected and/or actual consequences of various acts. Maximal similarity would exist when two situations were highly similar on all of the dimensions.

*Actual or considered presence of certain people.* Hyman (1949) has suggested that inconsistency between attitudes and behaviors should not be surprising if the verbal responses are obtained anonymously or under the pledge of secrecy and behavioral responses are observed in everyday life situations in which the respondent may have to justify his actions or be influenced by group pressures. Direct evidence on this point is provided by Warner and DeFleur (1969), who found that in a community opposing integration, low-prejudice subjects behaved more consistently when their overt behaviors were to be kept confidential, and that high-prejudice subjects behaved more consistently when their behaviors were to be made known.

On the other hand, if a significant person, e.g., an investigator, is present both when attitudes are assessed and at the time of the behavioral measure, inconsistency should consequently be reduced. Fazio (1968) reports a relatively high attitude-behavior correlation coefficient of .47 when subjects' responses to a question about "large ugly bugs" were immediately followed by a handling test. The relatively close correspondence between attitudes toward fair employment legislation and petition-signing behavior obtained by Kamenetsky, *et al.* (1956) may be related to the fact that the instructor allowed a petitioner to use class time to request signatures, thus implying his approval of the petition. The instructor later administered the attitude measure to the same class. Also, in discussing their finding that authoritarians were more deferential with Negroes than non-authoritarians, Katz and Benjamin (1960) mention that "the unbiased behavior of the white *E* . . . may have introduced strong restraints against open expression of anti-Negro sentiments [p. 453]."

Subjects, when asked to explain their behaviors, often mention their thoughts about other people who are important to them. Carr and Roberts (1965) report that some of the Negro students said they did not participate in demonstrations because of parental pressures; others attributed their participation to persuasion by fellow students. DeFleur and Westie (1958) report that subjects readily mentioned the opinions of peer or family groups as factors influencing whether they signed the photographic releases. And Bellin and Kriesberg (1967) found that respondents' perceptions of whether friends and relatives approved of public housing was a useful predictor of applications for the housing.

*Normative prescriptions of proper behavior.* Social norms and role requirements, whether internalized by the individual or externally enforced, may contribute to inconsistency in a number of different ways (Brookover & Holland, 1952; Chein, 1949; Cook & Selltiz, 1964; DeFleur & Westie, 1963; Deutsch, 1949; Fendrich, 1967; McGrath, 1964). Fendrich (1967) believes that subjects may assume different roles when verbal and overt behavioral responses are elicited, and that this helps to account for inconsistency. He found a strong relationship between attitudes and behaviors when subjects were asked to commit themselves to various interpersonal behaviors with Negroes prior to the attitude measurement, but a weak relationship when subjects responded to the attitude measure first. According to Fendrich, the usual attitude measurement situation is defined by the respondent as somewhat artificial and "play-like," in that the verbal responses are not constrained by consideration of external events or forces. However, actually engaging in behaviors or making a commitment to engage in be-

haviors evokes a reflection upon the events or forces which may later bear upon the respondent. Thus Fendrich believes subjects who were first exposed to the commitment questionnaire defined their roles quite similarly in the interview and overt behavior situations, but that those who first responded to the attitude questionnaire played a role which differed from the one assumed when they were faced with the overt behavioral situation. Consistent with this point, Linn (1965) has suggested that his subjects' liberal attitudes reflected the prevailing norms of the "university subculture," while their unwillingness to sign photographic releases reflected a more strongly reinforced and tested norm of the broader society. And Warner and DeFleur (1969) report that when overt behaviors involving Negroes were highly visible to a community opposing integration, low-prejudice subjects were much more willing to engage in behaviors which maintained social status differences between whites and Negroes than to engage in behaviors which reduced status differences.

Competing role requirements may also exist within a single situation, and this conflict may lead to inconsistency. An example would be the businessman who professes great concern for close family ties and who experiences conflicting expectations about spending time with his family versus doing extra at the office. Culture-wide norms may also influence inconsistency by inhibiting expression of negative attitudes. It is expected, for example, that one should be polite to those whom he does not like.

*Alternative behaviors available.* Insko and Schopler (1967) have pointed out that for some attitudes, corresponding behaviors may not occur because opportunities for the behavior do not arise. This implies that when alternative behaviors in the overt behavioral situation are similar to those available to the subject at the time of the attitude measurement, greater consistency will result.

Although Insko and Schopler do not emphasize this point, the *number* of alternative behaviors is probably an important factor in attitude-behavior relationships. Consider the person who has an unfavorable attitude toward the only available newspaper in his city, yet subscribes to it. Presumably he is less inconsistent than the person who subscribes to a disliked paper when he has several to choose from. Most attitude scales greatly restrict response alternatives, and in many cases investigators also restrict the range of responses on their overt behavioral measures, particularly in the laboratory studies.

*Specificity of attitude objects.* A number of writers (Chein, 1949; Cook & Selltitz, 1964; Dollard, 1949; Fishbein, 1966; Kendler & Kendler, 1949) have pointed out that many instances of inconsistency may be due to the fact that the stimulus in verbal re-

sponse situations tends to be very general while the stimulus in overt behavioral response situations tends to be highly specific.

For example, in many cases we have measured subjects' attitudes toward a class of people or objects, and then we have attempted to predict their behavior with respect to a particular member of that class on the basis of that attitude.

Thus we have frequently measured a subject's attitude toward Negroes, and then we have attempted to predict whether the subject would ride with, work with, or cooperate with Negroes. But it is unlikely that the subject's beliefs about the particular Negroes he comes into contact with are similar to his beliefs about Negroes in general [Fishbein, 1966, p. 206].

Stimulus dissimilarity could have contributed to inconsistency in many of the studies reported. For example, LaPiere's Chinese companions were "skillful smilers" who spoke without an accent and who travelled with a Caucasian (LaPiere, 1934). In the Kutner, *et al.* (1952) study, a "well-dressed and well-mannered" Negro woman joined two white women who were already seated. The Negro confederate in Berg's (1966) study of autokinetic judgments was a student at the Ivy League university where the research was conducted. In each of these instances, the stimulus person in the behavior situation was probably quite different from subjects' broader conceptions of the minority group rated on the attitude measure.

Systematic data on this point are provided by Wicker's (1969) study of students' participation as subjects in a psychology experiment. Attitudes toward scientific research had a nonsignificant negative relationship with participation, attitudes toward psychological research had a nonsignificant positive relationship with participation, and attitudes toward participating as a subject in psychological research had a significant positive relationship with actual participation. Consistency was greater when the attitude object and the overt behavior were both highly specific than when the attitude object was general and the behavior specific. It might be expected, however, that if the object of the overt behavior were general, e.g., contributing to a fund for "the poor," then attitude toward a more general object, e.g., the poor, would be a better predictor than attitude toward a more specific object, e.g., Mexican-American migrant workers.

*Unforeseen extraneous events.* Kurt Lewin (1951) was pessimistic about the predictability of overt behavior from knowledge of cognitive variables such as attitudes because unforeseen events (e.g., chance meetings, accidents, illness) may intrude into the life space to disturb what might otherwise have been a predictable relationship. Such events very likely contributed to inconsistencies in

some of the studies reviewed in the present paper, particularly when the overt behaviors occurred outside the laboratory. A sudden drop or increase in a family's income could influence whether they applied for public housing. And attendance at a group discussion meeting might be affected by a friend who happened to be in the neighborhood and "dropped by" on the night the meeting was held.

To acknowledge the influence of extraneous events in determining behavior does not require acceptance of Lewin's pessimism regarding predictability of behavior, however. For certain behaviors it should be possible to anticipate plausible external events and to ask a respondent how he would react in such situations. For example, if one wanted to predict church attendance, he might ask church members whether they would be less likely to attend church if they had weekend guests who did not attend church. A series of such questions might provide an index of how vulnerable the behavior is to extraneous events.

*Expected and/or actual consequences of various acts.* Verbal and overt behavioral responses may be influenced by what the individual believes will follow as a consequence of his action, or by what has followed various acts in the past, whether or not he is aware of the particular reinforcement contingency. Dollard (1949) cites as an example the employee who reports a negative attitude toward labor unions out of a fear that the investigator represents his employer. Kutner, *et al.* (1952) suggest that the considered possibility of legal prosecution for racial discrimination may have influenced prejudiced restaurant and tavern proprietors to serve a Negro guest, and to agree to take reservations to accommodate Negroes.

Insko and Schopler (1967) have suggested that consideration of the relevance of certain behaviors to *future* consequences may lead individuals to show inconsistency in *current* situations. Thus a person having an unfavorable attitude toward politics might nevertheless become active in a campaign if he felt his participation would in the future bring about some highly desired event, e.g., the end of a war.

In some ways, the expected and/or actual consequences of various acts may be the most fundamental of the situational factors listed in the present paper, since most of the others can be subsumed within it. For example, it can be argued that the presence or absence of certain people, and norms prescribing proper behavior are cues which help to define the contingencies in a particular situation (cf. Cook & Selltitz, 1964, p. 46). Also, it may be that the more similar the stimuli to which verbal and overt

behavioral responses are made, the more likely it is that the same contingencies will exist for a favorable or an unfavorable response and thus consistency would result.

### *Fishbein's Theory of Attitude-Behavior Relationships*

Although a number of factors in addition to attitudes have been suggested as influences upon overt behaviors, Fishbein (1967) is the only writer who has attempted to combine several factors into a systematic formulation. Fishbein's theory is an adaptation of Dulany's (1968) propositional control theory.

According to Fishbein, "Rather than viewing attitude toward a stimulus object as a major determinant of behavior with respect to that object, the theory identifies three kinds of variables that function as the basic determinants of behavior: (1) attitudes toward the behavior; (2) normative beliefs (both personal and social); and (3) motivation to comply with the norms [p. 490]." The first component, attitudes toward the behavior, depends upon (a) the individual's "beliefs about the consequences of performing a particular behavior (in a given situation) [p. 488]," and (b) his evaluation of these consequences. The second component may be broken down into two categories of normative beliefs: "(1) the individual's beliefs about what he *personally* feels he should do (i.e., a personal norm or rule of behavior); and (2) the individual's belief about what 'society' (i.e., most other people, his 'significant others,' etc.) 'says' he should do (i.e., a social or group norm) [p. 489]." In Fishbein's formulation, each of the normative beliefs is to be weighted by the individual's "motivation to comply with the norm, that is, his desire, or lack of desire, to do what he thinks he should do [p. 488]." Fishbein acknowledges that other variables may also affect behavior, but suggests that they operate indirectly by influencing one or more of the three basic determinants. Thus, if the behavior is to benefit a liked person, the individual's beliefs about the consequences of behavior—component (1)—will be different than if it benefits a disliked person. Motivation to comply with a norm would vary, depending upon whether persons affected by compliance are liked or disliked.

Situational variations are also held to have indirect influences on the three primary behavioral determinants. Thus whether behavior is public or private would influence beliefs about the consequences of behavior. Also, the normative beliefs would be expected to vary for different situations. Fishbein states that the relative importance of attitudes toward the behavior, personal normative beliefs and motivation, and social normative beliefs and motivation must be empirically determined. He also suggests that

the weights may vary from behavior to behavior, and from person to person.

### Implications of the Present Review

The present review provides little evidence to support the postulated existence of stable, underlying attitudes within the individual which influence both his verbal expressions and his actions. This suggests several implications for social science researchers.

First, caution must be exercised to avoid making the claim that a given study or set of studies of verbal attitudes, however well done, is socially significant merely because the attitude objects employed are socially significant. Most socially significant questions involve overt behavior, rather than people's feelings, and the assumption that feelings are directly translated into actions has not been demonstrated. Casual examination of recent numbers of this and other like journals suggests that such caution has rarely been shown.

Second, research is needed on various postulated sources of influence on overt behavior. Once these variables are operationalized, their contribution and the contribution of attitudes to the variance of overt behavior can be determined. Such research may lead to the identification of factors or kinds of factors which are consistently better predictors of overt behavior than attitudes.

Finally, it is essential that researchers specify their conceptions of attitudes. Some may be interested only in verbal responses to attitude scales, in which case the question of attitude-behavior relationships is not particularly relevant or important. However, researchers who believe that assessing attitudes is an easy way to study overt social behaviors should provide evidence that their verbal measures correspond to relevant behaviors. Should consistency not be demonstrated, the alternatives would seem to be to acknowledge that one's research deals only with verbal behavior, or to abandon the attitude concept in favor of directly studying overt behavior.

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## Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice<sup>1</sup>

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### *Rationality and irrationality in intergroup relations.*

When we think of human attempts to understand the physical or the biological environment, man appears essentially as an exploring and rational animal, stumbling heavily on his way, pulled back by his insufficiencies and stupidities, but still imperfectly rational, still engaged in what Sir Frederick Bartlett (1932) called many years ago the "effort after meaning." This effort does not translate itself into some mystical concept of a "group mind." It works within the limits imposed by the capacities of individual human minds, and within the socially determined processes of the diffusion of knowledge. It is essentially a rational model, however imperfect the exploring rationality often appears to be. But there seems to be one exception to this model, one set of problems for the consideration of which we seem to have adopted a very different set of ideas. It is as if we were suddenly dealing with a different and strange animal that uses some of his abilities to adapt to some aspects of his environment, and is quite incapable of using them in order to adapt to others. The prevailing model of man as a crea-

<sup>1</sup>This essay was the 1968 winner of the first annual Gordon Allport Intergroup Relations Prize, made possible by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and awarded by SPSSI. The paper is a slightly revised version of a contribution to a symposium on the Biosocial Aspects of Race which was organized by the Eugenics Society and held in London in September, 1968. The symposium was published in July, 1969 as Supplement No. 1 to the *Journal of Biosocial Science*.

ture trying to find his way in his social environment seems to have nothing in common with the ideas of exploration, of meaning, of understanding, of rational consistency. We have the rational model for natural phenomena; we seem to have nothing but a blood-and-guts model for social phenomena. In this new blood-and-guts romanticism so fashionable at present in some science and semi-science, man's attitudes and beliefs concerning the social environment are seen mainly as a byproduct of tendencies that are buried deeply in his evolutionary past or just as deeply in his unconscious.

A psychological theory of intergroup relations must provide a two-way link between situations and behavior, and it can do this through an analysis of the motivational and the cognitive structures which intervene between the two. But it is in this analysis that man's search to understand his environment often seems to be forgotten, and a peculiar one-way causation is established. In this, ideas and beliefs seem to be considered as no more than projections and rationalizations of powerful motivational forces, and somehow or other it has implicitly been taken for granted that inferences can be made directly from motivation and the evolutionary past of the species to complex intergroup behavior without paying much attention to the flimsy cognitive byproducts thrown out as if at random by the subterranean springs of emotion and "instinct." Our image of a social man is that of a man who has lost his reason. Otherwise, the argument usually runs, how can we explain the perennial hostility of man to man? Not much attention has been paid to the fact that co-operation between groups also needs to be explained; or that hostility need not be based on unconscious motivational factors, that it can also follow as a result of attempts to explain to oneself in the simplest and most convenient way the causal sequence of relations between groups.

Two intellectual traditions form the background from which arises this denial of the autonomy of cognitive functioning. One consists of extrapolating from the background of animal behavior to human behavior in complex social situations; the other, of assuming that theories of unconscious motivation provide the necessary and sufficient basis for the understanding of social attitudes. There is no shortage in either of these trends of thought of carefully considered attempts to look in all directions before leaping. A recent paper by Tinbergen (1968) provides an excellent example of such methodological caution. But it is just as true that the general climate of opinion favors the blood-and-guts model which is having at present quite a run. It has been blessed and speeded on its way in the last few years by a number of books, some of which have quickly become bestsellers. The act of blessing

has been performed not only in the protected gentility of academic discussions; it has burst through again and again to the public forum owing to serialization in newspapers, television appearances, and other public pronouncements. And thus, suddenly, tentative views concerning a complex problem about which we know very little have become public property and are already being used here and there to buttress and justify certain political opinions and actions.

It is hardly startling to say that the best way to predict whether a man will harbor hostile attitudes towards a particular group and what will be the content of these attitudes is to find out how he understands the intergroup situation. And it is hardly any more startling to say that this understanding will in turn affect his behavior. This does not mean, of course, that emotional and motivational factors are unimportant. But it is just as true that the greatest adaptive advantage of man is his capacity to modify his behavior as a function of the way in which he perceives and understands a situation. It is difficult to see why it should be assumed that he loses this capacity as soon as he confronts human groups other than his own, and that it is in these situations alone that most of his concepts, attitudes, beliefs, and modes of thinking are no more than powerless and pale projections of instinctive or unconscious drives.

### *Three cognitive processes in prejudice.*

The purpose of this paper is to present an outline of the cognitive etiology of prejudice, mainly with regard to its *unfavorable* aspects. The principal argument will be clear from the preceding general considerations: it is that the etiology of intergroup relations cannot be properly understood without the help of an analysis of their cognitive aspects, and also that this analysis cannot be derived from statements about motivation and about instinctive behavior. We live in a social environment which is in constant flux. Much of what happens to us is related to the activities of groups to which we do or do not belong; and the changing relations between these groups require constant readjustments of our understanding of what happens and constant causal attributions about the why and the how of the changing conditions of our life. These attributions are based on three processes which will be discussed in turn. They are the processes of categorization, of assimilation, and of search for coherence.

### *Categorization*

Much work has been done in social psychology on the so-called stereotypes, which can be defined as the attribution of gen-

eral psychological characteristics to large human groups. There is no doubt that the contents of various stereotypes have their origins in cultural traditions, which may or may not be related to over-generalized common experience, past or present. But what is perhaps more important is their general structure and function. As the late Gordon Allport (1954) and many others have pointed out, stereotypes arise from a process of categorization. They introduce simplicity and order where there is complexity and nearly random variation. They can help us to cope only if fuzzy differences between groups are transmuted into clear ones, or new differences created where none exist. They represent, of course, tendencies towards simplification rather than sharp dichotomies: in other words, in each relevant situation we shall achieve as much stereotyped simplification as we can without doing unnecessary violence to the facts. But there is good evidence that even when facts do turn against us and destroy the useful and comfortable distinctions, we still find ways to preserve the general content of our categories.

In a rather formal way, the problem of stereotypes is that of the relation between a set of attributes which vary on continuous dimensions and classifications which are discontinuous (Tajfel, 1959a). For example, classifications into nationalities or racial groups are, on the whole, discontinuous; most people are clearly categorized as either X or Y and rarely something rather indefinable in between. Height of people or color of skin are continuous dimensions. If it were true that all the Scandinavians were taller than all the Italians, we would have a perfect bi-serial correlation; and one could predict the class membership of an item from its value on a certain dimension, and vice versa, despite the fact that these values were not the original criterion on which the classification was based. It will be obvious that theoretically the possible bi-serial correlations of that nature may vary all the way from fully predictable relations to cases where there is no relationship at all; and that in the world of human groups there will be very many cases where there is no relationship, hardly any "perfect" ones, and quite a number which show a strong positive correlation, such as, for example, some physical characteristics associated with race.

*Breaking continuous dimensions into discrete pigeon-holes.*

Three empirical statements about social categorization need to be inserted at this point. All three are based both on common experience and on a good deal of evidence from experimental work in social psychology. The first is that personal traits or characteristics can be empirically treated as dimensions much in the same

way as height and weight would be if we could conceive them only in comparative terms of "more" and "less," "shorter" and "longer," "heavier" and "lighter." This is the kind of statement that I make if I say that someone is "intelligent" or "honest" or "lazy"; these are essentially comparative judgments which could hardly be made in a vacuum of absolute assertions.

The second statement is that, through personal and cultural experience, dimensions such as "intelligent," "lazy," or "honest" are subjectively associated with classifications of people into groups. As long as we have little specific knowledge about an individual, we shall tend to ascribe to him the characteristics which we derive from our knowledge of his class membership, be it a class of trade unionists, undergraduates, animal lovers, or Patagonians. Two inferences follow directly: one is that, in many social situations which present notorious ambiguities of interpretation, it will always be easier to find supporting evidence for the assumed class characteristics of an individual than to find contradictory evidence. The second inference is perhaps socially more important: whenever we are confronted with the need to interpret the behavior *en masse* of the members of a particular group, there is bound to be very little clear negative feedback following the ascription of this behavior to the assumed class characteristics.

The third statement refers to two consequences of the tendency to simplify in order to cope. They are but two aspects of the same phenomenon and can be described as follows: when a classification is correlated with a continuous dimension, there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on *that* dimension between items which fall into distinct classes, and to minimize these differences within each of the classes. The results of an experiment conducted in Oxford a few years ago (Tajfel and Wilkes, 1963) can serve as an illustration.

### *An experiment on categorization and stereotyping.*

Three groups of subjects were presented with a series of eight lines which differed in length from each other by a constant ratio. They were asked to estimate the length of each line in turn. For one group, the four shorter lines were labelled A, the four longer ones, B. (The possible effect of the labels A and B *per se* in the judgments of length was controlled.) For the second group, the labels A and B were attached each to half of the lines, but in a random relation to length. The third group had the lines without any labels. The series of eight lines was presented a number of times in successive random orders.

Some of the results are summarized in Figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 presents the discrepancies shown by groups of subjects in

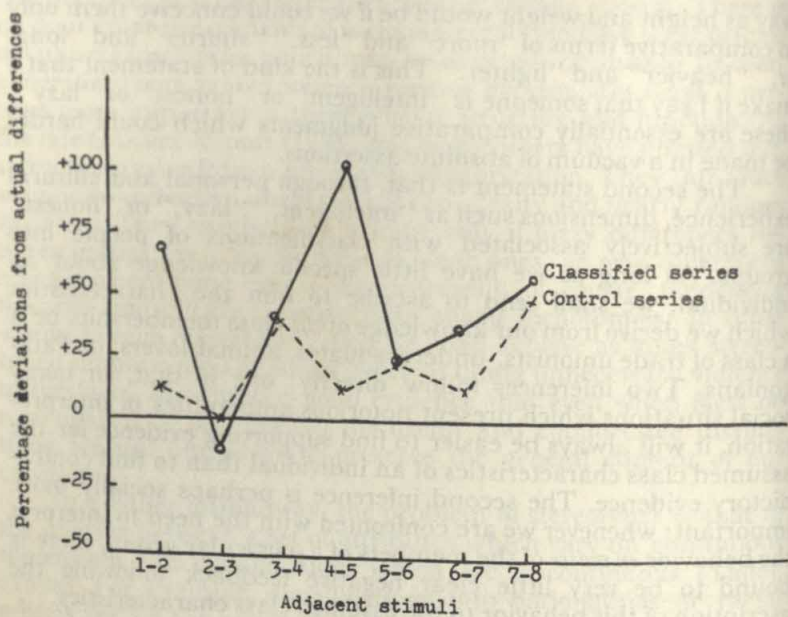


FIGURE 1  
Actual and apparent differences between stimuli after one session.

the differences between their judgments of the lines after one experimental session. It will be seen that, at the point of break between the two classes (i.e., between line 4—the longest of the shorter class, and line 5—the shortest of the longer class), the group which experienced a fully predictable relation between the labels and the length of lines exaggerated the differences between the lines considerably more than the control groups. None of the other differences between the judgments of the various groups reached the level of statistical significance. Introducing one judging session of double length led to even more drastic results, as can be seen in Figure 2. In Figure 2 the phenomenon of subjective reduction of differences *within* each of the classes is also noticeably present.

#### *Line judgment and person judgment.*

Effects of this type can thus be obtained in judgments of length of lines. Without the introduction of any variables of social or emotional nature they present the essential features of social stereotypes: the subjective accentuation of differences in *relevant*

*dimensions* between classes of stimuli, and their subjective reduction within each class. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the same features of the same categorizing process are responsible, in part at least, for biases found in judgments of individuals belonging to various human groups. In other words, if length of lines would stand for personal characteristics subjectively correlated with a classification that is being used, and the classification itself would be in terms of racial, ethnic, national, or any other social criterion, we would have the full-blown stereotype. This has been demonstrated in a number of experiments (e.g., Secord, Bevan, & Kätz, 1956; Razran, 1950; Tajfel, 1959b; Tajfel, Sheikh, & Gardner, 1964).

There is, however, one obvious and essential difference between the judgments of lines in the experiments just described and stereotyped judgments of human beings when these are associated with prejudice. In the case of our lines, it would have been enough to present some form of reward to the subjects for accurate judgments and to penalize them for the inaccurate ones in order to eliminate quite rapidly the biases that were obtained. This is

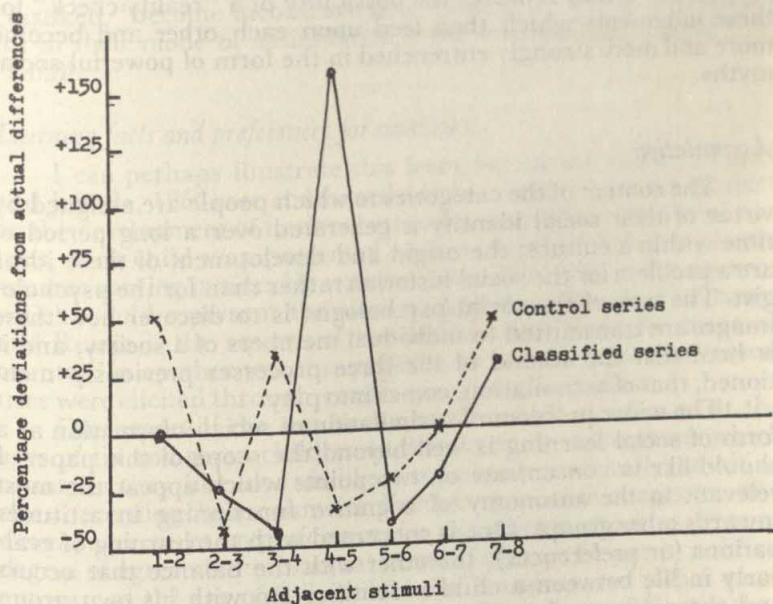


FIGURE 2

Actual and apparent differences between stimuli after one double length session.

certainly not the case when hostile stereotypes are used. Their rigidity and resistance to information which contradicts them is undoubtedly one of their most salient features. However, this does not present much of a mystery. In the first place, judgments of human characteristics in complex social situations are much more uncertain and ambiguous than the judgments of lines in a laboratory setting. The negative feedback of contradictory information is therefore much less clear and much easier to ignore. In the second place, and this is probably more important, the consequences of a mistake in judgment are radically different in the two situations. If a man is prejudiced, he has an emotional investment in preserving the differentiations between his own group and the "others." Inaccurate judgments are not followed by the obvious dire consequences of inaccurate judgments about the physical properties of the environment. On the contrary, the preservation of these judgments is self-rewarding, and this is particularly so when prejudiced judgments are made in a social context strongly supportive of hostile attitudes towards a particular group. We are then confronted with a spiral effect in which the existence of prejudice at large not only provides additional support and rewards for hostile judgments; it also removes the possibility of a "reality check" for these judgments which then feed upon each other and become more and more strongly entrenched in the form of powerful social myths.

### *Assimilation*

The content of the categories to which people are assigned by virtue of their social identity is generated over a long period of time within a culture; the origin and development of these ideas are a problem for the social historian rather than for the psychologist. The task of the social psychologist is to discover how these images are transmitted to individual members of a society, and it is here that the second of the three processes previously mentioned, that of assimilation, comes into play.

The wider problem of assimilation of social information as a form of social learning is well beyond the scope of this paper. I should like to concentrate on two points which appear the most relevant to the autonomy of cognitive functioning in attitudes towards other groups. One is concerned with the learning of evaluations (or preferences), the other with the balance that occurs early in life between a child's identification with his own group and the pressure of notions about various groups, including his own, which are generally accepted in his society.

*Learning evaluations and preferences.*

In his work on the development of moral judgment in the child, Piaget (1932) described the transition from the stage in which the value of pronouncements is judged by their source rather than by their content, to a stage in which the child begins to interact and to co-operate with equals. At this point he is beginning to learn to take the role of the other. This ability "to see the same data from more than one point of view (Holmes, 1965, p. 134)" is not only the basis for the development of intellectual operations, but also for "the emergence of a new morality," the progress from constraint to co-operation. According to Piaget, this progress cannot take place while the child is exposed to only one source of information and "when it remains in awe of this source of truth (Holmes, 1965, p. 135)." These tend to be precisely the conditions under which the child learns his socially sanctioned truths about a variety of human groups other than his own. It is not surprising, then, that later in life the ordinary categories of moral judgment, governed by conceptual reciprocity, apply with difficulty to individual members of these groups or to the groups as a whole. Thus, "bad" and "good," even "liked" or "disliked," become incontrovertible statements of fact not different in their mode of assimilation from, for example, "large" or "small."

*Learning facts and preferences for countries.*

I can perhaps illustrate this from one of the studies (Tajfel and Jahoda, 1966) we conducted within a wider research project on the development of national attitudes in children. In one of our tests, each child was presented with a number of black plastic squares varying in size. He was then asked to point to the squares which would represent the sizes of America, France, Germany, and Russia if the square of the median size stood for his own country. In another test, his preferences for the same four countries were elicited through a series of paired comparisons.

One aspect of the results can be described as follows: at the ages of six and seven children in Britain agree more about which countries they like and dislike than about practically anything else concerning these countries. Furthermore, even at ages ten and eleven, agreement on preferences for countries is about as great as degree of agreement on factual items. This can be put in a different way: at the age of 6-7, children in Britain agree rather more that they prefer America and France to Germany and Russia than that *both* America and Russia are larger in size than *both* France

and Germany. There is no theoretical difference between the learning of these two kinds of "fact." If anything, the knowledge of facts about preferences crystallizes rather earlier than the corresponding knowledge of facts about size. I do not believe that the early formation of evaluative attitudes about outgroups presents any more mystery than that, or that we need to concoct magical brews made of territorial imperatives, instinctive dislikes, blood bonds, and other such ingredients to account for these findings.

In the case of racial attitudes, as distinct from those which apply to national, ethnic, or other outgroups, the learning and assimilation of socially sanctioned value judgments is made even easier through the existence of obvious visual cues which place each relevant individual firmly and instantly in the category to which he belongs. This additional factor of "visibility," combined with the rich linguistic associations of "black" and "white" (cf. Gergen, 1967, for a review) acts in several directions at once: it not only facilitates the placement of an individual in the appropriate category, but also helps to determine the descriptive content of the category and a more efficient "filtering" of contradictory information.

*Learning to evaluate one's own group.*

The same simplicity in the attaching of evaluative labels to crude and rudimentary categories applies to the formation of preferential attitudes towards one's own racial, national, or ethnic group. Children do develop these attitudes fairly early, and certainly well before they have any clear idea about the meaning of the relevant categories. In another study, also forming part of the project previously mentioned, we presented children with a series of twenty photographs of young men, and asked them to put each photograph in one of four boxes which were labelled respectively: *I like him very much, I like him a little, I dislike him a little, I dislike him very much*. Several weeks later we came back to the same children with the same photographs and told them that some of them were of people who were English and some not English. Two boxes were available, one labelled *English*, one *not English*. The children were asked to put in the appropriate box the photographs which, according to them, belonged to each of the two categories. One half of the children had the two sessions in the order just described, the other half in the opposite order, starting with *English-not English* and having later the *like-dislike* session.

One way to treat the results is in the form of a correlation in which one of the scores for each photograph consists of its mean "liking" position in the total group of children, and the other of the percentage of children who assigned the same photograph to

the category English. This correlation is very high (about .80): there is a great deal of consistency between the frequency of assignment of a photograph to the category "English" and the degree of its liking. The same photographs were used with roughly the same results in several other countries where, of course, the nationality categorization was in terms of Dutch-not Dutch, Belgian-not Belgian, Austrian-not Austrian, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Results such as these do not, of course, by themselves explain anything. They only tell us that, with the use of devious stratagems, one can elicit from children a fairly objective index of high consensus in their preference for their own national group. There exists, however, a possibility to assess tentatively the weight that needs to be given to the assimilation of social value judgments in the development of ingroup preferences. There are many minority groups in the world today which stand low in the evaluative pecking order of human groups that each society constructs for itself. If it were true that identification with one's own group is based on some kind of a universal and self-generating process, then the fact that a group is considered as inferior in the social order should not considerably affect the affiliation with it shown by its own young children. If, on the other hand, a system of preferences in the society at large does affect all of its members, then children of the groups assumed to be inferior should be exposed to a conflict in which the progressive acquisition of their own group identity, and the formation of their own social self that goes with it, should clash with the ordering that is generally accepted and socially transmitted.

### *Evaluating one's own group.*

There are a few relevant studies in existence. For example Mary Goodman (1964), working in New England in the late forties, elicited by various means preferences for Negroes and whites in a group of nursery school children between the ages of 3-1/2 and 5-1/2. Ninety-two percent of the white children expressed a preference for their own group; the corresponding figure for Negro children was 26%.

The sensitiveness of children to the social context is particularly well brought out in a study recently conducted by Morland (1966). He worked with groups of nursery school children in

<sup>2</sup>Full reports of two of these studies are now available. They can be found in: Jaspers, J. M. F., van de Geer, J. P., Tajfel, H., and Johnson, N. *On the development of international attitudes*. Report ESP No. 001-65, Psychological Institute: University of Leiden, 1965; and Simon, M.D., Tajfel, H., and Johnson, N.: *Wie erkennt man einen Österreicher*. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziol. und Sozialpsychol.*, 1967, 19, 511-537.

Lynchburg, Virginia and in Boston. Forty-six percent of Negro children expressed preference for their own group in Boston; only 22% did so in Lynchburg. The trend was reversed for the white children's preferences for their own group: the figure was 68% in Boston and 80% in Lynchburg. Similar results were obtained in an interracial situation undoubtedly much less tense than in the United States. Vaughan (1964) found that, at the ages from four to eight, the proportion of Maori children in New Zealand expressing preference for their own group was about half of the corresponding proportion of the white children.

One further example from our own work will be provided. The study with photographs which has already been referred to was also conducted in Israel.<sup>3</sup> The Israeli Jewish population originates in part from Europe and in part from the Middle East and North Africa. According to recent figures, just over 60% of the population is in the second, "Oriental" category. Strains have developed, and there undoubtedly exists a correlation between socio-economic status and origin. In Israel we did not use the set of English photographs which served in several European countries. A special set was prepared of which half were of Israelis of European origin and half of Israelis of Oriental origin. The subjects of the Oriental photographs could easily have been taken for southern Mediterranean Europeans. Half of the children who made the judgments were of Oriental and half of European origin. There was again a very high overall correlation between the assignment of a photograph to own national group and the degree of its liking. But the most interesting results came in comparing the judgments made of the two categories of photographs.

Both groups of children, the Oriental and the European, expressed a greater overall preference for the European photographs, independently of their national assignments; both groups assigned a larger proportion of the European photographs than of the Oriental ones to the category Israeli. And there was a sharp increase in both these trends for both groups as a function of age.

All this evidence points to the high sensitivity of children to the context of social influences in which they live—even when these influences are at cross-purposes with the powerful forces working towards an identification with the child's own racial or ethnic group. The enduring basis for future prejudices and conflicts is laid most crucially in childhood. And—as might be expected—the sensitivity to the social context continues throughout life. This was well brought out in a study by Pettigrew (1958) who worked in South Africa and in the United States.

<sup>3</sup>This work was done in Haifa under the supervision of Dr. Y. Rim of the Israel Institute of Technology. A full report is in preparation.

*Conformity and prejudice in South Africa and the U.S.*

In South Africa, Pettigrew applied three attitude scales to his subjects: an F-scale roughly comparable to the one used by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford (1950); a C (conformity) scale; and an A (anti-African) scale. The C-scale was nearly as predictive of the attitudes towards the Africans as was the F-scale; students born in Africa were found to be more prejudiced, but not more authoritarian, than those not born in Africa; the same was true of students belonging to the Nationalist party as compared with others; the Afrikaners "are both more anti-African and more authoritarian, and, when the F-scale differences are corrected for, they remain significantly more hostile to the Africans (p. 35)."

Results which point in the same direction were obtained by Pettigrew in a comparison of four small towns in Georgia and North Carolina with four similar locations in New England. He concluded that "in areas with historically embedded traditions of racial intolerance, externalizing personality factors underlying prejudice remain important, but socio-cultural factors are unusually crucial and account for the heightened racial hostility (p. 40)." To this may be added that the scores on the F-scale which are designed to elicit the personality correlates of prejudice are themselves by no means free of conforming influences in societies which display a high incidence of one form or another of an authoritarian ideology. Thus, Pettigrew's conclusion can be viewed as a rather conservative estimate of the psychological importance in prejudice of "socio-cultural factors."

*The search for coherence.*

The process of categorization provides the mold which gives shape to intergroup attitudes, and the assimilation of social values and norms provides their content. But this does not tell us very much about the manner in which individuals react to specific intergroup situations which confront them, and about the way in which they try to come to terms with constant changes that occur in these situations. It is here that the consideration of the third process previously mentioned, that of search for coherence, may be of some help. Instead of introducing this search for coherence in general terms, I should like to illustrate it with an example. We were once piloting one of our studies on national attitudes in children in a primary school in a suburb in Vienna. A boy of about eleven was being interviewed and stated, like many others, his dislike for the Russians. He was then asked why he disliked the Russians. The answer was: "Because they occupied our country, and Hitler was their chief."

If the individual is to adjust to the flux of social change, he must attempt to understand it. In other words, in order to deal with change an individual must make constant causal attributions about the processes responsible for it, and these attributions must fulfill at least two criteria: they must equip him to deal with new situations in a manner which appears consistent to him, and they must do this in a way which will preserve, as far as possible, his self-image or integrity. This need to preserve the integrity of the self-image is the only motivational assumption that we need to make in order to understand the direction that the search for coherence will take.

One of the most important classes of events within the stream of constant social change arises directly from the fact that an individual is a member of numerous social groups which interact with other groups. Theoretically, two types of change (and consequently, of the need for cognitive adjustment to change) can be distinguished: intragroup and intergroup. The former consists of the individual's changing circumstances within the group or groups to which he belongs; the latter, of those aspects of the changing relations of his group with other groups which affect directly some important aspects of his life. In both cases, he needs to build a cognitive structure which provides him with a satisfactory explanation of the causes of change. A "satisfactory" explanation will manage to preserve personal integrity while at the same time—for reasons of cognitive economy—it will tend towards as much simplification as the situation allows for.

### *Causal attribution in affiliation and rejection.*

The effects of change—whether intra- or inter-group—on the manner in which an individual relates himself to his own group can only be of two kinds: an increase in the intensity of affiliation with the ingroup, or a decrease, i.e., rejection of it. In both cases, the change of attitude towards the group requires a causal attribution. In all cases in which this attribution is confined to social agents (as distinct from physical causes, such as natural catastrophes, etc.) it can go in two directions only: the determinants of change may be attributed to some characteristics and actions of the individual himself and/or other individuals (cf. Heider, 1958); or they may be attributed to the characteristics and actions of his own and/or of other groups. It is this second category of causal attributions which is of interest here. All that we know about causal attributions regarding social events points to the conclusion that, unless situational explanations are easily available (and often even where they are), actions of others tend to be explained in terms of their individual and fairly permanent char-

acteristics. In the case of individual attributions, this type of explanation provides obvious advantages in terms of simplification and of predictability of further events.

There is no reason to assume that this need for simplification and for predictability is any less relevant in causal attributions to groups. There are, however, some important differences. The first is that explanations in terms of group characteristics obviously must represent a considerably greater degree of simplification than in the case of individual characteristics; the second (already referred to) that, with regard to the predictability of future events, the feedback of causal attributions to group characteristics is much more complex, ambiguous, and difficult to interpret than in individual cases. It is therefore likely that internal requirements will play a much greater part in the causal attributions to groups, and that for the same reason these attributions will be much more resistant to change than the individual ones. However, the fact that group attributions are bound to be resistant to change does not mean that they can never change. If one considers a sequence of events which would generate individual causal attributions in one case and group attributions in another, the prediction is that the modification of the latter would lag much more behind the events than would that of the former. It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest experimental designs; but it is certainly possible to think of experimental situations in which the relevant variables could be manipulated.

### *Personalization and Simplification.*

The requirement of simplification implies *ipso facto* that of personalization. If there is to be an explanation in terms of the characteristics of a group, these must be characteristics which are relevant to the situation and *common* to the group as a whole, with a corresponding neglect of individual differences between the members of a group. There is abundant evidence, both in the psychological literature and in common experience, of this personalization of even very large human groups.

Starting from this, some fairly general statements can be made:

- (1) Any change in the status quo between social groups imposes on the individuals involved a need to construct a causal explanation to account for the change. This explanation can be of two kinds: (a) either situational, or (b) referring to the characteristics of the groups.
- (2) Situational explanations are in terms of preceding events that do not originate in the groups involved (such as a natural catastrophe). When events of this nature are not concrete, clear-cut, and easily discernible, causal attributions will tend to be made in terms of the characteristics of groups.

- (3) Causal attributions to group characteristics can be of two kinds: either referring to the non-psychological characteristics of a group (e.g., its wealth or power, ecological conditions in which it lives, its skin color), or in terms of its psychological characteristics. This is, however, an uneasy distinction, since the non-psychological characteristics are often assumed to be related to, or be the cause of, various psychological characteristics, and vice-versa.
- (4) In view of this, a more appropriate dichotomy appears to be between explanations in terms of group attributes which are assumed to be situational, transitional, and flexible, and those which are assumed to be inherent and immutable.
- (5) Causal group attributions of complex social events must tend towards cognitive simplicity. Attributions in terms of "inherent" group characteristics satisfy this requirement.
- (6) In their attribution of causality to inherent characteristics of groups, these "ideologies" are also best fitted to shift the locus of responsibility for change either from the individual himself to a group, or from the ingroup to an outgroup. They will therefore be more likely to appear when other types of causal attributions either conflict with the prevailing values and beliefs, or represent a threat to the individual's self-image.

It follows therefore that not just *any* kind of intergroup conflict or competition should lead to the creation and spread of these attributions. It would be interesting to seek examples of those which do not end up in this way, and to recreate them experimentally. It would be equally interesting to create sequences in which the initial "inherent" attribution weakens, despite the intergroup competition or conflict remaining, as a function of the disappearance of the conflict of values or of threat to the self-image. This is not easy, as that kind of social engineering has rarely been attempted, though some instances of it can be found in the management of industrial disputes.

Most changes in the structure of intergroup relations do tend to involve the creation of inherent ideologies with very little planned or unplanned social therapy in sight to deal with them. It is interesting that this occurs whether the position of a group deteriorates or improves; whether the group becomes better suited to fulfill the needs of its individual members, or is in the process of becoming less and less effective in doing so. The common feature of those determining conditions which result in inherent group ideologies is in their association with a conflict of values or with the threat to the individual's self-image.

As distinct from the previous case, examples here are only too easy to find. It may be of some interest, however, to mention one or two in order to illustrate the variety of pertinent conditions and the underlying uniformity of the postulated processes.

*Justifying advantage as inherent superiority.*

An improved group position and the resulting stronger affiliation of its members is often achieved at the cost of using the group's capacity to put another group at a disadvantage. This is, of course, a one-sentence history of colonialism and of related forms of successful expansion. One of the better examples can be found in the heyday of Victorian England; the principal beneficiary of the successful expansion was a social class which was also imbued with a fairly definite code of values and morals. The advantages accrued from the colonial gains had to be explained away in terms which would not conflict with the code—and thus, "white man's burden" with its conceptions of inherent superiority and inferiority came quickly into being. The ideologies themselves may vary in content depending upon the cultural background from which they arise—e.g., the religious elements in the hierarchy of human groups built by the Bible-carrying early Boers of South Africa, the "degeneration" of other peoples in the blood myths of Nazi Germany going back to a background of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the "moral" justifications of slavery—but their formal features remain constant.

We witness today an interesting special case of this general category of processes. An intensified affiliation with a group is only possible when the group is capable of supplying some satisfactory aspects of an individual's social identity. This can be defined as the attribution by the individual to the ingroup of certain characteristics from the sharing of which he derives some satisfaction; i.e., the group is an adequate reference group. The case of Negroes in the United States is one where the only clear definition of the group which is generally shared is in terms of skin color, hardly a satisfactory point of reference. Many (or most) of the other presumed attributes of the Negro group originate from the conceptions of it held by the outgroups. In a situation of increasing tension, a search for a satisfactory and distinctive definition of the ingroup becomes desperate, and it can find expression, once again, in the creation of inherent attributions, both about the ingroup and the outgroup. These ideologies again fulfill here the function of preserving personal integrity, and they fulfill it rather better—for reasons already stated—than ideologies in which group differences would be conceived to be more ambiguous and flexible. This is probably one of the important psychological determinants of the rise of the extreme fringe of Negro racism now spreading also to Britain (Mason, 1967). This is not to say that other solutions are not being found and used, but rather to reiterate the point that the kind of sequence suggested here provides an explanation for one of the solutions being adopted.

### *Summary and Conclusion.*

The aim of this paper was to stress the importance of the adaptive cognitive functioning of man in the causation of prejudice. It was felt that this approach has the merits of economy, credibility, and testability of explanation which are not always shared by views seeking the psychological causes of intergroup tensions in the evolutionary past of the species or in unconscious motivation. Three cognitive processes were considered from the point of view of their relevance to the genesis of prejudice in an individual: categorization, assimilation, and search for conceptual coherence.

Though the paper was not concerned either with discussing ways to reduce prejudice or with outlining in any detail designs for future research, it is my belief that the general approach adopted here has implications, both for social action and for research, which have not been as yet consistently and fully taken into account.

There is no easy way to deal with intergroup prejudice in its manifold varieties, and all one can hope for is that its more vicious and inhuman forms can be made less acute sooner or later. It is patently obvious that beliefs and views about causes of social events which are held by great masses of men are more easily accessible to change than their motives; and that there is at least a chance that a change of beliefs and views may affect in turn the management of conflicts, real or imaginary. This would be particularly true if such changes were to be planned against a background of strong legislation preventing public forms of discrimination against minorities. It is therefore important and *useful*, for the purposes of science as well as for those of the society at large, that a consideration of prejudice as a phenomenon in the minds rather than in the guts of men should take precedence over views which are, on the whole, not only untestable but also useless in the planning of any form of relevant social change.

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## **History as a Nomothetic Science: Some Generalizations from Theories and Research in Developmental Psychology<sup>1</sup>**

**Klaus F. Riegel**

### **I. Introduction**

According to Windelband (1894) nomothetic sciences search for general laws and are trying to explain nature. Idiographic sciences, on the other hand, aim for an understanding of social situations or individuals in their uniqueness and do not attempt to generalize these descriptions.

Dilthey (1894) and Spranger (1924) applied this distinction in their attacks upon the experimental and academic psychology. In arguing that the research and theorizing of these psychologists touches only the surface of mental processes, they, essentially, denied with Kant the possibility of a science of psychology. According to Kant, psychology in dealing with the mind could not possibly apply systems of mental operations, i.e. mathematics, to

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itself. In particular, measurements and experimentation, which imply mathematical operations, could not be performed and, therefore, psychology could not become a science, at least, not a nomothetic science. Psychology had to be restricted to introspection and understanding.

Even though it soon was realized by Stern (1921) and Allport (1937) that from a methodological point of view Windelband's distinction is inappropriate, and that statistical inferences and generalizations can be derived from individuals as well as from groups, Windelband's distinction has remained of significance. Its survival is not so much due to its intrinsic validity but to the normative influence which it began to exert upon the following generation of scientists provoking them to exclude one segment of science at the expense of the other.

This normative influence is quite apparent among the historians who, in comparison to the psychologists, have not burdened themselves with such a split but have remained committed to an idiographic approach. Occasional attempts to provide quasi-nomothetic character to history by overemphasizing so-called factual knowledge have been futile, and interpretations have continued to be based on an understanding of individuals and historical periods. It is the main purpose of the present paper to show that a nomothetic science of history is possible and to discuss potential methodologies, research, and theories.

*Classical and modern sciences:* A nomothetic analysis of historical changes will benefit from knowledge gained in academic psychology. However, only a special area is of concern, namely that of developmental rather than general (experimental) psychology. If we are to generalize this dichotomy to the study of social organizations, we would have to distinguish a general from a developmental social science. The latter represents the nomothetic description of history we are searching for. The distinction between general and developmental behavioral as well as social sciences—we are finally proposing—is analogous to the distinction between classical and modern natural sciences. Since an understanding of this distinction will facilitate our interpretations, some references need to be made—emphasizing, in particular, the concepts of causality and time.

The laws of classical natural sciences describe idealized *events*; those of modern natural sciences describe idealized *systems*. Perhaps one of the best examples of the classical approach is Galileo's law of gravity. By eliminating or abstracting all distorting factors, this law describes the ideal relationship between the spatial and temporal states of a falling body. Although most scientists would disagree with Lewin (1927) that such laws could be derived by

observing a single event at an instant of time, they would accept laws derived from a few critical observations, provided extraneous factors are well controlled.

Unfortunately, extraneous factors cannot be sufficiently controlled in modern natural sciences, and the analysis of their co-variation rather than their elimination provides the only possible solution. Subsequently, the derivations of laws are based on long series of observations and the laws represent statistical distributions rather than idealized, mathematical relations. Most important, instead of studying one-to-one connections, such as between forces and lengths of levers, modern natural scientists examine many-to-one relations between the underlying microcosmic processes, such as the movements of molecules, and the macrocosmic outcome, such as the temperature, pressure, or volume of an enclosed gas. Although changes in the state of the system are often imposed by macrocosmic manipulations, such as by moving a piston, they are mediated by changes in microcosmic conditions which cannot be studied as separate events; only their overall effect can be observed.

Since its beginning, general (experimental) psychology has been committed to the classical viewpoints. Wundt, for instance, attempted to detect psychological elements of sensations, images, and feelings, which in a one-to-one manner would be related to physiological events in the nervous system and to corresponding instances of physical stimulation. Variations in reactions between subjects were disregarded and variation within subjects were attributed to errors of judgment and measurement. Even when G. E. Müller proposed to consider thresholds as a statistical concept rather than as distinct psychological excitatory conditions, no major change of the model but only more complicated methods for data analysis were introduced.

Paired associate learning represents another example for the application of the classical viewpoints of natural science to psychology. Beginning with Ebbinghaus, the one-to-one relation of stimulus and response terms was studied as a function of list length, pro- and retroactive interference, serial position, and testing time. By inventing the nonsense syllable, by measuring its "meaningfulness," and by imposing complex control conditions, extraordinary efforts were made to create the ideal learning situation uninfluenced by extraneous factors such as past experiences and selective response tendencies.

Even though most experimentalists have been applying lists of 10 or 20 items in order to obtain stable results, their approach remains diametrically different from that of a scientist interested, for instance, in the acquisition of the natural language during

childhood. A developmental psycholinguist would not deny the usefulness of the laws described by his experimental colleagues, but the consideration of the hook-up between a few verbal items is bound to be buried under the 20,000 to 50,000 words spoken in the linguistic environment of four-year-old children during a single day (Brandenburg & Brandenburg, 1919).

In the past, "tough-minded" experimentalists have failed to recognize the theoretical power of developmental psychology. They can hardly be blamed for this failure, however, because until recently most developmental psychologists themselves have limited their efforts to the collection of descriptive data rather than to the exploration of theories of development and to the search for explanations of growth. It is the specific purpose of the present paper to discuss several models of development which may provide such explanations and to apply them to the study of history.

*The concept of causality in developmental studies:* In spite of all their records, developmental scientists have not provided an answer to the question of why organisms grow and age. Some have tried to obviate the problem by declaring that time itself may serve explanatory functions, a statement which implies nothing else than to say that, for instance, four-year-olds have a certain height *because* they are four years old. Many other psychologists have been satisfied by the attempt to reduce psychological development to changes in non-psychological conditions, particularly biological factors. In applying a somewhat fanciful terminology they speak of substituting phenotypical by genotypical descriptions. Such an interpretation is implied, for example, when they "explain" growth in size by changes in the endocrine system. For many specific purposes such an explanation is fruitful. But, in general, it merely shunts the problem to another area of study, i.e., endocrinology—where the same question arises again and no satisfying answer is provided as to why organisms are growing and aging.

For clarification of this point, let us consider two biological theories which meet more stringent criteria. The first theory has been called *waste theory*. Basic metabolic processes of the cells lead to the production of waste products, such as lipofuscin, which cannot be completely removed; these products accumulate over the years until they reach a critical level and produce a decrease in functioning. According to this theory life itself implies growth and aging, *via* the accumulation of metabolic waste. The "waste theory" may be called an intrinsic theory of development: biological age is determined by the amount of waste accumulated by and within the organism. The second theory has been called *muta-*

*tion theory*. Mutations—which are generally deleterious for the organism—occur at random. The older a person is, the greater the number of mutations that must have occurred and the more likely it is that structural and functional defects will have resulted. Since the mutation rate depends on the amount of irradiation to which an organism has been subjected, some theorists regard the amount of radioactive fallout as a major determinant of development and aging. This formulation is of importance not only because it suggests ways to manipulate developmental processes in the laboratory, but also because the determinant of age has become an extrinsic, non-biological entity.

Developmental interpretations such as those in cellular biology are causal and deterministic. They do not merely describe but explain changes in a manner similar to modern natural sciences. While in classical studies causal relations could be inferred from the one-to-one connection between the dependent and the independent variables, this inference is blurred by intervening microcosmic states in the modern analysis. It can be inferred on a probabalistic basis only.

In history the two modes of interpretation have been called “personalistic” and “naturalistic.” The former emphasizes distinct events and, in particular, persons who trigger historical developments; the latter considers the physical and social conditions of the people as the major causative forces in the course of history. Appropriately, the two interpretations have been characterized by such slogans as “men make history” vs. “masses make history.” The former maximizes the notion of causative triggers, the latter of causative forces. It is not surprising that both interpretations are not only confounded but remain confused even by such eminent historians of the behavioral sciences as Boring (1957).

While Boring, in general, emphasizes a “Zeitgeist” interpretation, i.e., considers the spirit of the age as a major determinant of historical developments, he nevertheless lists four triggers which “explain” the revival of learning in the Italian Renaissance: the invention of gun powder, the invention of the printing press, the fall of Constantinople, and the discovery of America (1957, p.7). Aside from the fact that all of these events occurred at a time when the Italian Renaissance was long on its way, these events can be considered just as readily as effects rather than as causes for the revival of learning. Most appropriately, they ought to be regarded as symptoms of this important historical development. If historical causes are to be explicated they need to be found at a more basic level of socio-psychological processes. Neither the vague notion of “Zeitgeist” as an underlying force, nor specific

incidents as triggers, can serve this purpose in a satisfactory manner. In our description of five models of historical growth, we will attempt to provide such explications. In all these cases, the biological theories mentioned serve as prototypes for such interpretations.

*The concept of time in developmental studies:* Causal relations are intimately tied to temporal sequences, and philosophers, for instance Hume, have maintained that, essentially, causes and effects are events that follow each other with high regularity. Thus, time even more consistently than causality has been regarded as a basic quality of nature or, at least, of the mind, reflecting the order of the universe. Only when scientists began to question whether time needs to be conceived as flowing uniformly or whether accelerations or retardations could occur under special psychological or sociological circumstances did further assessment take place. These developments are important both for idiographic and nomothetic interpretations of growth, and, generally, led to the reduction of time measurements to enumerations of spatially ordered events.

For an exploration of this problem let us discuss two examples from physics. Let us imagine that a film camera has been mounted above a pool table across which a ball is rolling. If we obtain a film strip, cut it into single pictures, and randomize the pictures, we could reconstruct the order but we could not ascertain the direction of the move. This first example is characteristic for the rationale of classical natural sciences.

Next, let us assume that a bar is placed across the table and that one half contains a greater number of randomly moving balls than the other. After the bar is removed, balls will move from one half to the other. Ultimately they will be equally distributed over the whole table. If we had taken pictures again, we would not only be able to reconstruct the moves, but also their directions. The state in which the two sets of balls are separated is less likely than the state in which they are mixed. The separate states can be recreated only through the intervention of some external (ordering) forces. During the normal course of events, the separate states will merge into a mixed one but not vice versa. The second example is characteristic for the rationale of modern natural sciences.

Our procedures reduce the measurement of time to an enumeration of spatially ordered events. First, we determined the sequence of these events by aligning them in a systematic manner. Then, we estimated the direction by separating the less probable from the more probable states. If we also want to derive measurements, we chop off equal numbers of observations from

the less likely end of the ordered sequence, assuming that under non-linear conditions, long and short distances between adjacent events will be randomly distributed.

By and large, psychologists and historians accepted chronological and historical time scales from classical physics. Some of the difficulties resulting from an uncritical interpretation of such measures are illustrated in the following example. If an individual were to recollect events from the course of his life, the gaps between successive items increase the further backwards he looks. Because events rapidly fade out of our personal as well as the collective, historical memory, a similar observation will be made if we enumerate historical items. Without going into prehistorical periods, a disproportionately greater number of recent than distant events will be reported. If we were to consider equal numbers of retrieved events as representing equal distances in time, we would have to conclude that psychological as well as historical time flows slower the further backwards we reach in retrospection.

If, on the other hand, complete records of past events were obtained, as indeed are available for the linguistic activities of children, we would have to conclude from such a prospective analysis, that time flows faster during the early periods because a greater number of *new* items are both perceived and produced by the individual. Later in life the chances have markedly decreased that a person will encounter or produce a great many items which he has never heard or said before.

In comparison to an individual's development, complete prospective records on the growth of sociological systems, for instance of a science, have not been obtained. Therefore, history has been restricted to retrospective search and assessments. But even if such records were available, it is doubtful whether they would produce as large discrepancies between the two methods as in the study of an individual's life span. Because growth in history is dependent upon developing interactions between historical figures and between subgroups, such as the scientists, it is likely that both the retrospective and the prospective analyses will reveal a slow and continuous increase in activity correlated with the growth in the number of persons and subgroups of the society.

Our interpretations suggest several issues which ought to be of concern to behavioral and social scientists. For instance, the discrepancy between the retrospective and prospective data of an individual's life demands an exploration of the mechanisms and the functional relations between the amount of storage, the degree of retrieval, and time distances. The analysis of historical changes, on the other hand, needs to assess the prospective accumulation rate of discoveries, inventions, books, and records as well as of

general trends in the economy and the population. Once such records are established (as for instance by Sorokin, 1937-41) more specific inquiries can be made into the mechanisms of retrieval and loss, growth and decline. Unfortunately, these explorations are further confounded by the retrospective historians who have always given greater attention to the few scientists of the earlier years than to the many of the later years (Riegel, 1970b), and thus the following discussion of five models of psychological-sociological growth can but attempt to explicate a few features of a rather entangled issue.

## II. Socio-Psychological Models of Development

The first two models, the *branch structure* and the *root structure* models, are complements to one another; the first emphasizes the diffusion and divergence, the latter the integration and convergence of ideas. Both interpretations are based on ordered relations. The third model, the *jig-saw puzzle* model, takes some of Kuhn's (1962) suggestions seriously and represents an interpretation of continuous, accumulative growth. The fourth model, the *fallout* model, extends the former as well as the theories of cellular growth mentioned before. Most of our discussion of this model will be restricted to the individual's development. The fifth model represents a modified version of Piaget's theory of *developmental stages*. Like Kuhn's interpretations of scientific paradigms, it is of a mixed type in that it allows for transition between stages which, on the other hand, are treated as relatively distinct, non-interacting entities.

### *Branch Structure Model*

*History of philosophy, an example:* The oldest known interpretations of growth and change can be attributed to Heraclitus. The few fragments of his teaching handed down to us refer to the notion of a basic contrariety and opposition that lead to a never ending strife and produce a ceaseless flux.

If we take these ideas literally, we may conceive of a historical development such as the history of philosophy, as the product of a continuous dialogue. At a certain moment in time and for reasons unknown to us, philosophical ideas were advanced. They found listeners some of whom challenged and distorted them, because any student who was to make his mark in the history of ideas was bound to deviate from his teacher in one direction or another. To be sure, there were many followers who did not dare or did not succeed in challenging their masters. They became the custodians, who cultivated the memory and transmitted the teaching of

their masters to future generations. However, by and large, the names of these students are lost. Only the names of the masters and those of their defiant colleagues survived in the history of ideas.

A traditional, idiographic analysis of the history of philosophy allows us to draw a fairly precise map of some contrarities and trends both for the Greek and modern European periods (see Figure 1).

An upsurge in philosophical interpretations began with Thales. Already his student, Anaximander, and the student of his student, Anaximenes, initiated divergent intellectual trends that were to dominate the history of Greek thought. The first, Anaximander, sought for more abstract principles than his teacher who, relying on phenomenological analysis, had declared *water* to be the essential substance of the universe. Anaximenes, in turn, renewed and strengthened the reliance on the sensory basis of knowledge and with it the notion of change and flux.

After a few generations, the emerging trend of rationalism, accepting reasoning and introspection alone and denying the validity of perceptual knowledge, found its most outspoken representatives in the Eleatic School, whereas the opposing trend of sensualism led to the mechanic-materialistic theories of Leucippus and Democritus. Even though carried still further into the subjective, relativistic interpretations of the Sophists, both trends seem to have reached their limits within the Greco-Roman world of ideas, and the major dualistic, synthesizing systems began to emerge.

*The model and its modifications:* If we were to formalize our interpretations in the simplest possible manner we would derive a tree diagram with binary branches whereby the number of different philosophical positions ( $y$ ) attained in successive intellectual generations ( $x$ ) can be expressed by the exponential function:  $y = 2^x$ . This function, characterized by a marked positive acceleration, is identical with that on the distributions in a lineage of descendants (see Figure 2). Dealing with only two descendants at each node, a present-day population of three billion persons would be reduced to a single ancestor living 31 generations ago or (assuming an average generation length of 25 years) at about 1200 AD. This result, being clearly inadequate, leads to two possible modifications of the model.

The first modification proposes a certain limit in the capacity of a sociocultural group to process and incorporate information. The notion of such limitations has been implied already in our discussion of the history of antique and modern philosophy. The Sophists in the former, and the philosophers of the Enlightenment

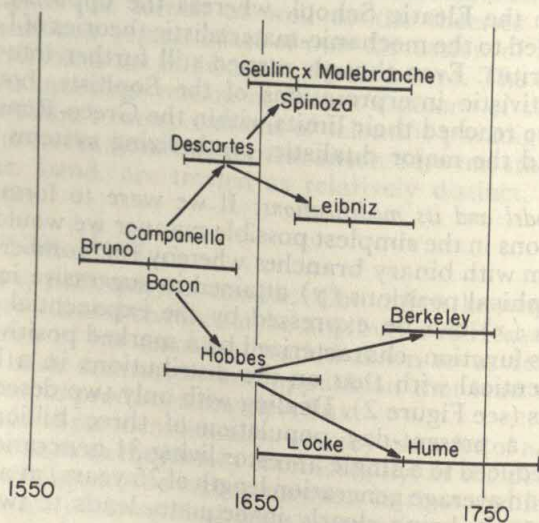
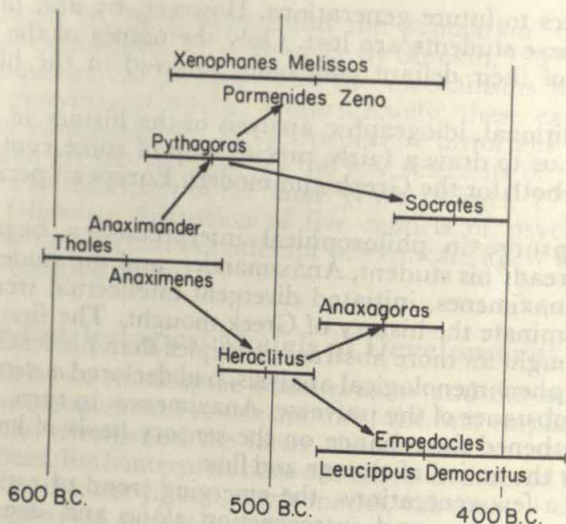


FIGURE 1.  
Systems of hypothetical relations between antique and modern philosophers. (A constant of 20 years is added to the birthdate of each philosopher.)

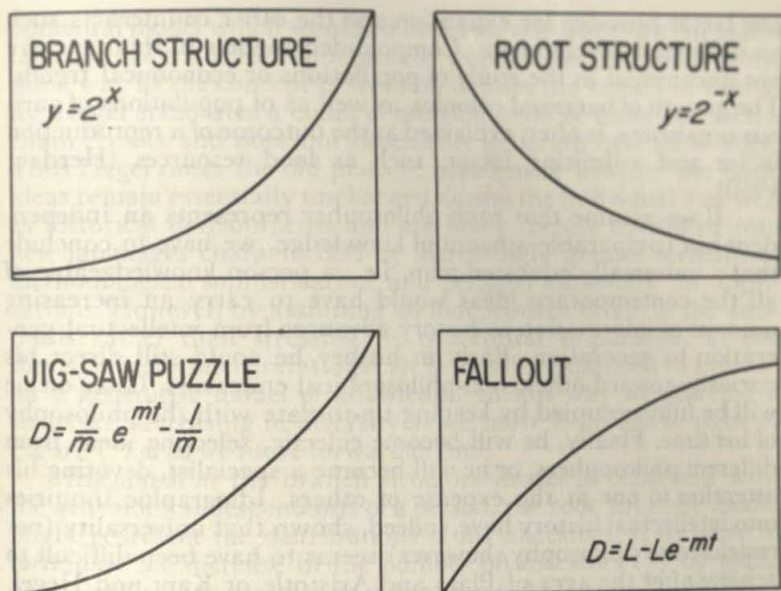


FIGURE 2.  
Four models of development.

in the latter period set the limits which both historical developments were able to tolerate (with such notable exceptions as Socrates' persecution). Plato-Aristotle and Kant-Hegel, respectively, represent best the full capacity and breadth of these developments.

The second modification emphasizes the interactions and shared origins of ideas proposed by particular thinkers. For instance, Plato consolidates ideas of the rationalistic and sensualistic trends. While he gives somewhat greater attention to the rationalism of the Eleatic School, his student, Aristotle, shifts the emphasis to the naturalistic, mechanic interpretations of Democritus. Similarly, Kant consolidates the rationalism of Leibniz with the sensualism of the British School, especially through Berkeley's influence. In these cases, as well as in numerous others, the interconnections reduce the divergence and redirect attention toward a common theme and synthesis.

Both modifications are essentially similar. The first is stated in general, the second in more specific terms. If we accept them for more realistic descriptions of historical developments, we are converting the branch structure into a two factor model whereby

one factor provides for expansion and the other counteracts such an unlimited development. Compounded models of this type are not uncommon in the study of populations or economical trends. The growth of bacterial colonies, as well as of populations of various organisms, is often explained as the outcome of a reproduction factor and a limiting factor, such as food resources (Herdan, 1960).

If we assume that each philosopher represents an independent but comparable amount of knowledge, we have to conclude that a universally educated man, i.e., a person knowledgeable of all the contemporary ideas would have to carry an increasing amount of information as history advances from intellectual generation to generation. Early in history he could still direct his curiosity toward other, non-philosophical endeavors. Later on he will be fully occupied by keeping up-to-date with the philosophy of his time. Finally, he will become eclectic, selecting ideas from different philosophers, or he will become a specialist, devoting his attention to one at the expense of others. Idiographic inquiries into intellectual history have, indeed, shown that universality (not restricted to philosophy, however) seems to have been difficult to achieve after the ages of Plato and Aristotle or Kant and Hegel, respectively.

The idea of an ever increasing load upon the capacity of participants in a system is also implied in Parkinson's law of the rising pyramid (1957) which analyzes the growth of administrative structures. Also some empirical data in the history of sciences are available that may be utilized to test such a model. Pledge (1947) has provided a master-pupil analysis of the natural sciences. Boring and Boring (1948) and more recently Wesley (1965) have surveyed contemporary psychologists about those teachers that were most influential for their careers. Since complete records of doctoral dissertations are available, at least for the past 100 years, it is conceivable to make a systematic analysis of the branch structure of modern sciences.

### *Root Structure Model*

*Description of the model:* Directed toward synthesis rather than toward increasing diversification, the root structure model is the inverse of the branch structure model and is implied in Hegel's dialectic analysis of history. If two ideas are presented, for instance in a scientific dialogue, development will result only when there is some form of consolidation. By incorporating two divergent ideas, such a synthesis necessarily will be more abstract and comprehensive than any of the previous ideas.

Hegel's dialectic scheme does not necessarily provide a devel-

opmental model which would be useful for our purposes. In maintaining that the thesis conceptually implies the antithesis in the same way as the concept of freedom implies the notion of captivity, Hegel elaborates a chain of merging pairs of ideas but such a chain recasts and does not necessarily generate new knowledge. Thus Hegel raises the old platonic problem of whether the basic ideas remain essentially unchanged during the individual's as well as historical developments and are being merely translated into new languages characterized by increasingly greater formalism, methodological sophistication, and perhaps know-how for applications. However, by assuming an independent origin of the antithesis rather than stressing its conceptual implication in the thesis, Hegel's interpretations can be readily expanded to provide for a generative model of knowledge. In this way we describe a structure decreasing in diversity as we move from left to right of Figure 1, i.e. as we move forward in time.

Inasmuch as the branch structure model is congruent with the genealogical descendants of a person, the root structure model might represent the distributions of his ancestors. If we were to formulate the increase in the number of ancestors ( $y$ ) by going backward from generation to generation ( $x$ ) we arrive at the negative exponential function:  $y = 2^{-x} = 1/2^x$ .

Again, serious limitations of this model become apparent if we determine the number of ancestors for a contemporary person. Assuming an average generation length of 25 years, we have to conclude that 31 generations ago or at around 1200 AD a total of about three billion ancestors must have existed. Since this figure exceeds by far the estimated size of the population at that time a considerable amount of inbreeding between various lines must have occurred. We also realize once more that the root structure model provides a rather limited theory of growth only. However, in conjunction with its inverse, the branch structure model, promising predictions may be made, as shown in the following applications.

*Applications of the model:* The root structure model is closely akin to library search and retrieval systems. If a person had read, for instance, a scientific article and intended to trace the background of the ideas presented, he could look up some of the reference literature cited. Without exceptions these reference articles will be older than the original paper and, in turn, will suggest further references. In tracing back an idea in this manner various trends will appear. However, many of these trends will merge somewhere in the past indicating their common origin. In other instances ideas will originate without further traces, thus representing genuine contributions. Disregarding such exceptional

cases, particular books or articles will be repeatedly cited as sources for different publications. If this were not so, the total amount of literature would increase to an ever greater extent the further we move backward in time. Library records, however, show the opposite trend, i.e., positive relation between the amount of literature and historical time.

Reference couplings and networks have been rarely used for retrieval purposes but are of great interest for the study of scientific communication and its change over time (Salton, 1966). Kessler (1963) developed and applied the method of biographic coupling to ten case histories derived from more than 8,000 papers in the *Physical Review* appearing between 1950 and 1958. Tukey (1962) used a similar methodology in his study of literature in chemistry, as did Boll (1952), Osgood and Wilson (1961), and Xhignesse and Osgood (1967) in their analyses of networks of psychological journals. While these studies investigated the flow of information during restricted periods of history (see also the whole No. 11 of the *American Psychologist*, 1966, Volume 21), de Solla Price (1965) in physics and Cardno (1963) in psychology emphasize changes in reference networks over longer time intervals. However, the most extensive contributions to this topic have been made by Garfield. Garfield (1967) relies on an idiographic, historical account of the discovery of the genetic code by Asimov (1963) which he confirms and elaborates further in his quantitative study (Garfield, Sher and Torpie, 1964).

With the exception of sociometric studies, the analysis of relations and networks has not yet found a foothold in psychological research. In linguistic analysis (Chomsky, 1965; Lamb, 1966) as well as in psychological studies of language, especially when concerned with problems of meaning (Rapoport, Rapoport, Livant and Boyd, 1966; Riegel 1970a), this method is becoming increasingly important as treatises of the mathematical theory (Harary, Norman, and Cartwright, 1965) become available to the behavioral and social scientists. In much the same way as a person's place in science can be operationally defined as a point of intersect in the network of scientific publications, so can the meaning of a term be defined by the set of relations diverging and converging upon it (Riegel, 1970a).

### *Jig-Saw Puzzle Model*

*The concept of scientific paradigms:* As suggested by Kuhn (1962) science progresses through successive paradigms, which do not merely represent ever more comprehensive and parsimonious systems but may be non-overlapping and distinct in their emphasis. Within each paradigm—such as Ptolomaic astronomy,

Copernican astronomy, corpuscular optics, wave optics, etc.—science proceeds as if a complex jig-saw puzzle were to be solved.

As Kuhn admits, the concept of paradigms is not the most precise one. Paradigms might oversimplify the diversity of problems within an area, especially when associated with names of particular scientists. Although the orientation of outstanding scientists is usually much broader than the area or principle for which they are known, each could conceivably represent a paradigm of his own. On the other hand, the notion of paradigms could be considerably enlarged to embrace whole areas within a science, such as optics, acoustics, or thermodynamics or further. Each science could be regarded as representing a general paradigm and so could periods of artistic or architectural styles or even the totality of a civilization or culture, as indeed proposed by Spengler, Toynbee and others.

If the concept of paradigm is modified in the indicated manner, special problems arise concerning the interactions of (a) the scientist with a scientific paradigm, (b) the paradigm with the science of which it is a part, (c) one science with another, (d) all sciences with the whole civilization of which they are a part, etc. While Kuhn touches upon most of these problems, he does not provide any hard solution that would enable us to derive a formal model of scientific and cultural growth.

Of still greater importance for deriving such a model are the sequential dependencies of paradigms. Kuhn considers the paradigms as stages and the history of science as a progression in which bursts of activities alternate with periods of steady growth. This view resembles closely the stage models of individual growth as proposed by Freud, Bühler, Erikson, and especially Piaget. Unfortunately, Kuhn as well as most developmental psychologists are least precise in their treatment of the transitions between paradigms or stages. While we will return to this problem when discussing Piaget's theory, at this moment we can but take a one-sided view of Kuhn's contribution by giving exclusive attention to the growth within specific paradigms, or what he has called the growth of *normal sciences*.

*Description of the model:* Kuhn compares the cumulative advances within paradigms with attempts to solve a jig-saw puzzle. Thus, a paradigm is comparable to a complex pattern, gestalt, or picture. At the onset only the general outlines or ideas but none of the details are recognized by the scientists. The development within a paradigm consists in the identification of specific problems and subtopics and of fitting them into the overall design. At the beginning it takes a considerable amount of ingenuity to fit particular items into the patterns. However, as more and more

items are connected, performance will be accelerated and missing parts might be predicted with an increasing degree of accuracy. With the overall pattern recognizable and only few random items missing, scientists will become attracted to new viewpoints or paradigms. Toward the end of the puzzle the performance becomes dull.

On the basis of this reasoning we might propose that the number of items ( $D$ ) fitted together per time ( $t$ ) is proportional to the number of items already assembled. This gives us the differential equation:

$$dD/dt = mD$$

$$D = \frac{1}{m} e^{mt} - \frac{1}{m}$$

A search of the literature reveals no psychological research or published theory on the speed and changes in speed in solving jig-saw puzzles. The only exception is an unpublished study by Horvath (1963) in which a single subject solved a 500-item, colored puzzle. In analyzing the time for assembling solitary pieces or clusters of pieces, the search and assembly process was found to be essentially random. The distribution of the number of moves made in each one minute interval ranged from zero to nine, and could be adequately fitted by a Poisson distribution with a mean of 1.93 moves per minute.

Horvath also observed a slight acceleration toward the end of the thirteen successive twenty-minute intervals. While this deviation was not strong enough to warrant a modification of the random model, it is likely to become more significant the smaller the size of puzzles. In small puzzles the pattern of the anticipated picture will be a much more important determinant especially toward the end of the performance than in large puzzles where these patterns remain remote and less clear. These considerations suggest modifications of the formula giving stronger weight to the dependency of the solution speed upon the size of the puzzle.

The jig-saw search process represents perhaps the less significant part of Kuhn's theory. As an idiographic historian, he pays greater attention to the delineation of the various paradigms, the conditions of their development and the reasons for their substitution. He does not deny that paradigms merge into one another and that there are shared elements and interpretations which are to be re-embedded into the newer system. Perhaps the interrelation is hierarchical and follows the general trend suggested in the root structure model, but Kuhn's outline does not allow for precise statements regarding these transitions and the overall growth of science from paradigm to paradigm.

### *Fallout Model*

*Description of the model:* The following model, originally proposed to account for the acquisition of language (Riegel, 1966, 1968), represents another case of accumulative, continuous growth. Like the jig-saw puzzle model, it relies on the notion of an extrinsic pool from which particular ideas are drawn. While this property makes it suited for explanations of developmental changes that are dependent on the interactions between the individual and a sociological (for instance, a linguistic) system, the growth of such a system itself can be explained only if we were to assume that the elements (for instance, the ideas and laws of a science) are expressions of nature itself and not man's creative interpretations and projections. Since this assumption limits its acceptability, the fallout model can not be regarded as a serious contender among the theories of historical growth.

In psycholinguistics, several models have been derived to depict changes of word variability with age and/or length of a text. A model discussed by Herdan (1960) assumes a Zipf-like frequency distribution of the items some of which occur at very high frequencies, others less often. If the individual is assumed to draw successive samples from this universe at a constant rate and to incorporate any new item that has not occurred to him before, the very common items are likely to be acquired early in the development. Later in life, only rare items will not have occurred and, subsequently, the acquisition will proceed at a slower pace.

A simpler version of this model applied to the language acquisition process (Riegel 1966, 1968) does not take variations in frequency into account. It is based on the assumption that the continuing increase in word variability ( $D$ ) with time ( $t$ ) is proportional to the number of different words in a repertoire that have *not yet* been produced. Thus, if  $L$  is the total number of different words in the repertoire and  $D$  is the number of different words that have occurred up to a certain point in time, the differential equation reads as follows:

$$dD/dt = M(L - D)$$

$$D = L - Le^{-mt}$$

When applied to the study of history and substituting words by scientific events or ideas, the negatively accelerated growth curve thus derived contradicts our intuition and idiographic descriptions of the growth of sciences. What scientists seem to be experiencing is that scientific events occur at an increasingly faster pace the more recent a period in regard to the observer, i.e., scientific development seems to be positively accelerated.

The discrepancies between the individual's and the societal growth curves and the fact that the fallout model may account for the former but hardly for the latter is determined by the differences in the conditions under which these two systems operate. The individual has to grow into the social, linguistic environment that surrounds him. The social system remains relatively unchanged through his adaptations. For the growth of a social system, such as a science, the interactions of different scientists are of importance. Each scientist might contribute a small share of new knowledge, thus supplementing and supporting the others; each generates a few new ideas and does not passively receive them from the system. Thus, sciences grow actively and creatively as the scientists grow and interact. The creative and inventive use of the language, (which, undoubtedly represents an important aspect of the individual's growth process) remains insignificant for the society, however, in which already an infinite number of other forms have been used prior to the individual's encounter.

*Interactions in the growth of the individual and the society:* Recently, the interaction in the growth of the individual and the society has attracted considerable interest among psychological gerontologists because it is in this area of long-term development where changes in the socio-cultural conditions become most apparent and confound the psychological results. While these considerations led to important explorations of research designs in developmental studies, including designs for historical comparisons, Schaie (1965), Baltes (1968), Lehman (1953, 1962) conducted extensive studies of the performance of outstanding individuals and its change with historical time.

For a demonstration of the first problem, let us assume (Riegel 1965) that some psychological data had been obtained in 1910 and in 1960 from ten year old children and from sixty year old adults. Data on these four groups allow us to make two cross-sectional comparisons, one for the study of 1910 and one for that of 1960. Since the subjects of cross-sectional comparisons do not only differ in age but were also born at different historical times, the analysis keeps individual and historical changes confounded. A comparison of the ten year olds of 1910 with the sixty year olds of 1960 would represent a longitudinal comparison if the same subjects were retested. However, such an analysis would again reflect both types of changes, the latter being restricted in this case to historical changes concurrent with the individual's development, i.e., between the two times of testing of 1910 and 1960. Finally, comparisons of the ten year olds of 1910 with those of 1960 and analogous comparisons of the sixty year olds allow for "pure" estimates of the historical changes undiluted by the growth of the individuals.

Schaie (1965) and Baltes (1968) have shown that by embedding several of these three basic designs (cross-sectional, longitudinal, and time-lag designs) into complex developmental arrangements it becomes possible to estimate the relative contributions of the individual's and of the society's changes to the overall trends observed. While, thus, important steps have been taken toward the conceptualization of the interdependency between the growth of the individual and the society, this topic is much enriched if we look into the various areas in which such changes occur. This topic, almost single handedly, has been studied by Lehman (1953, 1962).

Lehman assembled extensive production and performance records of famous artists, scientists, philosophers, politicians, and business men. While most of his attention has been directed toward comparisons in amount and peak productivity across disciplines and fields, he has also analyzed historical changes accompanying or modifying these differences. In regard to the mean age of attained political leadership, for instance, he observed a marked increase from the periods prior to the middle of the last century to the more recent times. He attributes this increase to growing political stability. In regard to historical shifts in scientific creativity, the great increase in the number of scientific publications and records have been considered as necessitating longer training periods and, subsequently, a delay in productivity. Contrary to this expectation, both quantitative and qualitative records show either no changes of this type or minor changes in the opposite direction. Lehman (1953) lists several reasons for this result: (1) Earlier scientists devoted long periods to the development of tools and techniques. (2) Earlier scientists served as trail-blazers and started in an area different than the one for which they are known. (3) Modern scientists are stimulated by greater rewards, competition, and pressure to publish early during their careers. (4) Earlier scientists withheld publications to safeguard their rights.

These interpretations become still more confounded when the known increase in longevity during historical times is taken into account and, especially, when it is noted (Riegel, Riegel, and Meyer 1967; Riegel, 1969a) that early death affects selectively persons with lesser intellectual capacities and interests. Again, Lehman has analyzed these questions at considerable length by partitioning creative workers from different fields on the basis of their ages at time of death. His findings suggest "that increasing the average length of man's life will result in greater average output on the part of our most creative thinkers, but that the most fruitful years for creative work will still be those between 30 and 39 (1953, p. 309)."

*Models of Developmental Stages*

It has always been one of the most cherished intellectual activities of developmental scientists and historians to divide the course of events into distinct phases or periods. But even though many efforts have been directed toward such delineations, the outcome has remained ambiguous and arbitrary. Psychologists, in particular, have fluctuated between interpretations that attribute different periods to normative social contingencies and even to legislative decisions, e.g., on school age, voting age, retirement age, etc., and those that emphasize maturational, psycho-biological processes, e.g., periods of self-assertion, adolescence, stability, etc. While their discussion has remained unsatisfactory for a long period of time, Piaget has recently approached these problems in a more rigorous manner and delineated psychological stages rather than attempted to reduce them either to sociological or to biological events.

Piaget has described four systems of logical operations representing successive stages of cognitive development and has assembled a large body of evidence showing that, indeed, children at varying ages operate at the levels described in his theory. In considering himself a genetic epistemologist (1950), he devoted much attention to elaborate that the same concepts and operations which emerge sequentially in the growing individual also characterize the intellectual growth of society.

Piaget's interpretations, written in French, have caught the attention of the American psychologists only through the intervention of Berlyne (1957), Hunt (1961), and especially Flavell (1963) and like a paradigm in Kuhn's sense created a rapid drift toward research on cognition and cognitive development. Also like a true paradigm, scholars following the traditional lines, such as of behavior and learning research, as well as the non-developmentally oriented philosophers and mathematicians have remained aloof from this development. Since Piaget's model does not represent a system simple enough for our present purpose, we will direct our attention to a much simplified version proposed by McLaughlin (1963).

*McLaughlin's modification of Piaget's model:* McLaughlin's (1963) brief outline seems even more ambitious than Piaget's because he equates the four successive stages of cognitive growth with increases in immediate memory span. On the other hand, his interpretations are simpler because he reduces the intellectual performance to logical operations of classes. If concepts are distinguished by a number of attributes ( $N$ ), then each distinct concept is derived by one of  $2^N$  possible combinations of the presence or absence of these attributes. Each value of  $N$  specifies a unique

logic which McLaughlin equates with successive levels in children's cognitive development.

At level 0, corresponding to Piaget's stage of *sensorimotor intelligence*, the child is able to process  $2^0 = 1$  concept at a time. During this time the child learns to attend to objects and to develop a notion of object constancy but is unable to operate logically with concepts since he lacks a basis for comparisons. The selection of a particular object is not based on a specific attribute, but the child seems to focus his attention upon items which happen to be in his reach and available for manipulations.

At level 1, the child is able to retain  $2^1 = 2$  concepts simultaneously. This period corresponds to Piaget's stage of *preoperational intelligence*. The child's capacity to retain two concepts at one time enables him to make comparisons between items but he can not perform seriations. Typically, a child may start out sorting items by their color into two classes; when other items are added, he might shift to the attribute of form even though that of size might be a transitive criterion but, by now, would require the simultaneous comparison of three sets (e.g., large, medium, and small objects).

At level 2, corresponding to Piaget's stage of *concrete operational intelligence*, the child is able to process  $2^2 = 4$  concepts simultaneously. Now he does not only consider the attribute of two concepts A and A', but also a third concept, that of their sum, B. If he can still accommodate a fourth concept, the complement to B, called B', he is able to perform class additions. Such a performance is evident when the child combines items into superordinate classes, as well as when he orders items into extended series. By considering two attributes simultaneously, e.g., items that are black (C) and wooden (D), the child performs class multiplication, i.e., he is able to sort items into the product classes which have the attributes of C and D; of C but not of D; of D but not of C; or of neither C nor D.

At level 3, corresponding to Piaget's stage of *formal operational intelligence*, the child is able to process  $2^3 = 8$  concepts simultaneously and to perform logical operations in full conformity with the intellectual demands of everyday situations. At level 4, a person ought to be able to categorize items on the basis of four attributes. For all practical purposes, however, such operations are not only beyond daily and scientific needs, but—in most practical situations—will be reduced to successive performances of more limited operations.

*Application of McLaughlin's interpretations to history, an example:* In emphasizing the serial embedding of the stages of logical operations, Piaget's and McLaughlin's theories represent transitions

between models of stages and those of relations (branch and root structures). The transitional nature is most clearly expressed in McLaughlin's attempt to equate these stages with successive systems of class operations. Indeed, his formal expression,  $y = 2^N$ , is identical with that derived for the branch structure model and, thus, can be applied to the diagrams of Figure 1.

Taking this equivalence seriously leads us to the interpretation that successive generations of philosophers represent stages comparable to the development of cognitive operations in the child. At level 0 (Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes), the number of distinctive attributes is zero,  $2^0 = 1$ ; the philosophical theme is identified. As appropriately as for childhood, and emphasizing the phenomenological-operational method of approach, this stage might be called the sensori-motor period of Greek philosophy. At level 1 (Pythagoras/Heraclitus), one attribute characterizes the conceptual split between rationalism and sensualism. Appropriately, this stage might be called the preoperational approach to philosophy. Both rationalism and sensualism are derived by experiential generalizations and have not yet received the explicit formulations which they are to obtain through the schools of Elea and Democritus. At level 2 (Elea/Socrates/Anaxagoras/Democritus), two distinctive attributes characterize the conceptual splits leading to four schools of thought. The first attribute explicates the former distinction between the rationalistic and sensualistic approaches and separates the Eleatic School and Socrates on one hand from Democritus and Anaxagoras on the other. Even though not fully explicated until the next generation of thinkers, the second attribute separates the monists (School of Elea, Democritus) from the dualists (Socrates, Anaxagoras). In analogy to the cognitive development of the child, we may speak of the level of concrete operations which is characterized by "processes of restructuring concepts, that can be illustrated by grouping tangible objects (McLaughlin 1963, p. 65)." This type of conceptualization is represented by the paradoxes of the Eleatic School (Achilles' inability to pass the turtle; the flying arrow is at rest; etc.) or the concrete partitioning process in Democritus' demonstrations of the atom.

It is questionable whether Greek philosophy ever advanced far beyond the level of concrete operational intelligence. At least our system of hypotheses (see Figure 1) does not cover the full range of eight conceptual possibilities at the fourth intellectual generation. Of course, this proposition is not likely to be accepted without further argument based upon a detailed analysis of Greek philosophy. Whatever the outcome of such a discussion, level 3 ought to be characterized by three distinct attributes, two of

which might represent explications of those already presented at the earlier levels. As noted before, performance of such quality is neither attained by all children nor are eight conceptual distinctions applied by all adults in all situations. Both the ability to perform triple-classifications as well as a retention span of eight independent items represent upper bounds rather than estimates of performances in average situations or by average persons. Of course, such considerations are not necessarily relevant for a discussion of the history of sciences or philosophy because these developments, in comparison to individual growth processes, will be carried and sustained by the exceptional rather than the average persons.

*Discrete and continuous growth models:* Our generalization of developmental logic to the study of history has been possible only under the exceptional conditions where there exists a well-delineated system of propositions, such as for the history of philosophy. In most other cases, stages in historical development, such as the scientific paradigms discussed by Kuhn, have to be described in terms of their specific content. Even though students of history thus seem to face an exceedingly difficult task, it should not be forgotten that the situation in developmental psychology is not much better. Interpretations, such as those by Piaget and McLaughlin, have been possible only after painstaking inquiries and still remain the exception rather than the rule in psychological research.

Aside from the difficulties in delineating specific stages, Piaget's and McLaughlin's discussions provide some general insights concerning the transition between stages and the relationship of stage sequences to chronological or historical time scales. According to McLaughlin, preceding logics are successively embedded into the following ones. Thus, while at each level "qualitatively" different operations become available, there is nevertheless an ordered transition between the stages, and the information attained at earlier periods is not lost.

Piaget has assigned chronological age boundaries to the successive stages. Thus, by superimposing an absolute time scale upon the ordinal scale of stages without providing a rationale other than empirical evidence, he has gone beyond the theoretical possibilities of his model. Of course, Piaget (and, to a lesser extent, the majority of developmental psychologists) is not taking too seriously these chronological boundaries but, primarily, attempts to satisfy the practitioners' needs and curiosity. McLaughlin's interpretations, on the other hand, allow for a more succinct analysis of the relationship between the ordinal scale of stages and the absolute scale of chronological age.

McLaughlin reduces the progression from stage to stage to increases in immediate memory. When averaged over subjects or over repeated measurements, tests (e.g., of digit or letter spans) show a smooth increase with age in the number of items retained. But, as an individual's performance fluctuates around a fractional average which is characteristic for his capacity at a given age in any concrete testing situation, he reports only a whole number of items, and it is impossible for him to reveal fractions, except perhaps by his hesitation or unsuccessful guesses. His concrete performance is always of an all-or-none type; he either retains 3, 4, 5, or 6 items but never 3.58. Correspondingly, his mode of logical operations shifts back and forth from more to less advanced levels. His assignment to a developmental stage represents a most reasonable estimate of his average performance during a certain period of time, but always remains artificial.

If we generalize these interpretations to the study of the history of sciences, we find ourselves much in agreement with several suggestions by Kuhn. Undoubtedly, the time boundaries for most scientific paradigms are quite arbitrary. Different paradigms co-exist over fairly long periods of time. Subsequent paradigms are, generally, more comprehensive, even though perfectly ordered sequences represent exceptions rather than the rule. Most important, scientists work either within one paradigm or another at one time, but rarely within several simultaneously. Perhaps such consolidations are left to the lesser individuals.

In extension to Kuhn and relying on McLaughlin, the reduction of the growth in logical operations to increases in immediate memory span may find its counterpart in the historical growth of material and intellectual communication within civilizations. The change in the means of communication characterizes not only the most recent centuries but also the later periods of the Greco-Roman or Egyptian civilizations and can be traced from the trader and foot messenger to the electronics, rockets, and laser beams of modern technology. As suggested by Rashevsky (1968), the change in communication might explain and not merely describe the acceleration in intellectual productivity during recent periods.

### III. Conclusion

The last mentioned model is based on successively embedded categorization systems, each representing a different stage in the individual's development and a different paradigm in the history of science. In psychology, it emphasizes traits and capacities which emerge maturationally but require experience for their

realization. In history, it emphasizes distinct forms of communication or styles and distinct theoretical viewpoints of organization. Even though most powerful for psychological elaborations, this model does not necessarily explore the question as to why organisms grow.

In comparison to the first interpretation, both the branch and the root structure models emphasize socio-psychological interactions rather than distinct socio-psychological events. Growth is seen as the outcome of a continuous dialogue leading to increasing conceptual differentiation and integration. Inasmuch as social interaction and communication can be regarded as intrinsic tendencies for any human being, these models are deterministic and explain growth. Like the first interpretations they do not elaborate, however, the triggering conditions leading to sudden bursts in productivity. When applied to historical analyses, they elaborate specific relations between persons and incorporate these relations into a general order. Only secondarily do they lead to classifications of events or persons.

The third type of interpretation, the jig-saw puzzle and fall-out models, directs still greater attention to external social rather than to internal psychological conditions. The fallout model has been successfully applied under conditions where there exists an extrinsic body of information, such as the language, which has to be adopted by the growing individual. Its usefulness for the study of historical changes is limited because it is difficult to imagine a comparable set of information existing outside or beyond the society in which the historical processes are taking place. The growth of a science has to be considered as an interaction process which generates, rather than incorporates, information. Both the jig-saw puzzle and the fallout models analyze the most general trends rather than particular groupings and traces. Single contributions lose their identity in the analysis of the growth process, but for the same reasons these models provide, if successfully applied, the most deterministic explanations of growth.

Thus, when progressing from the categorical via the relational to the continuous growth models, we turn our attention from intrinsic psychological to social psychological and, finally, to extrinsic sociological and physical conditions. As our explanations become more deterministic and the mathematical models more powerful, we face growing difficulties in justifying the necessary assumptions. Even though the third model has been considered in theory, explorations of individual developments have concentrated upon the first approach. The relational model has not been applied in studies of psychological developments, but the major interest of the historians has been directed toward this approach.

#### IV. Justification

During the present times of social and intellectual unrest, the study of history is being regarded by many as an highly irrelevant activity. Such a viewpoint is certainly appropriate as long as the historical analysis consists in a glorification of heroes (Carlyle), in a justification of existing social orders (Treitschke), and as long as historical development is seen as a progression from disaster to disaster with little respect for the slow and tedious advances in science, arts, and general welfare that fall in-between these catastrophies and are either independent or even counteractive to the more apparent adventures of economic or military powers. Since the analyses and interpretations discussed in the present paper are directed toward the study of these slow cultural changes—especially of the sciences—they do not seem to be affected by the above criticism.

The interpretations proposed are relevant because they may enable us to arrive at a prospective analysis of historical changes. The study of the growth of communication networks in science, for instance, might facilitate our recognition of critical nodes—of an over-differentiation and a lack of integration that may cause a split within a scientific discipline (such as between developmental psychology and clinical child psychology), or the fusion of certain areas across different disciplines (such as the emergence of psycholinguistics). The study of scientific development will also allow for an analysis of production lags and survival rates of topics, papers, and scientists.

All of these questions have concrete implications with which most scientists, personally, have become familiar. They raise the issues of directing, programming, and controlling scientific developments and, thus, relate to questions of the distribution of means—not only within and between scientific disciplines, but also in regard to general socio-political priorities. Still more concretely, they question the roles and actions of self-perpetuating granting agencies, scientific associations, editorial boards, research units, etc. All these established organizations are supposed to foster scientific development, but in the experience of many scientists they reinforce conventional tracks rather than promote creative expansions. Thus, the mutual "check and control" and the inter-lishment become crucial issues which might be elucidated by an analysis of the historical development of these interaction processes.

While much of our discussion centered around the development of scientific disciplines, many of the interpretations might be generalized and are, indeed, intimately tied to political and social

issues. Moreover, while most of our historical interpretations have been derived from research and theories on the individual's development, they nevertheless provide feedback for these psychological investigations and, thus, may have again some rather concrete implications. For instance, one of the developmental models discussed has been successfully applied to problems of second language acquisition and bilingualism (Riegel, 1968, 1969b). Eventually, it may allow us to determine the most efficient forms and the optimal time and distribution of efforts for second language training. Since deviant and subcultural groups share many features with bilingual subjects, such a discussion is not restricted to the language acquisition process but may provide insights into many other socio-psychological issues.

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## Alienation—Black and White, or the Uncommitted Spectator

Gerald Hugh Black

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In this article I discuss how Kenneth Kenworthy in *The Negro in U.S.A.* (1963) and Elliot Lichner in *Tally's Corner* (1967) would use two very different methods of inquiry, have discovered some striking similarities between two vastly different groups of individuals within our society. In both cases I indicate that the alienation they discern stems from the fact that our society is not guided by common moral human values. Here, then, is where I indicate a possible solution. Basic value changes must occur in our society. We must strive toward a more integrated existence and make the appropriate structural changes based upon the conviction of human dignity. Using these criteria, I investigate the present situation of Black leadership and the crucial importance to our nation of the future direction taken by that group.

### The "Uncommitted"—Black and White

The following section is a comparison of two significant people found in two very different sections of our society. The comparison is based on the research done by two social scientists who perceive

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written while the author was a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley. Comments by Harold Greenblatt, and Jack T. H. in the early stages of this paper were greatly appreciated. Thanks are due to these William Lichner and Robert L. for their assistance in preparing the manuscript.



## **Alienation—Black and White, or the Uncommitted Revisited**

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In this article I discuss how Kenneth Keniston in *The Uncommitted* (1965) and Elliot Liebow in *Tally's Corner* (1967), while using two very different methods of inquiry, have uncovered some striking similarities between two vastly different groups of alienates within our society. In both cases I indicate that the alienation found stems from the fact that our society is not guided by fundamental human values. Here, then, is where I indicate a possible solution. Basic value changes must occur in our society. We must strive toward a more integrated existence and make the appropriate structural changes based upon the conviction of human dignity. Using these criteria, I investigate the present situation of black leadership and the crucial importance to our nation of the future direction taken by that group.

### *The "Uncommitted"—Black and White*

The following section is a comparison of uncommitted people found in two very different sectors of our society. This comparison is based on the research done by two social scientists, the psychol-

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<sup>1</sup>This paper was written while the author was a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley. Comments by Harold Hodgkinson and Jack London in the early stages of this paper were greatly appreciated. I would also like to thank William Zachmeier and Roberta Figy for their assistance in preparing the manuscript.

ogist Kenneth Keniston and the anthropologist Elliot Liebow. Despite their application of different research techniques (Keniston used psychological tests and extensive interviews, while Liebow employed participant-observation), I feel that the numerous similarities in their observations merit this comparison and further investigation.

Keniston's *The Uncommitted* is a study based on three years of research with undergraduate students at Harvard University, who by virtue of psychological tests were considered to be extremely alienated. As one might expect, these youths were not typical in any sense of the word: "They were studied precisely *because* their alienation was extreme; and in addition, they were drawn from one of the most highly selected student bodies in America. Thus, their lives reflect both their intense alienation, and their talent, fortunate social position, and attendance at an 'elite' college (Keniston, 1965, p. 17)."

Liebow's *Tally's Corner* is the result of about one year's participant-observation of streetcorner men in Washington, D.C. Liebow, too, warns us that his subjects are not to be considered as representative of the average black male. Yet Liebow's wording insinuates that these men do, in a limited way, represent other black males: "These men differ from the others in degree rather than in kind, the principal difference being that they are carrying out the implications of their values and experiences to their logical, inevitable conclusions. In this sense, the others have yet to come to terms with themselves and the world they live in (Liebow, 1967, p. 34)."

It is obvious that Keniston and Liebow have studied two very different groups of people. Let me note some of the most blatant differences. Color is probably the most visible: Keniston dealt only with white college students; Liebow dealt only with black men. Because of their color, Liebow's group is physically isolated (in ghettos) from the greater social structure. Keniston's group has at least the opportunity to blend physically into the larger structure. Educationally, these groups have almost nothing in common. Of all the men Liebow came to study, only one had finished high school. Keniston's subjects, as mentioned, were the elite of the educational elite. All had excellent college preparatory educations, and during the study most were doing better than average at Harvard University. Concerning their economic statuses, we find, as expected, no similarities. Liebow confronts us with the poor—and sometimes the poorest of the poor; Keniston has no need to introduce his subjects as the affluent. Racially, educationally, economically, socially, politically—the differences could go on ad infinitum. Besides the fact that these two groups

live in the same country (and even that might be contested), it appears that they have little in common.

Yet according to Keniston and Liebow, there is one thing they do have in common: both lack commitment. But before proceeding any further into common ground, a major difference in their lack of commitment must be mentioned. The streetcorner man described in *Tally's Corner* has had no real choice with regard to his situation. He is pushed into alienation by forces outside of himself. By contrast, Keniston notes that his subjects have, to a degree, actively chosen to reject commitment. They have chosen not to choose; they choose to reject. This does not mean that they control their circumstances. It means, rather, that these youths are afforded a degree of choice which the streetcorner man never experiences.

This difference is illustrated in the feelings which these two groups have about middle class values. Keniston notes that his subjects reject the culture which shaped them and, therefore, reject the goals and values of that culture. The black streetcorner man has never been in a position which allowed rejection of the societal standards. For this reason, he comes to accept the values and standards of the white society. "His [the streetcorner man's] behavior appears not so much as a way of realizing the distinctive goals and values of his own sub-culture, or of conforming to its models, but rather as his way of trying to achieve many of the goals and values of the larger society (Liebow, 1967, p. 222)." As Kenneth Clark (1965) points out, the Negro wants to share in the total American culture. As will be discussed later, this desire to want in without any opportunity of getting in is central in the streetcorner man's dilemma. Keniston's subjects, on the other hand, are in and want out.

### *Some Unexpected Similarities . . .*

Despite these differences, the composite Keniston gives us of his alienated students often bears remarkable resemblance to the streetcorner men in *Tally's Corner*. In fact, almost every salient feature depicted in Keniston's composite finds a counterpart in Liebow's work.

Let me begin by investigating the element of time as it relates to these groups. Keniston mentions that his subjects suffer from historical dislocation.<sup>2</sup> Even the relatively recent past, i.e., grand-

<sup>2</sup>Keniston borrows the term "historical dislocation" from Robert Jay Lifton's article, "Individual Patterns of Historical Change: Imagery of Japanese Youth," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. VI, 1963-64, pp. 369-383. Lifton uses this term in describing Japanese youths who were caught in the midst of technological change. The youths who suffer most, Lifton reports, are those who feel dislocated from their past and lack commitment to the future.

parents, is considered as distant and bears little relation to the present. These students feel little connection to the past; it is not related to them. "Historical dislocation" is a new term for an old phenomenon which has been with the Negro ever since his arrival in the New World. "In contrast to European immigrants, who brought rich cultures and long histories with them, the Negro has been completely stripped of his past . . . (Silberman, 1964, p. 109)."<sup>3</sup>

Liebow describes an aspect of this problem when he observes that the streetcorner man has a need to *create* a past. For instance, Liebow explains that the friendships among the streetcorner men are often short-lived and have little or no history behind them. But the streetcorner man would like to change that, and often claims that a friendship with a chosen party goes back into childhood, while this is rarely the case. Similarly, Keniston notes that when his subjects refer to their pasts, they often have an ideal conception of it. Keniston claims these youths feel no real connection to their pasts. He posits that the acceptance of one's own historical dislocation might lead to greater personal freedom, but usually only grants distress. The possessors of such freedom, he suggests, are not the creators but the strangers and outsiders.

Let me move now from the past to the future. Keniston explains that his subjects emphasize the irrelevance of the past and stress pessimism about the future. Being based on a much more demonstrably depressing situation, the streetcorner man's pessimism about the future is more easily understood. "As for the future, the young streetcorner man has a fairly good picture of it . . . . It is a future in which everything is uncertain except the ultimate destruction of his hopes and the eventual realization of his fears (Liebow, 1967, p. 66)." It would, in fact, be surprising if the streetcorner man were to feel anything but pessimism about the future.

Caught without a past and without optimism about the future, both groups have only one tense in which to exist—the present. It is this state which Keniston refers to as the cult of the present. This is the feeling that the present must be cherished and

<sup>3</sup>For a more detailed description of this phenomenon see also: Elkins, Stanley M., *Slavery, A Problem in American Institutional & Intellectual Life*, Grosset & Dunlap, New York, 1963. This book contains a wealth of information about the shocking methods by which the Negro was so completely separated from his past. See also: Wirth, Louis, *The Ghetto*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1962. This book, concerned only with Jewish Ghettos in America, is important in that it illustrates how very much in touch the Jewish Ghetto was with its past and traditions. By way of contrast, this work offers numerous insights to the ways in which Negro and immigrant ghettos significantly differ from each other.

utilized to the fullest degree. Keniston relates the cult of the present to the cult of experience. That is, those who find themselves stranded on the present often choose to get the most out of every moment. The present must be milked of all it has to offer. Everything is to be experienced; this becomes an end in itself. At first sight, this cult of Keniston's subjects might not seem to have much in common with the ways of the streetcorner man. Yet the following excerpt from *Talley's Corner* indicates that just the opposite is true: "Delivering little, and promising no more, the job is no 'big thing'. The man appears to treat the job in a cavalier fashion, working and not working as the spirit moves him, as if all that matters is the immediate satisfaction of his present appetites, the surrender to present moods . . . (emphasis mine, p. 64)." In point of fact, this cult of immediate gratification is much more easily understood in terms of the streetcorner society than in terms of the college environment. For the streetcorner man, as Liebow points out, lives in a sea of want.

These two, seemingly so different, groups of uncommitted people have more in common than just historical dislocation, pessimism about the future, and a cult of the present. I found a number of similarities in examining descriptions concerning the family life of each group. Probably one of the most striking resemblances between the two groups is the position of the male figure in the home. In general, he is represented as weak or as a failure. In *The Uncommitted* we read that the alienated student considers men as weak, easily manipulated, and basically phony or foolish when they attempt to show strength. It is also noteworthy that these students consider their fathers as failures despite their undeniable economic success. We need not strain our imaginations to see how this attitude toward the male is related to the conception so frequently attributed to the male in the ghetto. Let me again return to *Tally's Corner* for my comparison. The men of the corner are depicted as losers. They typify the disastrous cycle which occurs in the ghetto. This cycle, as described by Liebow and many others, is one of oppression and depression which eventually leads to the breaking of a human being. It is a cycle of racism and exploitation from which presently there is no exit. It is a cycle in which the black male is repeatedly confronted with his own failure until he no longer expects anything but failure. As Liebow describes it, the male is beaten as soon as he decides to get married. This is because a man in our society is expected to support his family. Since racism generally precludes the entrance of a black male into a decent job, it is immediately doubtful that a black male will be able to support his family. The birth of a child represents another stage of defeat for the black male. No one wants to see his child in rags and going hungry. But for the street-

corner man there is no real choice. It is either menial and demeaning labor or welfare. In any event he is viewed as a failure. If the man chooses to let his family live on welfare, generally he must leave the home and thereby admit his inability to cope with the problem. As for work, Liebow remarks that it is no solution at present since both employee and employer are contemptuous of the job.

This, then, is the cycle that some claim so efficiently emasculates so many black males. This is the cycle which makes pessimism about men in the ghetto so prevalent, even among the men themselves. Liebow notes that streetcorner men seldom refer to their fathers spontaneously. When references to fathers are made, usually they are of a terse negative sort. Liebow also maintains that among the Negro women he met, there was a widespread and contemptuous assessment of men as fathers.

It follows that if the role and importance of the male in the family is minimized, the woman will come to play a more crucial part. Not surprisingly, Keniston found this to be the case in the family lives described by his alienated students. He notes that in the autobiographies of these students, there is a predominance of women in early recollection. (This predominance is in comparison with the autobiographies of other students, who were not considered alienated and uncommitted.) These data, we are told, reflect that the fathers of these young men played a relatively unimportant conscious role in their son's lives, and certainly that they played a less important role than did their wives. The importance of the role of the mother in the black home, thanks to the Moynihan report, has been well publicized. Concerned about this strong matriarchal tradition—matrifocal is more correct—Charles Silberman explains that under slavery, such family life as existed centered inevitably around the woman. A variety of economic and social factors since Emancipation have kept the black woman in the dominant role (Silberman, 1964, p. 118).<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly, the cycle which oppresses the Negro in the outside world also enters his home. Silberman also remarks that because her husband cannot support the family, the Negro wife goes to work; she has an easier time finding a job than her husband, since domestic work is almost always available. But the reversal of roles almost poisons the marital relationship. Here we return to the paradox of values which is described so completely in

<sup>4</sup>See also Elkins' *Slavery* for a much more detailed description of the methodical destruction of the Negro family. In Chapter III (pp. 98-113) he makes an amazing comparison between the effects of American slavery on the Negro and the Nazi concentration camps on their inmates. With regard to personality change in a stress situation, this is an enlightening chapter.

*Tally's Corner*. The Negro male knows and accepts the standards and expectations that the American culture has. In accepting these standards, and he can hardly be expected to do otherwise, he must constantly seek ways of avoiding the fact that his society considers him a failure. He must become aware of himself as two people: one part of him reacts to people and events as an individual, the other reacts as a Negro. In Bruno Bettelheim's *The Informed Heart* a similar situation is described in which prisoners in a German concentration camp, i.e., people in an extreme stress situation, developed personality splits because of the contradictory standards by which they had to live.

Hence the paradox of standards which the black experiences assists in fragmenting his self image. Because of the unique intensity of the prejudice against the blacks which exists in our nation, this split is more prevalent in blacks than in any other minority group. (There can be no doubt that being black in our white society is quantitatively more negative than being a Jew.) Keniston, too, reports that his group of students suffered from a fragmented self image. Keniston considers that to be the price they pay for their opposition and rejection of their society and its standards. This price is inner confusion, disunity, and fragmentation.

Besides a fragmented self image, both of these groups have a tendency to define themselves in negative terms. As Keniston says, the alienated student has a negative self-definition. That the streetcorner man has a negative self-definition is simple to see. For he often receives a negative view of himself from some of the most crucial realms of his life. In his home he sees himself fail as a provider. Slowly even his dominant role as male is threatened and likely to be supplanted by his wife. In his work—if he is fortunate enough to find some—he again sees a negative reflection of himself. Neither he nor his employer respects the job. Referring to the young black male from the streetcorner area who has not yet encountered all these failures, Liebow notes that he begins armed with models that have failed and with the smell of failure all around him. This is not to imply that only negative thoughts are voiced concerning the self. In both groups we find that the positive element in this picture is upheld by the faculty of fantasy.

Finding himself in a stress situation in which he sees himself only in negative terms, man will often turn to fantasy as a means of escape. This is exemplified by some of the personal accounts of the concentration camps. Bruno Bettelheim describes how some of the inmates at Dachau began to fantasize and identify with their oppressors, the SS. Some of the prisoners, he explains, even went as far as to mend their prison garb until it resembled the uniforms of the SS. Through such mental gymnastics their own plight be-

came more bearable. Fantasy acted as an escape hatch. Keniston sees this process at work when he refers to the fantasy of fusion which he found among his alienated youths. He describes this desire for unity as the most powerful unconscious motive in many of these young men. Since their negative image of themselves is primarily a fragmented picture, Keniston sees their usage of fantasy as a means of correcting this view. Fantasy as a means of escaping his black reality is a theme which has been related in much of the literature concerned with the American Negro. In Kenneth Clark's *Dark Ghetto* (1965) there are sad descriptions of black teenage dropouts coping with the frustrations of the ghetto by posing as college students. This is not, however, just a teenage phenomenon. Liebow, too, notes the importance of fantasy in the ability of the streetcorner man to escape his environment. In fact, he insinuates that one important function fulfilled by the streetcorner society is that it provides a structure in which fantasy can flourish and into which men can escape. On the streetcorner sanctuary one magically changes failure into success. So for both groups, the uncommitted college student and the streetcorner man, fantasy tends to be an important means of escaping an environment which often appears to cast only negative reflections.

In comparing these two different groups of uncommitted people, I have noted a number of unexpected similarities. Both groups share a sense of historical dislocation, pessimism about the future, and tend to live in and for the present. In the family situation of each group, a matrifocal situation exists in which the male plays a secondary role and is often viewed in a negative light. The members of these groups often have a fragmented image of themselves and tend to define themselves in negative terms. In order to flee the negativism which permeates their existences, these groups often seek refuge in fantasy.

The numerous similarities noted above indicate that these two groups are not unrelated; rather, with regard to their alienation, they have much in common. This common element is important. For this indicates that the source of alienation in each group might well be related. In spite of vast differences, the similarities urgently beg explanation. To account for these I will go beyond the family, the streetcorner, and the college environment, and examine our society. In the following section I speak to the societal forces behind the alienation of each group.

### *Societal Causes*

Daniel Bell (1960) has stated that the United States is probably the first large society to have change and innovation built into its culture. Although we strive toward technological change, our

goal seems to be change for change's sake, not for man's sake. Ernest Becker (1967) has noted that science has betrayed us because it became an end in itself, and forgot that it was to serve man. Actually, it seems truer to say that man has betrayed himself. Change for change's sake, science becoming an end in itself—these were choices modern man made *for himself against himself*. To many of our young—and Keniston's research indicates to many of our most intellectually capable—such a life is meaningless and not worthy of commitment. To make the modern societal machinery function most efficiently, man has been relegated to a secondary position. His job becomes fragmented, since division of labor and specialization yield the 'best' results. But results-for-what is rarely asked. Keniston's findings indicate that this situation has already negatively affected a number of youths from the elite white sector of our society. Keniston attributes much of their alienation to our blind acceptance of and drive for change. It is this rapid change, he argues convincingly, that has fragmented our society and ultimately fragmented our families. This same thrust has pushed fathers deeper into their work and further from their families; it has accentuated a matrifocal tendency; it has contributed to the fragmentation of self and lack of commitment which the youths in Keniston's study exhibited.

The societal reasons behind the alienation of the Negro in our country are, in a sense, the opposite of those affecting Keniston's youths. Yet the dehumanizing result is the same. The issue of paramount import in the alienation of the Negro today is the inability of our nation to change. We have changed technologically without budging morally. That is, despite the technological innovation that moved us out of the rural realm, we are still as racist today as we were one hundred years ago. The Report of the National Advisory Commission (1968) deplores the continued existence of the black ghetto: "*White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it* (p. vii)." The accusing finger points at our society, at white racism. In doing this the report has made us aware, hopefully, that our society, not the ghetto, is responsible for the plight of the Negro. Our society is suffering from a type of societal schizophrenia which is related to the alienation we have viewed at two poles within our nation. On the one hand, our emphasis on technological change has been linked with the alienation of the youths in Keniston's study. On the other hand, our inability to change our values has contributed to the alienation of the American Negro. Common to the problem of each group is the fact that in each instance the human element is of secondary importance. Each of these groups is a victim of dehumanizing elements within our society.

*In Search of a Solution . . .*

I have compared two uncommitted groups within our society, noted the similarities in their situation, and traced a source of their difficulties back to our society. In which direction does a solution lie? Is there a solution? Or must modern man remain helpless in front of his own creation? Much of our modern literature is concerned with this very problem, and many writers feel they see the direction in which the solution is to be found. Norman O. Brown, in *Life Against Death* (1959), sees a solution to our modern problems in a resurrection of the body. Our society he views as repressive. As such it forbids union and integration. Dionysus (life) and Apollo (form) must live together in union. *The Self in Transformation* by Herbert Fingarette (1963) is an attempt to bring the idea of unity in Eastern thought together with Freudian theory. Implicit in this interesting work is an attempt to bring some unity to modern man. The movement needed now is one of integration, and not of further separation, fragmentation, and pluralism. To a large extent the hippies are suggesting the same thing. Their interest in eastern mysticism can easily be seen as a reaction against our present state of separatism, and as a longing for greater integration.

But it is hopeless to believe that modern man can come to feel less fragmented unless his society becomes more meaningful and inter-related in his eyes. Hence societal integration is the real challenge. In this respect the plight of the black American is closely related to that of the white American. The future of the Negro is inextricably tied to the future of white America. As I have indicated in my comparison, despite their economic stability, portions of the white American society are already experiencing situations similar to those faced by blacks.

The crux of the problem of overcoming alienation centers around human dignity for whites and blacks alike. To attain this for all men, our nation will have to move toward integration—philosophic, economic, racial, etc. Traditionally this nation has been a pluralistic society in which human dignity has rarely been a motivating force for social change. Human dignity and integration will have to replace our traditional values and become the major force behind the restructuring of our society.

*The Importance of Black Leadership*

Since neither societal integration nor a common search for human dignity has been part of the American tradition, our solution must be concerned with a radical departure from the values of our traditionally pluralistic social structure. That our society

has leaned more toward assisting in the fragmentation and isolation of its citizenry is perhaps best and most disturbingly seen in the plight of the black man. In this sense the black's present problem is the major problem our nation must solve for the future.

The present crisis in black leadership is of decisive importance to our entire nation. The success or failure of the black's quest for dignity may well indicate whether our nation will be capable and worthy of continued existence. It is necessary to realize exactly in which direction each sector of black leadership is pointing in order to understand to what degree each sector is dedicated to changing radically the values of this country in the manner previously described. Presently there appear two main forces in black leadership: the militant black power advocates and the less ostentatious group typified by the NAACP, the SCLC, and individuals such as A. Philip Randolph. On the surface it would appear that the greatest potential for radical change would lie within the more militant black power camp. Yet despite their arguments in favor of violence (which is in the finest American tradition), leaders like Carmichael and H. Rap Brown do not articulate where they plan to go. Lewis Killian (1968) notes the vagueness in the term Black Power which in its origin was neither an ideology nor a program, but purely a slogan. Carmichael and Hamilton's *Black Power* (1967) testifies that since its conception the term has yet to become identified as a real ideology or a real political program. Their book is more a justification than an explanation of the political basis of this term.

At this point some clarification of terminology is in order. The term "radical" is less ambiguous when defined in the context of making fundamental or root changes in our societal structure and values. I stress the goal over the means here. This is not to indicate, however, that any means will justify the end. The emphasis is not on using extreme means, but is on having a radical end in view. (It is possible that only extreme methods will bring necessary change to our social structure, although one hopes this will not be the case.) The advocacy of extreme means without a goal in sight should not be considered radical. The term "radical" is often associated with black power when the word "violent" is really intended. Carmichael and Hamilton state that blacks will achieve dignity and power by whatever means necessary. This implicit reference to violence in *Black Power* has unjustly been considered radical. Despite the perfunctory mentioning of new forms, the primary concern of this book is effective power politics. The Negro, the authors maintain, must get the power that every other ethnic group in our society has attained. At one time or another almost all of the means to power mentioned by Carmichael and

Hamilton have been employed by other ethnic groups in our nation. Hence *Black Power* says little that is new. Novel is only the idea that the Negro too should play power politics.

Although Carmichael and Hamilton claim to reject the values of the white middle class, they give no new values and end up working with white middle class concepts and means. Since no new values are depicted, ends and means are often indistinguishable. Carmichael and Hamilton begin to resemble the group they most vehemently detest. It is not surprising that some critics of *Black Power*, like Paul Feldman (no date) and Bayard Rustin (1968), consider it to be a conservative direction. Rustin claims the movement is conservative because the emphasis is on self-help and local initiative, and against political action and national economic policies.

Over forty years ago, Eduard Lindeman (1961), writing about labor disputes, commented that we are in need of a revolution of the mind—not a mere exchange of power groups. His observation is still valid. In *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan have indicated that Jewish, Irish, and Italian power blocks have contributed little to the integration of our society. To expect something different from a black power group is unrealistic. Indeed this group too appears to be further fragmenting our society. The question, then, is whether the other sector of black leadership is more radical with regard to implementing root changes in our societal values and structure than is the black power movement. On this question Lewis Killian has voiced an affirmative answer. With reference to A. Philip Randolph's solution of a Freedom Budget, Killian (1968) has stated that such a solution would provide an unprecedented model of peaceful social change, would abolish race consciousness, and would create a Utopian society without the ordeal of either a class war or a race war but through a marvel of social engineering. Such a picture has all the elements of the solution which I have discussed. Its objective is radical in that it strives toward human dignity by incorporating societal integration into its very core. The scheme is truly Utopian. And it is this group of black leaders which is still able to have its dream and remain optimistic.

However doubtful it appears that the Randolph sector will succeed in their quest, this country must realize that the death of this group might be a forecast of the death of this nation as we know it. For if the Randolphs fail, if we kill all our Martin Luther Kings, we may be forced to accept the leadership of those militants who represent power groups and further fragmentation. It remains doubtful that such power groups could ever supply us with the human dignity and integration which our fragmented,

rapidly changing technological society—a society threatening human existence—so desperately needs.

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## **Socialization Correlates of Student Activism<sup>1</sup>**

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Studies assessing the intellectual dispositions, academic careers, value systems, and personality characteristics of student activists are amassing. In the studies completed to date, activist students have been defined variously as members of the Students for a Democratic Society (Braungart, 1966), marchers in peace parades (Soloman and Fishman, 1964), protestors against university compliance with ranking students for the draft (Flacks, 1967), dissenters against university cooperation with the House un-American Activities Committee (Gamson, Goodman & Gurin, 1967), organizers of the Vietnam Summer Project (Keniston, 1968) and participants in the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (FSM) (Watts and Whittaker, 1966; Heist, 1966; Lyonns, 1965;

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Somers, 1965; Block, Haan, & Smith, 1968; Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968; Smith, Haan, & Block, 1967). Despite these differing selective criteria for student activism, the results across studies have been remarkably coherent. Activists are found to be intellectually gifted, academically superior, and politically radical young people from advantaged homes in which the parents are successful in their careers, comfortable in their economic position, and liberal in their political orientations.

The positions taken by youth vis-a-vis contemporary issues provide a social laboratory in which commitment, rebellion, apathy, and disengagement can be studied. The present paper is concerned with (a) extending our understanding of the antecedents of activism as they may be inferred from students' retrospective descriptions of the child-rearing orientations and values of their parents, and (b) identifying socialization practices differentially associated with diverging orientations toward political-social activism that could be identified in 1965-1966.

The assessment of socialization practices and their relationship to student activism gains importance in the present social climate. The recent change in the character of student activism has tried society's patience and increased its hostility toward activists, resulting in demands for repressive action on the part of societal institutions to control student behavior. Furthermore, the child-rearing doctrines of the recent past, based on differentiated responsiveness to the legitimate needs of the child, are being repudiated in the popular press, perhaps in reaction to the indictment of Dr. Benjamin Spock who provided the blueprint for contemporary child-rearing practices. Parents are being implicated for their "permissiveness" and their failure to establish limits for their children. Fundamental to the arguments for "law and order" and restoration of "respect for authority" is the assumption that contemporary youth are lacking in internal controls because they were not disciplined sufficiently in their malleable years. Our data speak directly to these questions.

Additionally, this paper seeks to demonstrate that, despite the constancies noted among studies of student activists, a more articulated definition of activism conjoined with more differentiated analyses reveals important differences among activists heretofore obscured by the broad criteria used in studies to date.

Two dimensions seem helpful to us in considering activism in young adults (Block, et al., 1968). First is the *degree of involvement* with contemporary political-social issues. At one extreme of this dimension are the uninvolved or apathetic youth unconcerned with political or social matters; at the opposite pole are the active, politically and socially involved young people, who feel a sense of

instrumentality lacking in apathetic youth.

The quality of activism is determined in large part by a second dimension relating to the *acceptance or rejection of institutional authority and traditional societal values*. At one end of this continuum we find the conforming young person who accepts the prevailing values of society, while the opposite pole is defined by young people who categorically reject traditional societal values and repudiate both personal and institutional authority.

In accruing samples of young people to participate in this research, we attempted to recruit subjects representing different degrees of commitment, varying attitudes about institutional authority, and divergent ideological positions. Approaching activism in this more differentiated way, we studied the nature, scope, and patterns of political-social activity, moral orientations, and socialization antecedents in samples of students recruited during 1965-66 from the University of California at Berkeley and from San Francisco State College, plus several groups of Peace Corps trainees (Block et al., 1968; Haan et al., 1968; Smith et al., 1967).

### *The Contact Samples*

Sampling strategies were designed (a) to identify activist students by virtue of criterion behaviors (arrest in the FSM sit-in, tutoring in the ghetto, participation in demonstrations, joining the Peace Corps) rather than solely by organizational affiliations, (b) to include activists varying in the degree to which their activities involve overt rejection of institutional authority (those arrested in sit-ins vs. those working in the ghetto or joining the Peace Corps), and (c) to replicate findings and extend the generalizations possible by conducting the study on two campuses differing in academic selectivity and in the prevalent socio-economic levels from which their students are drawn.

Student activists were recruited from those arrested in the 1964 Free Speech Movement sit-in at Berkeley and from participants in the Experimental College, Tutorial Project, and Community Development Program at San Francisco State College. Three political groups from Berkeley representing different ideological positions (members of the campus Democratic and Republican groups as well as the California Conservatives for Political Action) were included to extend the definition of activism to include explicitly political behaviors. Both at Berkeley and at San Francisco State College, students were selected randomly from the registration files to constitute contrast samples against which the activist samples could be compared. All student samples were restricted to sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Finally, a sample of

Peace Corps volunteers was included, anticipating that their commitments did not involve a challenge of institutional authority. In all, 1033 young people participated in this research. Demographic description of the various contact samples can be found in Smith et al., 1967.

### *The Activism Samples*

From the total pool of subjects, relatively homogeneous sub-groups were identified to permit a more differentiated analysis of activism. It was apparent that neither formal membership, informal commitment to an ad hoc movement, or even arrest in the FSM sit-in provided an unambiguous indication of a student's characteristic orientation to political-social action. The Berkeley random sample, for example, included a number of students who had sat in at Sproul Hall, but who left before arrests were made. Larger numbers had been active in the FSM crisis—picketing, attending FSM rallies, raising money for bail and other purposes. Also, among the FSM participants differences existed in their previous involvements with political-social issues. Accordingly, using the information available about the political-social behaviors of our participants, we defined five sub-groups according to the following criteria:

*Inactives:* young people who reported no participation in political or social organizations or activities. They may be either socially isolated or career-oriented young people who have not involved themselves with campus organizations or ad hoc movements.

*Conventionalists:* young people who were fraternity or sorority members but who fell below the mean in their participation in protest activities (sit-ins, picketing, demonstrating, etc.) and in social service activities (tutoring, social agency or hospital volunteer work, helping the handicapped, etc.). The Conventionalists tend in these respects to follow the traditional college student stereotype, more concerned with social functions than with social action.

*Constructivists:* young people whose scores on social service were above the mean of the total sample but whose scores on protest activities fell below the mean. The Constructivists tend to commit themselves to restitutive work aimed at relieving social ills and are infrequently involved in organized protest.

*Dissenters:* young people whose scores on protest activities were above the mean but whose scores on social service activities were below the mean of the total sample. The Dissenters tend to devote their energies to protesting the policies of Establishment-oriented institutions.

*Activists:* young people whose scores on both social action and protest action fell above the means of the total sample. Note that we make a distinction between the Activist and the Dissenter. The Activist, according to our definition, is concerned about the plight of his fellow human beings and works to alleviate pain and poverty and injustice. At the same time, he is disillusioned with the status quo and involves himself in protest against policies and institutions that do not accord with his image of a just society.

### *Research Procedures*

Students were contacted by letter describing the intent of the research and requesting their cooperation. Materials were mailed to those agreeing to participate. The extent of participation, as evidenced by the return of completed materials was, overall, approximately fifty percent of the total sample. Obviously, results based on voluntary participation and representing only half the initial group must be interpreted with circumspection.

The Child-rearing Practices Report (CRPR) (Block, 1965) was included in the assessment battery. The CRPR is composed of 91 items descriptive of child-rearing attitudes, behaviors, and values; it is administered in Q-sort format with a rectangular seven-step distribution. The CRPR was administered in third person form with appropriate introductory stems: "My mother . . ." and "My father . . .". Each subject completed Q-sorts for both parents unless death, divorce, or separation of the parents early in life made it an inappropriate task.

Since our study did not include the parents themselves but was based on students' perceptions of their parents' values and attitudes, the causal relationships between different patterns of socialization and different political-social orientations are more tenuous. These perceptions of parents, however, are important data in their own right in that they represent the child's interpretation of his parents' child-rearing intentions and values. We need not rely only on this assertion of relevance, however, since the first author has conducted subsequently a study of both student and parental responses to the CRPR.<sup>2</sup> For a sample similar to that of the present research, average correlations, corrected for

<sup>2</sup>In collaboration with Professor Robert Somers of the Sociology Department at the University of California, Berkeley, the first author collected child rearing data, in the Spring, 1968, using the Child Rearing Practices Report, from 190 mothers and 161 fathers of students who had been extensively interviewed by Professor Somer's research teams and classified on the basis of their political-social activities into activism groupings using the definitions established in the present study. In addition, CRPR data were obtained from 140 students whose parents had contributed their own CRPR responses.

attenuation, were obtained between parent-child Q-sort for mother-child that ranged between .50 and .57, depending upon the reliability estimate used (.40 uncorrected), and that ranged between .46 and .53 for the father-child descriptions (.37 uncorrected). The baseline correlation for random pairings of parent and child ranged between .27 and .31, corrected for attenuation (.22 uncorrected). Although the magnitude of the correlations is modest, cross validation at the level of the item content itself lends further justification to our attempt to relate perceptions of parental socialization practices to political-social orientations.

### *Results*

Two statistical approaches were used in the analysis of the CRPR responses: item analysis and the analysis of factor scores. At the item level, analyses of variance were completed separately for males and females in the five activism subgroups. These analyses yielded highly significant findings when the descriptions of both parents were compared across activist categories. For mothers, 19% of the items for the male sample and 20% of the items for the female sample were significant at or beyond the .05 level of confidence. For fathers, the comparable figures were 17% for the male sample and 19% for the female subjects. These findings are reported in Smith et al., 1967.

The second approach, to be reported here and believed to be the more incisive, relied on factor analyses of the CRPR followed by analyses of variance tests of the resulting factor scores. All analyses were done separately for males and females.

The principal-components method of factor analysis was used with unities entered into the diagonals and was followed by varimax rotation. Three of the four factor analyses (Male-Mother, Female-Mother, and Female-Father) yielded 26 factors with *eigen* values in excess of 1.00 (a conventional though arguable criterion widely accepted by factor analysts). For the fourth analysis, (Male-Father), 27 factors met this criterion. To simplify the subsequent analyses and presentation of results, the 26 factor solution was selected for all four factor analyses and orthogonal factor scores were generated, normed to a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Two tables giving factor loadings of the CRPR items for each of the four factor analyses plus the complete form of the items as administered have been deposited with the National Auxiliary Publications Service. Order Document NAPS 00825 from National Auxiliary Publications Service of the American Society for Information Science, c/o CCM Information Corporation, 909 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10022. Remit in advance \$3.00 for photocopies or \$1.00 for microfiche.

The reader who expects factor analysis to sharply reduce the number of variables to be considered may well be surprised by the number of factors emerging from the CRPR analyses and, accordingly, an explanation is in order. The CRPR was constructed to tap many, both common and uncommon, dimensions of child-rearing behavior. Assessment techniques in the socialization area often reflect only narrow and stereotyped aspects of parent behavior. Items were written into the CRPR to sample important—but heretofore largely neglected—child-rearing attitudes as, for example, encouragement of the child's curiosity, attitudes about daydreaming, or use of impersonal supernatural forces to control the behavior of the child. With this explicit orientation toward test construction, combined with a deliberate attempt to minimize redundancy in the item pool, it is not surprising that the factor yield is considerable. Furthermore, the Q-sort format of administration using a rectangular distribution maximizes discrimination and probably also affects the factor structure of the CRPR.

Typically, in the twenty-two factor analyses of the CRPR that have been completed the first factor, after rotation, accounts for no more than 19% of the total variance. The number of factors extracted in the several factorial analyses of the CRPR is rather uniform, even across samples which are quite diverse—samples of parents, of children, of different socio-economic levels, and from several different countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, England, Holland, and the United States). Finally, the results of these factor studies have proven unusually stable when the defining items themselves are compared across the different samples.

### *Child-rearing Practices Compared*

The derived factor scores were evaluated by analysis of variance to identify those factors reliably discriminating among the five activism groups. Tables 1 through 4 present the results of the analyses of variance. These tables indicate those factors for which significant differences were obtained as well as the factors that failed to discriminate among the groups. The insignificant factors are included because they, too, are revealing. Dimensions on which perceptions of parental practices were similar across groups are interesting in their own right, particularly in instances where they fail to confirm expectancies.

The number of differentiating factors ranges from 23% significant at or beyond the .05 level for the males' descriptions of their fathers to 35% for descriptions of their mothers. The female sample yields 27% of the factors significant at or beyond the .05 level for both mother and father descriptions. Because these factor score dimensions are uncorrelated with each other, these sets of

TABLE 1  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTOR SCORES  
MOTHER CRPR DESCRIPTIONS—MALE SUBJECTS  
(N = 401)

	Inactive (N = 139)	Conventionalist (N = 41)	Constructivist (N = 72)	Activist (N = 52)	Dissenter (N = 97)	F-Ratio
Negative Evaluation of Parent-Child Relationship	49.3	50.1	48.6	52.6	52.7	2.87*
Suppression of Child's Sexual Impulses	50.7	53.9	49.4	46.0	49.1	4.20**
Prohibition vs. Encouragement of Self-Expression	52.6	47.7	49.4	48.7	48.5	3.68**
Encouragement of Independence and Responsibility	48.5	52.9	48.9	52.1	50.6	2.52*
Emotional Involvement with Child	49.8	52.0	49.2	51.6	50.5	0.90
Suppression of Aggression	49.5	47.7	50.9	53.4	51.4	2.69*
Punishment Orientation	50.6	53.5	51.7	48.7	47.4	4.10**
Inhibition of Affection	49.9	49.5	50.3	48.8	49.6	0.18
Control by Anxiety Induction	51.6	51.1	50.2	47.4	46.7	4.48**
Emphasis on Achievement	49.7	50.9	49.1	48.8	51.0	0.68
Intrusive Control of Child	50.6	49.4	48.7	50.9	50.1	0.55
Control by Guilt Induction	50.5	51.1	48.9	50.6	50.0	0.43

Opposition to Child's Secret Needs	51.3	48.0	50.8	<b>46.1</b>	51.5	3.71**
Socialization via Explicit Rewards and Punishments	<b>48.9</b>	52.4	50.2	49.2	49.3	1.10
Emphasis on Self-Control	51.3	50.1	50.8	49.7	<b>47.4</b>	2.33†
Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Control	51.5	50.4	50.5	49.5	<b>47.3</b>	2.64*
Attention to Child's Health	49.7	50.7	<b>49.3</b>	51.3	50.7	0.50
Parental Expression of Negative Affect	49.6	<b>49.3</b>	50.3	51.2	49.5	0.33
Subservience to Spouse	50.0	50.8	49.9	50.7	<b>49.2</b>	0.27
Prohibition of Teasing	50.1	48.9	49.9	<b>48.3</b>	49.9	0.40
Protection of Child from Failure	49.1	<b>48.5</b>	50.8	50.7	50.4	0.73
Control by Bribery	50.7	49.2	51.1	<b>46.7</b>	50.2	1.86
Encouragement of Child to Perform	<b>48.9</b>	51.6	50.2	51.4	49.2	1.05
Excusing of Child's Aggression	50.5	49.9	<b>49.5</b>	49.6	50.5	0.20
Naive Faith in Child's Dependability	49.7	50.2	49.1	<b>48.7</b>	49.5	0.16
Psychological Manipulation of Child	49.4	<b>47.0</b>	49.9	50.3	49.5	0.71

Note: Italicized means are the highest; those in boldface are lowest.

†  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$

TABLE 2  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTOR SCORES  
MOTHER CRPR DESCRIPTIONS-FEMALE SUBJECTS  
(N = 376)

	Inactive (N = 79)	Conventionalist (N = 36)	Constructivist (N = 150)	Activist (N = 55)	Dissenter (N = 56)	F-Ratio
Negative Evaluation of Parent-Child Relationship	50.5	45.1	49.3	50.8	51.3	2.70*
Encouragement of Independence and Responsibility	51.2	50.3	50.0	51.3	47.4	1.51
Suppression of Child's Sexual Impulses	52.2	47.4	49.5	49.3	50.5	1.70
Emotional Involvement with Child	49.9	50.6	50.9	49.7	49.3	0.32
Punishment Orientation	50.9	48.9	52.2	47.5	47.8	3.56**
Prohibition vs. Encouragement of Self-Expression	50.5	53.1	51.7	46.7	46.3	5.35**
Emphasis on Achievement	51.5	52.7	48.9	48.3	48.8	2.15†
Socialization via Explicit Rewards and Punishments	50.6	50.7	50.7	48.2	48.1	1.30
Emphasis on Self-Control	51.6	47.4	50.1	49.7	49.8	1.17
Intrusive Control	51.3	52.3	50.1	46.4	48.4	3.12*
Attention to Child's Health	52.0	49.2	50.1	47.9	50.6	1.52

Emphasis on Sex-Appropriate Behavior	50.6	51.5	50.0	49.6	48.8	0.49
Inhibition of Affection	50.5	52.5	50.7	49.3	46.0	3.14*
Worry about Child's Health	51.9	49.1	48.4	51.0	48.7	1.92
Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Control	48.6	54.0	50.7	49.8	48.6	2.31†
Emphasis on Conformity vs. Individuation	51.6	52.3	50.2	49.4	47.9	1.66
Control by Anxiety Induction	49.2	49.4	51.5	47.1	49.3	2.33†
Inconsistency	51.5	48.6	49.7	51.1	49.4	0.90
Naive Faith in Child's Dependability	50.5	52.7	49.0	50.5	50.1	1.17
Critical of Spouse's Role with Child	50.9	48.4	48.5	50.5	52.2	1.85
Encouragement of Competition	48.7	48.8	50.7	49.1	51.9	1.24
Suppression of Aggression	50.0	54.5	48.9	48.7	49.0	2.49*
Excusing of Child's Aggression	49.2	47.7	51.0	50.7	49.6	1.03
Subservience to Spouse	53.1	48.9	49.0	49.7	50.0	2.72*
Prohibition of Teasing	48.8	47.4	50.4	51.0	51.4	1.39
Relaxed about Sex-Typing	51.5	47.9	49.0	50.0	49.9	1.12

Note: See Note, Table 1

TABLE 3  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTOR SCORES  
FATHER CRPR DESCRIPTIONS-MALE SUBJECTS  
(N = 376)

	Inactive (N = 131)	Conventionalist (N = 38)	Constructivist (N = 66)	Activist (N = 49)	Disenter (N = 92)	F-Ratio
Negative Evaluation of Parent-Child Relationship	49.5	50.0	<b>47.0</b>	51.0	52.2	2.88*
Punishment Orientation	52.2	51.4	50.1	<b>45.5</b>	49.1	4.51**
Emphasis on Conformity vs. Individuation	52.3	49.0	50.5	<b>47.8</b>	48.6	3.06*
Encouragement of Independence and Responsibility	49.7	52.2	49.9	50.6	<b>49.3</b>	0.66
Emotional Involvement with Child	49.9	53.7	<b>48.5</b>	51.9	48.6	2.03†
Emphasis on Achievement	<b>48.6</b>	52.8	49.1	<b>48.6</b>	50.1	1.47
Suppression of Child's Sexual Impulses	50.0	54.4	50.8	<b>47.6</b>	49.1	2.77*
Emphasis on Sex- Appropriate Behavior	49.7	51.7	49.5	<b>48.0</b>	48.6	0.86
Naive Faith in Child's Dependability	50.4	51.8	<b>47.6</b>	49.3	49.6	1.37
Control by Anxiety Induction	51.4	48.7	51.5	48.6	<b>48.3</b>	2.06†
Critical of Spouse's Role with Child	50.7	50.4	52.7	<b>48.2</b>	49.2	1.48

Worry about Child's Health	51.7	49.5	48.1	49.8	48.3	2.19†
Intrusive Control	49.8	52.3	50.9	46.1	48.5	2.91*
Control by Guilt Induction	50.5	53.9	47.6	49.7	49.8	2.48*
Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Control	49.3	48.6	49.0	52.6	49.6	1.19
Emphasis on Self-Control	50.1	52.4	49.8	47.4	48.9	1.56
Suppression of Aggression	51.2	48.8	49.7	49.7	48.4	1.08
Structuring of Child's Responsibilities	49.8	52.7	50.9	50.2	49.1	0.97
Parental Aloofness	49.1	50.3	50.1	51.4	52.2	1.46
Socialization via Explicit Rewards and Punishments	50.6	50.1	48.5	49.3	48.3	0.97
Prohibition of Teasing	49.0	47.4	49.7	51.6	50.0	1.10
Prohibition vs. Encouragement of Self-Expression	50.4	50.7	50.2	50.2	49.6	0.11
Subservience to Spouse	50.2	49.0	50.0	48.4	50.1	0.43
Relaxed about Sex-typing	49.2	52.7	49.9	51.9	51.0	1.41
Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs	50.0	47.7	49.8	48.2	51.3	1.24
Parental Externalization of Anger	49.5	48.7	52.2	47.6	49.5	1.77

Note: See Note, Table 1.

TABLE 4  
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF FACTOR SCORES  
FATHER CRPR DESCRIPTIONS-FEMALE SUBJECTS  
(N = 354)

	Inactive (N = 76)	Conventionalist (N = 34)	Constructivist (N = 143)	Activist (N = 51)	Dissenter (N = 50)	F-Ratio
Negative Evaluation of Parent-Child Relationship	51.9	48.5	49.3	49.0	49.3	1.14
Encouraging Independence and Responsibility	50.6	46.4	49.5	49.4	49.3	1.02
Emotional Involvement with Child	48.1	49.3	51.6	48.3	52.1	2.65*
Punishment Orientation	48.7	54.0	51.7	47.0	49.5	3.93**
Naive Faith in Child's Dependability	50.2	51.4	51.4	47.7	47.2	2.48*
Emphasis on Achievement	50.9	50.9	49.2	50.3	50.6	0.49
Orientation to Non-physical Punishments	50.2	47.8	50.5	50.3	48.7	0.73
Emphasis on Sex- Appropriate Behavior	49.5	51.6	50.5	49.1	51.7	0.69
Suppression of Child's Sexual Impulses	51.4	50.9	49.9	47.8	49.6	1.08
Control by Anxiety Induction	52.6	48.4	50.4	48.2	48.1	2.68*
Suppression of Aggression	49.5	50.2	48.8	52.3	51.8	1.58

Encouragement of Competition	50.0	55.5	49.6	48.9	49.0	2.87*
Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Control	50.7	48.7	49.5	50.3	50.2	0.34
Emphasis on Conformity vs Individuation	49.7	51.9	51.1	49.5	48.8	0.83
Emphasis on Self-Control	49.8	50.1	50.6	49.7	47.9	0.77
(Over)-conscientious Parenthood	51.9	52.7	49.4	47.9	49.1	2.25†
Worry about Child's Health	51.5	47.7	50.2	48.5	48.4	1.50
Parental Externalization of Anger	48.7	49.2	50.8	48.4	50.9	1.02
Intrusive Control	51.2	50.7	50.3	47.0	48.1	1.90
Control by Guilt Induction	51.2	51.0	49.7	49.5	48.7	0.64
Parental Reluctance to See Childhood End	48.4	49.5	49.9	49.8	50.7	0.47
Intervention on Behalf of Child	49.5	49.2	48.4	52.2	52.7	2.62*
Prohibition vs Encouragement of Self-Expression	49.3	50.6	51.9	47.0	50.2	2.67*
Socialization via Explicit Rewards and Punishments	51.4	50.4	49.9	49.8	48.4	0.69
Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs	50.1	49.0	49.4	50.0	51.2	0.36
Subservience to Spouse	50.9	51.3	49.6	48.7	48.8	0.67

Note: See Note, Table 1.

TABLE 5  
MEAN SCORES FOR MOTHERS AND FATHERS COMBINED ON CRPR FACTORS  
FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

	Inactive	Conventionalist	Constructivist	Activist	Dissenter
<i>Affective Evaluation</i>					
Positive Evaluation of Parent-Child Relationship	49.96	51.48 <sup>FM</sup>	51.17 <sup>MM/MMF</sup>	49.14	47.41 <sup>MM/FM/MMF</sup>
Emotional Involvement	49.54 <sup>FF</sup>	51.33 <sup>MF</sup>	50.48 <sup>MF</sup>	50.35	49.95 <sup>FF</sup>
<i>Discipline</i>					
Punishment Orientation	50.81 <sup>MF</sup>	51.97 <sup>MM/FF</sup>	51.63 <sup>FM</sup>	47.20 <sup>FM/MF/FF</sup>	48.36 <sup>MM</sup>
Orientation to Non-physical Punishments	50.25	47.76	50.50	50.32	48.69
Socialization via Rewards and Punishments	50.19	50.95	50.01	49.11	48.60
<i>Suppressiveness of Parents</i>					
Suppressing Sex	50.89	51.77 <sup>MM/MMF</sup>	49.82	47.70 <sup>MM/MF</sup>	49.45
Suppressing Aggression	50.11	50.17 <sup>FM/MM</sup>	49.32	51.00 <sup>MM</sup>	50.07
Emphasis on Self Control	50.72 <sup>MM</sup>	50.03	50.34	49.16	48.41 <sup>MM</sup>
Prohibition of Self Expression	50.94 <sup>MM</sup>	50.43 <sup>FM/MM</sup>	51.15 <sup>FF</sup>	48.10 <sup>FF</sup>	48.71 <sup>FM</sup>
Opposition to Secrets	50.54	48.20	49.85	48.08 <sup>MM</sup>	51.36 <sup>MM</sup>
Prohibition of Teasing	49.39	47.93	50.11	50.29	50.28

<i>Independence</i>					
Encouragement of Independence	49.74 <sup>MM</sup>	50.61 <sup>MM</sup>	49.63	50.87	49.37
Emphasis on Early Physiological Controls	49.81 <sup>MM</sup>	50.42 <sup>FM</sup>	50.01	50.51	48.75 <sup>MM/FM</sup>
<i>Conformity vs Individuation</i>					
Emphasis on Conformity	51.42 <sup>MF</sup>	51.01	50.61	48.93 <sup>MF</sup>	48.45
Emphasis on Sex-appropriate Behavior	49.90	51.60	50.11	48.93	49.44
<i>Mechanisms of Control</i>					
Guilt Induction	50.65	52.01 <sup>MF</sup>	49.00 <sup>MF</sup>	49.94	49.65
Anxiety Induction	51.27 <sup>MM/FF</sup>	49.46	50.92 <sup>FM/MF</sup>	47.80 <sup>FM</sup>	47.93 <sup>MM/MF/FF</sup>
Intrusive Control	50.59	51.14 <sup>FM/MF</sup>	50.05	47.61 <sup>FM/MF</sup>	48.94
<i>Achievement Orientation</i>					
Emphasis on Achievement	49.91	51.82 <sup>FM</sup>	49.06	48.99 <sup>FM</sup>	50.23
Encouragement of Competition	49.34	52.05 <sup>FF</sup>	50.12	49.05 <sup>FF</sup>	50.53
<i>Worry about Child's Health</i>	51.70 <sup>MF</sup>	48.80	49.06 <sup>MF</sup>	49.80	48.44

Note: Italicized means are the highest; those in boldface are lowest. Superscripts indicate the group(s) scoring significantly highest on a given factor: MM = Male description of Mother; FM = Female description of Mother; MF = Male description of Father; FF = Female description of Father. Subscripts indicate the group(s) scoring significantly lowest on a given factor.

results may be viewed as especially significant (Sakoda, 1954). To distill the findings, Table 5 presents the mean scores of both parents on CRPR factors for the total sample, grouped with respect to particular areas of child rearing. Unique factors have not been included in this summary table.

Because activism group, sex, and parent-role differences are all reflected in the socialization data, it is difficult to report the findings in a way that will not overwhelm the reader with comparisons. We have chosen to focus on the overall results characterizing the activism groups, citing sex and parent-role differences within groups where they seem appropriate. In selecting dimensions for comment in the summaries that follow, all factors on which Scheffé tests showed reliable differences are included. Because the conservative Scheffé test often leads to Type II errors, accepting the null hypothesis when in fact it is false, reference is also made to factors that yielded significant F-ratios, despite the failure of the Scheffé test to identify the extreme groups. In order to assess the salience of the various socialization dimensions *within* each activism group, factors emerging in at least three of the four analyses were rank ordered for each group in terms of their averaged standard scores and the five factors with the highest and lowest rank orders are cited in each case.

### *The Inactives*

Overall, the Inactives characterized their parents rather neutrally with respect to the affective quality of the parent-child relationship. The parents were seen as being both most worried about the health of their children and, relative to the other groups, least emotionally involved. Inactives' parents tended to suppress sex, emphasize self-control, and inhibit self-expressiveness, according to the CRPR descriptions by their young. These parents were adjudged relatively high in their concerns about conformity but were only moderate in their emphasis on achievement and independence. They were described as using anxiety arousal to control the behavior of their children; and this psychological mechanism, coupled with intrusive supervision, augmented other techniques of discipline in the socialization of the Inactives. The parents of Inactives appeared to be somewhat anxious, suppressive, and concerned with obedience and conformity to parental demands. They seemed to value docility and to discourage steps toward individuation in their children.

The suppressive control attributed to the parents of Inactives appears to be more true for males where the mothers emphasized early training and self-control for their sons and tended to discourage both self-assertiveness and independence. Fathers of the

male Inactives were oriented toward punishments and discipline and concerned about conformity, according to the CRPR descriptions by their sons. These fathers were also most anxious about the health status of their sons.

In summary, the parents of Inactives were depicted as being concerned about conformity, obedience, and docility. Their demands were primarily for "good" behavior rather than for achievement or independence as shown by the rank ordering or the standardized factor scores in terms of their salience for the Inactives. The five factors ranked highest in terms of the overall means are: *Worry about Child's Health*, *Emphasis on Conformity*, *Control by Anxiety Induction*, *Prohibition of Self-expression*, and *Suppression of Sex*. The five factors ranked lowest in terms of their overall means are: *Prohibition of Teasing*, *Emotional Involvement*, *Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Controls*, *Encouragement of Independence*, and *Emphasis on Achievement*.

### *The Conventionalists*

The Conventionalists described relationships with their parents most positively and felt their parents were emotionally involved in their parental roles. The child-rearing orientation of Conventionalists' parents emphasizes (according to their young) socially-appropriate behavior, independence, achievement, and obedience. These parental demands were invoked with clarity (see scores on *Structuring of Responsibilities*) and enforced with a variety of disciplinary techniques, ranging from physical punishment to psychological mechanisms of control. The Conventionalists' parents scored highest on *Punishment Orientation*, *Intrusive Control*, *Guilt Induction* as well as the selective use of rewards and punishments (although the last factor was not significant). The parents of Conventionalists were described as suppressing sex but were more tolerant of aggression—physical aggression in males and verbal aggression in both sexes. Despite the circumscription of behavior in many areas, the parents of Conventionalists were seen as moderately accepting of self-assertiveness, and as recognizing the needs of their children for privacy. More than any other group, these parents were described as demanding—both in terms of insistence on socially-appropriate behavior and in their emphasis on achievement and assumption of responsibility.

The pattern of factor scores for the two sexes suggests that the child-rearing orientations of Conventionalists' parents may be most differentiated in terms of sex role. For male Conventionalists, parental socialization seems most focused upon the development of assertive masculinity. Males were encouraged to be independent; self-expression and aggression were accepted more often

than was true of female Conventionalists. Both mothers and fathers of the Conventionalist males scored highest on the dimension of *Suppression of Sex* and the various factors reflecting disciplinary practices were somewhat more salient for males than for females in the Conventionalist group.

The parents of female Conventionalists appear to emphasize sex-typed behavior in their daughters as reflected in their highest scores on the dimensions of *Suppression of Aggression* and *Prohibition of Self-expression*. The parents also emphasize achievement and encourage competition in their daughters, an unexpected departure from the traditional definition of the feminine role but explainable, perhaps, if one recalls the sorority affiliations of these young women, possibly an expression of social ambition in these families.

In summary, the conventional orientation of students in this group seems to have been achieved through identification with parents who themselves adhere to traditional societal values. The socialization of the Conventionalists emphasizes classical Protestant virtues—responsibility, conformity, achievement, obedience as shown by the five factors ranked highest in terms of salience by the Conventionalists: *Control by Guilt Induction*, *Punishment Orientation*, *Emphasis on Achievement*, *Suppression of Sex*, and *Emphasis on Sex-appropriate Behavior*. The factors with the lowest mean scores for the Conventionalists are: *Prohibition of Teasing*, *Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs*, *Worry about Child's Health*, *Control by Anxiety Induction*, and *Emphasis on Self-control*. The child training of the Conventionalists appears to have been accomplished more by precept than by percept within a learning context that was described as caring and consistent.

### *The Constructivists*

The Constructivists—like the Conventionalists—evaluated the parent-child relationship positively, but differed from the Conventionalists in that they described their parents as somewhat lower in their emotional involvement in their parental roles. They also appeared to share with the Conventionalists a coherent child-rearing philosophy that values obedience and inhibits self expression. The parents of Constructivists, like the Conventionalists, were perceived as emphasizing discipline, but diverged in their greater (although not significantly so) use of non-physical punishments. Prohibition of self-expression was characteristic of both Constructivists' and Conventionalists' parents, but the former differed in that they tended to place less emphasis on achievement and competition.

Constructivists' parents were seen as controlling the child by

the use of anxiety induction; however, they were low on the dimension of guilt induction relative to the other groups.

Parental restrictions of spontaneity seemed to be related more to self-assertive behaviors than to physical aggression where Conventionalists' parents were rated as least suppressive. Again, the results are most readily summarized by listing the five factors ranked in terms of salience for the Constructivists: *Punishment Orientation*, *Positive Evaluation of the Parent-child Relationship*, *Prohibition of Self-expression*, *Control by Anxiety Induction*, and *Emphasis on Conformity*. The five factors which the Constructivists placed lowest are: *Control by Guilt Induction*, *Emphasis on Achievement*, *Worry about Child's Health*, *Suppression of Aggression*, and *Naive Faith in Child's Dependability*. The relatively high positive evaluation of the parental relationships despite the restrictiveness noted in parental practices indicates that little overt rebellion has been directed against these parents, at least not at this time in the life histories of the Constructivist young people. The altruistic volunteer activities in which the Constructivists engage seem to be consistent with the parental values according to which they have been raised.

### *The Activists*

Affectively, the Activists are not reliably distinguished from the other groups: they describe the parent-child relationship in somewhat negative terms, admitting to conflict with parents and feeling that they may have disappointed their parents. At the same time, however, they describe their parents as moderately involved in their parental roles.

In their maturity demands, the Activists' parents are similar to the Conventionalists' in that both tend to emphasize independence, responsibility, and early maturity. However, the parents of Activists diverged from the Conventionalists (and were more like the Constructivists) in their de-emphasis of achievement and competition. As might be expected, the parents of Activists were low in their demands for conformity, tending rather to encourage the individuation and independent judgment of the child.

The parents of Activists were described as most suppressing of aggression and as most prohibiting of teasing, although differences in teasing behavior did not reliably distinguish among the groups. Activists' parents were seen as accepting of sexual curiosity and encouraging of self-expressiveness. They were perceived as most tolerant of the child's secrecy and privacy needs.

In terms of discipline, the Activists' parents were portrayed as low on Punishment Orientation with its emphasis on obedience, docility, and use of physical punishments. Psychological mechanisms of control, *Anxiety Induction* and *Intrusive Control*, were

also significantly less often relied upon. Rather, there is a tendency, although not significant, for Activists' parents to be more oriented to non-physical punishments (isolation, withdrawal of privileges, etc.) for enforcing their demands.

Differential training emphases ascribed to parents by male and female Activists indicate that less pressure is characteristic of the upbringing of girls. Activist women described the parent-child relationship as less emotionally involved, less oriented to discipline, less concerned with achievement and competition, and less inhibiting of self-assertiveness than did the males. Parents of women were seen, however, as more suppressive of sex, and opposed to secrecy and privacy needs. For male Activists, the parents appeared to be relatively more oriented to the suppression of aggressive behaviors.

In summary, the parents of Activists encourage their children to be independent and responsible, qualities shared to some degree with parents of Conventionalists. Diverging from the Conventionalists, the parents of Activists were described as encouraging the child's differentiation and self-expressiveness, with discipline per se being less critical. Activists' parents tended to be unaccepting of aggression. The factors accorded most salience in the socialization of Activists are: *Suppression of Aggression, Encouragement of Independence, Emphasis on Early Achievement of Physiological Controls, Emotional Involvement, Prohibition of Teasing*. The factor scores with the lowest ranked means are: *Punishment Orientation, Intrusive Control, Suppression of Sex, Control by Anxiety Induction, and Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs*. Like the parents of Conventionalists, the Activists' parents appear to be preparing their young to lead responsible, autonomous lives, but in accordance with inner-directed goals and values rather than externally defined roles.

### *Dissenters*

Dissenters evaluate their parents most negatively in terms of the affective quality of the parent-child relationship. This factor includes items dealing with admitted conflict, anger, expressions of criticism and disappointment, authoritarianism, tension, lack of respect for the child, absence of intimacy, warmth, and appreciation. The negative evaluation given by Dissenters may relate to the inconsistency attributed to these parents by their young. The pattern of factor scores shows Dissenters' parents to be permissive, even laissez-faire, in many areas of child training, but controlling in others. Although not significant, Dissenters' parents are described as placing the least emphasis on independence and early maturity relative to the other groups, while pressing at the same time for achievement and encouraging competition. They

appear to stress self-expression and individuation of the young, while opposing the secrecy and privacy needs of their children. Dissenters described their parents as low in their emphasis on discipline and punishment, and neither were they said to control the child by invoking anxiety.

The Dissenters' parents diverge most markedly from the parents of Activists in their opposition to the child's secrecy and privacy needs. Although not significant, the means of the two groups were at opposite extremes on *Encouraging Independence* and *Emphasis on the Early Achievement of Physiological Controls*, with Dissenters' parents de-emphasizing these dimensions. The descriptions of Activist and Dissenter parents converged on the dimensions of conformity where both are low relative to other subgroups, in their encouragement of self-expression, in their lesser use of psychological mechanisms to control the child, and in the negative evaluation ascribed to parent-child relationships, particularly by the Dissenters.

Male and female Dissenters characterized their parents' child-rearing attitudes in rather similar ways. Dissenting women said their fathers were more involved emotionally in the parent-child relationship, and indicated that self-expression was more acceptable than for the males. Male Dissenters were most negative in their affective evaluations of the parent-child relationship, and saw their mothers as more permissive relative to punishments and self-control while also being most opposed to secrecy in their sons.

In summary, the child-rearing of the Dissenters' parents appeared somewhat lacking in coherence. The most salient child-rearing dimensions for the Dissenters, judged by the rank ordering of the factors are: *Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs*, *Prohibition of Teasing*, *Emphasis on Achievement*, *Suppression of Aggression*, and *Emotional Involvement*. The least salient factors for the Dissenters are: *Positive Parent-child Relationship*, *Control by Anxiety Induction*, *Punishment Orientation*, *Emphasis on Self-control*, and *Worry about Child's Health*. It is perhaps not surprising that this pattern of indulgence and permissiveness—conjoined with an interest in achievement, encouragement of competition, and opposition to the child's privacy needs—results in the conflicted, unsatisfying parental relationship described by the Dissenting young.

### *Inferred Levels of Parental Ego Functioning Compared*

To provide an overall index of ego functioning as expressed in the CRPR, the items were classified according to Loevinger's definitions of ego levels (Loevinger, 1966) by three raters thoroughly familiar with her system. The ego stages proposed by Loevinger are: the *Presocial* stage in which the individual must

learn to distinguish self from non-self; the *Impulse-ridden* stage which is marked by inadequate control of impulse; the *Opportunistic* stage wherein the individual is exploitative and fears exploitation as well; the *Conformist* stage in which rules are internalized and even idealized; the *Conscientious* stage which is marked by access to introspection, self-consciousness, and internalized moral imperatives; the *Autonomous* stage in which conflicts are faced squarely and consciously, and the autonomy needs of others are accepted; and the highest level, the *Integrated* stage in which the person "proceeds beyond coping with conflict to reconciliation of conflicting demands, and, where necessary, renunciation of the unattainable, beyond toleration to the cherishing of individual differences, beyond role differentiation to the achievement of a sense of integrated identity" (Loevinger, 1966, p. 200).

Raters were instructed to categorize each CRPR item with respect to the level of parental ego functioning implied when that item is placed at the "Most Characteristic" end of a Q-sort continuum. Judges were encouraged to omit CRPR items that could not be rated in terms of ego level; ten items were judged irrelevant or ambiguous by this criterion. High inter-rater agreement was achieved, with two of three raters agreeing on their placements of 76 or 83.5% of the items; of these, perfect agreement across all three judges was found for 30 or 33% of the items. Fifteen items on which the judges disagreed were excluded from the scales, in addition to the ten that were judged unrateable. No item was included on more than one ego scale.

Within the Loevinger system, which is based on responses to a Sentence Completion Test, the formal aspects of the subjects' responses (level of abstraction, sense of qualification, conceptual complexity, etc.) are evaluated in addition to the areas of conscious concern. In adapting her system to the CRPR where the statements are of a relatively uniform conceptual level and are provided to—rather than produced by—the subject, some discriminatory power was lost, particularly at the more mature levels of ego functioning. No CRPR item could be rated at the Integrated or Autonomous levels, but other stages and intermediate levels were represented.

The CRPR responses of each subject were scored on each of the five different ego scales by aggregating the items classified at each ego level and weighting them according to the Q-sort category (from 1 to 7) to which the respondent had assigned each item. As an example, the Conscientious-Autonomous Ego Level Scale consists of 10 items; therefore, its theoretical range is from 10 to 70, the upper limit to be reached only if a subject were to put all 10 items composing that scale in the "Most Characteristic"

TABLE 6  
SCORES ON LOEVINGER-DEFINED EGO LEVELS  
DERIVED FROM CRPR DESCRIPTIONS OF PARENTS FOR THE FIVE ACTIVISM GROUPS

Ego Levels	Inactive	Conventionalist	Constructivist	Activist	Dissenter	F-Ratio
<i>Delta-Opportunistic</i>						
Male Mother	50.1	49.9	50.3	49.7	49.9	0.04
Female Mother	50.7	<b>45.9</b>	49.7	51.5	51.7	2.34†
Male Father	51.0	<b>46.8</b>	49.3	48.4	51.4	2.18†
Female Father	51.3	52.4	<b>49.8</b>	50.3	49.9	0.62
<i>Conformity</i>						
Male Mother	54.0	51.7	51.1	<b>48.0</b>	49.3	5.36**
Female Mother	50.2	48.0	49.3	<b>45.8</b>	47.0	1.92
Male Father	53.3	52.9	51.6	<b>47.8</b>	51.1	3.02*
Female Father	49.8	48.0	48.7	<b>46.6</b>	47.4	0.89
<i>Conformity-Consistent</i>						
Male Mother	49.2	47.0	50.7	51.1	52.1	2.49*
Female Mother	51.0	<b>46.1</b>	48.2	53.1	52.5	5.80**
Male Father	48.7	<b>46.1</b>	50.4	57.5	50.6	2.18†
Female Father	51.7	<b>48.1</b>	50.2	51.6	51.1	1.06
<i>Consistent</i>						
Male Mother	<b>47.1</b>	50.9	48.6	52.3	49.5	3.29*
Female Mother	<b>50.2</b>	50.4	50.6	54.0	52.4	1.50
Male Father	<b>47.8</b>	52.5	49.6	52.5	48.9	3.37*
Female Father	49.1	<b>48.6</b>	50.2	53.2	53.0	2.36†
<i>Consistent-Autonomy</i>						
Male Mother	<b>47.1</b>	49.6	49.2	50.7	50.6	2.41*
Female Mother	49.0	53.7	51.1	52.8	50.5	1.88
Male Father	<b>46.5</b>	48.7	49.6	53.2	49.8	4.40**
Female Father	49.3	51.4	50.6	52.9	51.2	1.04

Note: Italicized scores are highest; those in boldface are lowest.

†  $p < .10$ ; \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ .

Q category. Scores on each of the five ego level scales were standardized and analyses of variance were done to evaluate group differences in level of parental ego functioning as it can be inferred from CRPR descriptions by offspring. Table 6 presents the standardized ego level scores for the several groups.

The results of the ego level analyses cohere well with the factor score interpretations. The Dissenters' descriptions of parents are highest on the *Opportunistic* ego level which is expressed in child rearing practices that are impulse dominated, expedient, exploitive of the child, and reveal immaturity in the parental character structure. The scores of the same-sex parents at the *Opportunistic* level were significantly higher for the Dissenter group. The *Conformity* stage of ego development was most representative of the parents of Inactives and least descriptive of the parents of Activists, according to the descriptions of their young. Within the child-rearing context, features of the *Conformity* Stage reveal a concern with external rules and standards, the use of shame to enforce these rules, and more superficial interpersonal relationships. Scores at the *Conformity* level achieved significance only for males' descriptions of mothers and fathers in the Inactive (high) and Activist (low) groups. At the transitional stage, *Conformity-Conscientious*, the Activists' parents were adjudged highest while the Conventionalists were significantly lower in all analyses except the Female-Father. This stage reflects a child-rearing concern with externals but with a parallel self-conscious but vague awareness of inner feelings and anxieties. The *Conscientious* Stage was more characteristic of parents of Activists, according to the students' perceptions, and significant differences were found for both mother and father descriptions given by male Activists. Inactives described their parents as significantly lower. Within the child-rearing context, the *Conscientious* Stage is reflected in encouraging the development of internalized rules and standards, the use of guilt as a technique of socialization, and the development of a sense of responsibility. The parent-child relationship is intensive and conscientious. The *Conscientious-Autonomy* level, the highest level of ego functioning assessable using the CRPR, was more characteristic of the parental descriptions provided by the Activists. The scores for both parents of male Activists were significantly higher while the parents of male Inactives were significantly lower on the *Conscientious-Autonomy* level. This level of ego functioning is expressed in child-rearing practices that are oriented toward coping with conflicting internal needs, negotiating competing interpersonal needs, concern with the individuation and autonomy of the child, openness to new experiences—as well as concern with the development of internalized standards that was characteristic of the *Conscientious* Stage.

Although these data are based on the students' perceptions of parental practices, the results were cross-validated in Block's study of parents themselves referenced earlier. In that study, as here, Block found that parents of Inactives scored highest at the *Conformity* Stage, and that parents of Activists scored highest on the *Conscientious* and *Conscientious-Autonomy* levels with the Inactives scoring lowest. These results exactly replicate those presented above based on student perceptions. Both the parents of Constructivists and Dissenters scored high at the *Opportunistic* Stage but the differences were not significant as was true also for the *Conformity-Conscientious* levels where the Activists were highest.

From these results, we can conclude that the parents of Activists, in the restricted sense of our definition (which was developed in the early stages of the confrontationist era), see themselves and are seen by their children as functioning at more mature ego levels, as defined by Loevinger, than the parents of students with other political-social orientations.

### *Comparison with Other Studies*

The results of this study, based on the perceptions of parental child-rearing practices by their young, are consistent with those gained from studies of parents themselves (Flacks, 1967; Schedler, 1966). Flacks found that parents of student activists "place greater stress . . . on opportunity for self-expression, and tend to de-emphasize or positively disvalue personal achievement, conventional morality and conventional religiosity (p. 68)." Parents of non-activists expressed "conventional orientations toward achievement, material success, sexual morality, and religion," according to Flacks (1967, p. 68). Schedler (1966) found activists' parents to be significantly more tolerant of unconventional behavior and more permissive, as defined by allowing the child autonomy in decision making, than were parents of non-activists. Mothers of activists were less strict while fathers of activists were not differentiated by strictness in Schedler's study.

In the study of parents of Berkeley students recently completed and cited earlier, Block has replicated many of the essential findings reported here: Parents of Activists described greater parent-child conflict while a more positive evaluation was given by Constructivists. Suppression of aggression, a rational (rather than punitive) approach to discipline, de-emphasis of conformity and competition, encouragement of independence and expectations for responsible, mature behavior were found to characterize the child-rearing orientations of the parents of Activist students. In addition, the parents of Activists described their child-rearing in ways that differed from the descriptions offered by parents of Dissenters and that paralleled results reported here: Dissenters'

parents were more inconsistent in their demands, were less rational in their disciplinary practices, were less restrictive of the child, and placed less emphasis on independence and maturity.

Methodologically, the confluence of findings from direct studies of parents with those reported here based on student appraisals of parental child-rearing practices offers justification for using this approach when parent samples cannot be assessed directly. The obtained replication for the several activism groups of salient distinguishing features derived from the student perceptions to the results obtained from samples of parents argues for the validity of young adults' evaluations of parental socialization practices.

### *Psychological vs. Sociological Antecedents*

Reassured by the convergence of the findings, we can now confront issues regarding the interpretation of the relationships found between constellations of socialization practices and political-social protest. The sociologist Lipset (1968) has suggested that the attempts by psychologists to relate activism and parental child-rearing practices are unconvincing because "the extant studies do not hold constant the sociological and politically relevant factors in the backgrounds of the students. For example, they report that leftist activists tend to be the offspring of permissive families characterized by a strong mother who dominates family life and decisions. Conversely, conservative activists tend to come from families with more strict relationships between parents and children, and in which the father plays a dominant controlling role. But to a considerable extent these differences correspond to little more than the variations reported in studies of Jewish and Protestant families. Childhood rearing practices tend to be linked to social-cultural-political outlooks. To prove that such factors play an independent role in determining the political choices of students, it will first be necessary to compare students *within* similar ethnic, religious, and political-cultural environments. This has not yet been done (pp. 49-50)."

Lipset is, of course, correct in reminding us of a confounding of psychological and sociological sources of explanation in much previous research. What is necessary in order to clarify matters is to disentangle the competing explanatory variables.

If Lipset's contentions are correct, the differences found between activist and non-activist groups should wash out when these samples are matched on relevant demographic variables. In the present study, separating particular demographic variables from activism is possible because of the relatively large sample size and the articulated definitions used to compose activist and non-activist sub-groups.

The "unconfounding" analysis to be reported used only the non-activist Conventionalist and the Activist sub-groups since analyses of variance had demonstrated that these two groups were not significantly different with respect either to occupational or educational levels of the parents. There was, however, a disproportionately higher number of Jews in the Activist group. In order to match these two sub-groups as closely as possible, *all* Jews were excluded from the analyses in order to evaluate Lipset's assertions that the permissive, maternally-dominated environment found to characterize the homes of protest-oriented students was a manifestation of child-rearing practices that are basically and uniquely Jewish.

The non-Jewish students in the Conventionalist and Activist sub-groups were compared with respect to the child-rearing attitudes attributed to parents, using t-tests to evaluate the reliability of differences. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 7.

These results in which religious, educational, and occupational differences between the Conventionalists and Activists have been controlled reproduce the essential findings reported earlier characterizing the differences between these two groups as a whole.<sup>4</sup> The parents of the Conventionalists are portrayed as more concerned with achievement, competition, docility, and obedience. The parents of non-Jewish Activists are revealed as less controlling, less punishing (with the exception of the fathers of females who are more punishing), and less concerned with achievement. They are more suppressive of both verbal and physical aggression, and they emphasize early maturity.

It is instructive, also, to examine the dimensions on which the parents were described similarly by the Activist and Conventional students. The factors on which no differences were found—despite respectable N's (35 and 38, respectively)—in any of the four analyses of the two matched groups include: *Encouragement of Independence and Responsibility*; *Emotional Involvement with Child*; *Socialization via Explicit Rewards and Punishments*; *Control by Anxiety Induction*; *Naive Faith in Child's Dependability*; and *Subservience to Spouse*. In addition, no differences were found on the following factors in three of the four analyses: *Emphasis on Self-control*, *Emphasis on Sex-appropriate Behavior*, *Emphasis on Conformity vs. Differentiation*, and *Opposition to Child's Secrecy Needs*. Clearly, both the Conventional-

<sup>4</sup>After excluding students with Jewish backgrounds from the two samples, t-tests of socio-economic status and educational achievement were completed to determine if the samples remained comparable after being redefined. For the female sample, no differences were found; for the male sample, the only significant finding was that the mothers of Activists tended to be better educated ( $p < .05$ ) than were the mothers of Conventionalists.

TABLE 7  
COMPARISON OF NON-JEWISH CONVENTIONALISTS  
AND ACTIVIST GROUPS ON CRPR FACTORS

	Conventionalists	Activists	Level of Significance
<i>Males' Mothers Descriptions</i>	(N = 38)	(N = 35)	
Suppression of Child's			
Sexual Impulses	54.2	46.5	.01
Suppression of Aggression	47.6	52.6	.05
Firm Discipline	54.3	48.0	.01
Emphasis on Achievement	51.2	46.7	.10
Psychological Manipulation of Child	46.5	50.9	.10
<i>Males' Fathers Descriptions</i>	(N = 35)	(N = 32)	
Firm Discipline	51.4	46.7	.05
Emphasis on Achievement	53.3	46.5	.01
Suppression of Child's			
Sexual Impulses	54.8	48.6	.05
Intrusive Control	52.1	46.9	.05
Control by Guilt Induction	53.8	49.3	.10
Emphasis on Early			
Physiological Controls	48.4	53.2	.10
Emphasis on Self Control	53.6	47.4	.05
Prohibition of Teasing	47.3	52.1	.10
<i>Females' Mothers Descriptions</i>	(N = 26)	(N = 37)	
Negative Evaluation of Parent- child Relationship	45.1	50.6	.05
Prohibition vs. Encouragement of Self-expression	53.1	48.3	.05
Emphasis on Achievement	52.7	47.9	.05
Intrusive Control	52.3	46.2	.01
Emphasis on Early			
Physiological Control	54.0	49.5	.10
Suppression of Aggression	54.5	50.6	.05
<i>Females' Fathers Descriptions</i>	(N = 34)	(N = 36)	
Firm Discipline	46.1	52.0	.01
Orientation to Non- physical Punishments	47.8	51.8	.10
Encouragement of Competition	55.5	48.9	.01
Over-conscientious Parenthood	52.7	47.4	.05

ists and the Activists see their parents as emphasizing maturity, dependability, and the need for behavioral limits.

These results based on samples that are comparable with respect to educational, occupational, and religious variables undermine Lipset's contentions about the explanatory power of ethnic and other demographic variables. A second line of evidence against the causal significance of demographic variables *per se* (granted as we do not, that demographic variables can *ever* have

direct, theoretically interpretable causal significance) is provided by the results of the within-activism group comparisons presented earlier. Although differences in child-rearing orientations were found to exist, the Activists and Dissenters did *not* differ significantly with respect to socio-economic or educational levels. The religious backgrounds of students in the two protest-prone categories were not significantly different, and the average ratings of parents' radicalism-conservatism were also similar. Despite these similarities on the usual demographic indices, significant differences on the CRPR were found between the Activist and Dissenter groups. Again, it follows that differences in religion, education, socio-economic status, or political ideology *cannot* be invoked to explain the divergences in child-rearing orientations that were found to discriminate the two activist sub-groups.

These results suggest that demographic characteristics may not be as potent as Lipset (together with other sociologists) has assumed in determining the differences in socialization practices found to distinguish activists' parents. Certainly socio-economic and educational levels, religious orientations, together with ecological variables, personality dispositions, and parental value orientations conjoin to pattern the parental socialization practices and so to define the learning matrix in which the child develops and matures. Alone, however, these indices cannot be considered determinative.

### *Differentiating among Activists*

The classification of the sample into sub-groups representing different political-social orientations has not only helped to demonstrate the independent role of socialization variables, as shown above, but has resulted, also, in more discriminating descriptions of students with different political-social orientations. The divergence between the Activist and Dissenter sub-groups is perhaps the most interesting, not only because this distinction has not been made previously in the literature but also because the change in the character of student protest in the years since the inception of this study stresses the outer limits of dissent as measured here. The present study may be only tangentially relevant for an understanding of the new student generation. The differences between the Activists and Dissenters presented here may, however, provide a basis for extrapolation to the new "Confrontationist" generation. Developing such extrapolations is beyond the scope of the present paper but the adventurous reader so inclined may find some help for his predictions in some additional comparisons of the two activist sub-groups with respect to family background variables.

*Rebellion vs. Concordance with Parents*

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Dissenters were found to be more frequently in rebellion against the political-social ideologies of their parents than were the Activists. Table 8 compares the political preferences of the parents of Activists and Dissenters. Significantly more mothers ( $p < .05$ ) and fathers ( $p < .10$ ) of the Dissenters were rated as conservative in their political ideologies. Block (1968) found that, within the political spectrum of the Left, gross disjunction between the political-social attitudes of young people and those of their parents is associated with less integrated personality functioning, particularly for women. Among the Dis-

TABLE 8  
COMPARISON OF PARENTAL POLITICAL PREFERENCES  
FOR ACTIVIST AND DISSENTER GROUPS

	Political Preference of Father (N = 235)		
	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal-Radical
Activist	8	42	37
Dissenter	30	65	53
Chi-square = 5.04			
p < .10			
	Political Preference of Mother (N = 235)		
	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal-Radical
Activist	4	46	37
Dissenter	22	57	69
Chi-square = 7.99			
p < .05			

sending women, 20% of their fathers and 15% of their mothers were rated in the conservative category whereas the comparable figures for Activist women are 9 and 4 percent, respectively. This divergence in political attitudes between Dissenter and parents is not an isolated finding since the Dissenters were found to score uniformly lowest on the dimensions reflecting overall agreement with mother and with father on six contemporary political-social issues (Smith et al., 1967).

This set of findings suggests that Dissenters are in greater rebellion against parental attitudes than Activists who exhibit concordance across generational boundaries. It might be anticipated that studies of today's student demonstrators, more extreme

now on the dimension of protest, would reveal even greater disjunction between parent and student attitudes than was found here.

### *Parental Permissiveness*

The second distinction to be made between the Activists and Dissenters involves the notion of permissiveness and its applicability to the parental child-rearing orientations of activists. When the descriptions of student protesters' parents are compared with the stereotype of permissiveness ascribed to these parents by the lay press, it is apparent that the newspaper interpretation is reasonably correct in regard to the *Dissenters'* origins but is quite wrong regarding the *Activists*.

The data from this study indicate that permissiveness, with its corollary laissez-faire attitudes, is more characteristic of the parents of Dissenters. Dissenters' parents were described as making relatively minimal demands upon the child for independent mature behavior, being laissez-faire with respect to limits and discipline, being tolerant of self assertiveness, and de-emphasizing self-control. These parental practices have been subsumed under the permissive label as it has been popularly understood and, accordingly, permissiveness does seem an appropriate description of the socialization practices experienced by the Dissenters. The departures from permissiveness for these parents are in the areas of aggression, opposition to secrecy, and concern with competition and achievement.

In contrast, the parents of Activists make more demands upon their children, particularly for independence, for responsible and mature behaviors. They are unaccepting of aggression, both physical and verbal. Although low in punishment orientation, Activists' parents tend to respond to misbehaviors—but with non-physical rather than physical punishments. These perceived parental behaviors are not consistent with permissiveness. Rather these parents seem to have imparted to their young a reasonably coherent set of expectations, consistent with parental values, in a manner that maintains parental dignity. Activists' parents may be considered permissive in the sense that they encourage the individuation and self-expression of the child, are more accepting of asexuality, and reject harsh punitive disciplinary methods. Although these latter parental practices and policies embody the concept of permissiveness in the circumscribed definition (and re-definition) provided by Benjamin Spock, they diverge importantly from the concept as more generally, loosely, and incriminately used today. The Activists, like the non-activist Conventionalists, see their parents as attempting to prepare them to lead

responsible, independent lives. This coherent set of expectations seems lacking in the Dissenters' perceptions of their parents.

These aggregated results, conjoined with the differences in ego functioning of Activist and Dissenter parents noted in the previous section, offer rather convincing evidence that parents of Activists (using the restricted definition of Activist given here) are seen as more differentiated with respect to ego functioning than are parents of Dissenting (and Non-activist) students. Their relatively more mature ego functioning appears to be manifested in a more coherent child-rearing philosophy that is involved with respect for both self and child. The learning context established by Activists' parents appears to rely on rational, cognitive principles of learning, and the perceived goals of socialization appear to be an independent, mature, self-knowing child. Were it not for the independent confirmation of these results found in Block's study of parents themselves, it might be argued that the less charitable picture of parents portrayed by the Dissenters might be an attempt to retrospectively justify their own rebellion. This interpretation does not appear to be warranted on the basis of the external validation of these results that has been offered.

These findings taken *in toto* imply that generalizations about activists are not valid for all student demonstrators. Participants in student protests have been shown to be heterogeneous, and distinctions of consequence have been found between Activists and Dissenters. Similarly, heterogeneities have been found to characterize non-active students as documented by the differences between the Inactives and the Conventionalists. Respect for these diversities should result in better understanding and more articulated predictions.

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ALLAN W. WICKER is Assistant Professor of Psychology at the University of Illinois. He received his Ph.D. in psychology from the University of Kansas in 1967. His interests include, in addition to attitude-behavior relationships, ecological psychology, research methodology, and subject selection bias.



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The research of Kenneth Keniston's *The Uncommitted* and Eliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner* is utilized to compare similarities in alienated white Harvard students and black streetcorner men. The sufferings of each group are then related to their societal origins where a common causality is described. With reference to a solution, recent literature and a movement are viewed. Working with the values indicated by these sources and the concept of the Negro as the "weathervane of the future," the present crisis in black leadership is described. From this discussion, an attempt is made to indicate in which way the term radical is being misused, and in which direction our nation must turn for new and viable values.

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BLOCK, JEANNE H., HAAN, N. and SMITH, M. B. Socialization correlates of student activism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 143-177.

University students and Peace Corps volunteers, differentiated according to political-social orientations, were compared in terms of the socialization practices attributed to their parents. Factor scores derived from the Block Child Rearing Practices Report revealed significant differences in patterns of socialization reported by the five activism groups. Political-social *Inactives* indicated their parents emphasized conformity, obedience, and docility; *Conventionals'* parents were concerned with achievement, responsibility, obedience, and conformity—classical Protestant virtues; *Constructivists* described the parent-child relationship most positively despite somewhat repressive child-rearing methods; *Activists'* parents encouraged independence, differentiation, self-expression, and were unaccepting of aggression; *Dissenters'* parents were described as highly involved emotionally with their children, emphasizing achievement, competition, and encouraging self-expression. Differences in levels of ego development characteristic of parents in the several groups were also found. Sociological interpretations of activists' socialization experiences were challenged by results obtained when demographically homogeneous activist and non-activist subgroups were compared.

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DEUTSCH, MARTIN. Organizational and conceptual barriers to social change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 5-18.

The problem of the role of the social scientist in helping to bring about rational social change, with particular reference to the current concerns and changes in our society, is explored. Two major concerns—the nature of intelligence, and the impact of race and class membership on the life experiences of individuals—are discussed, with consideration of the impact which the social scientists' published findings and theories related to them currently have on social processes, and the changing role of the social scientist consequent thereto. Necessarily, the social scientist must occupy himself with increasing our understanding of *environment* in order to maximize those factors which influence the positive development of individuals and to minimize those whose influence seems most negative. Further, the new knowledge must be guided past organizational barriers and into the structures of our social institutions.

BLACK, CECILIA B. *Abstracts—black and white on the development of*  
*Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXIV, 4, 173-181.

The article is a review of research in the field of social issues. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the development of social issues in the United States, and the second section deals with the development of social issues in the United Kingdom. The author discusses the role of the media, the role of the government, and the role of the public in the development of social issues. She also discusses the role of social issues in the development of the United States and the United Kingdom. The author concludes that social issues are a major part of the development of the United States and the United Kingdom.

BLACK, HANNAH, HAAS, N. and GUTHRIE, J. B. *Abstracts—black and white on the development of*  
*Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXIV, 4, 181-191.

This article discusses the development of social issues in the United States and the United Kingdom. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the development of social issues in the United States, and the second section deals with the development of social issues in the United Kingdom. The author discusses the role of the media, the role of the government, and the role of the public in the development of social issues. She also discusses the role of social issues in the development of the United States and the United Kingdom. The author concludes that social issues are a major part of the development of the United States and the United Kingdom.

DEUTSCH, MARTIN. *Abstracts—black and white on the development of*  
*Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXIV, 4, 191-201.

The article discusses the development of social issues in the United States and the United Kingdom. It is divided into two main sections: the first section deals with the development of social issues in the United States, and the second section deals with the development of social issues in the United Kingdom. The author discusses the role of the media, the role of the government, and the role of the public in the development of social issues. She also discusses the role of social issues in the development of the United States and the United Kingdom. The author concludes that social issues are a major part of the development of the United States and the United Kingdom.

RIEGEL, KLAUS F. History as a nomothetic science. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 99-127.

Traditional, idiographic approaches to historical study are contrasted with a nomothetic analysis of historical developments, using the history of philosophy and the sciences as examples. Following discussion of modern reinterpretations of the concepts of causality and time, the paper considers the implications for historical explanation of five theoretical and research models in developmental psychology. The paper concludes with a comparison of the potentials of the various models, in terms of their relative emphasis on psychological vs. sociological factors, their explanatory power and deterministic qualities. The author concludes that the intermediate models are least explored but seem to be most promising as shown by recent studies of relational networks and information retrieval systems.

TAJFEL, HENRI. Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 79-97.

There is at present a marked revival, both in the scientific and in the semi-popular literature, of attempts to analyze the psychological aspects of intergroup hostility in terms of their determinants in the evolutionary history of the species and/or in unconscious motivation. It is argued that both these approaches are neither heuristic nor relevant to social action in relation to a problem which must be primarily regarded as a psychological correlate of a large-scale social phenomenon. Prejudice is discussed in the paper from the point of view of its role in the adaptive cognitive functioning of man, and three relevant cognitive processes are considered in some detail: categorization, assimilation, and the search for coherence.

WHITE, RALPH K. Three not-so-obvious contributions of psychology to peace. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 23-39.

To psychologists especially it seems, paradoxically, that our policy-makers in Washington continue to ignore certain fundamental psychological truths which to us seem obvious and which we feel have been adequately communicated. This paper discusses some of the problems underlying this state of affairs, but focuses rather on three not-so-obvious psychological contributions to peace. First, as a corollary to the work of Hovland on persuasion, it is suggested that we Americans should concern ourselves with what is right about communism. Second, we should examine ways of reducing the overlapping and conflict in territorial self-images which are involved in most mirror-image type wars. And third, the illusion that people in another country are more friendly than they actually are must be seen as the indulgent and harmful wishful thinking which it is.



WICKER, ALLEN W. Attitudes versus actions. *Journal of Social Issues*, 1969, XXV, No. 4, 41-78.

The importance of attitude-behavior relationships is discussed in terms of conceptual, validation, and social considerations. The paper reviews studies in which verbal and overt behavioral responses to the same attitude object were measured on separate occasions. This research reveals that attitudes do not show a consistently strong, positive relationship to overt behaviors. Verbal measures rarely account for more than 10% of the variance in overt behavioral measures. Personal and situational factors postulated by various writers as influences on attitude-behavior relationships are discussed. It is proposed that attitudes and behaviors are more closely related, the more similar the situations in which the two kinds of responses are obtained.

## The Activists' Career

David Smith

University of California, Santa Barbara

Neville Sanford

The Wright Institute, Boston

### On the question of training in social psychology

Here we go back to the question of training in social psychology. There follows the response of Dr. Rae Carlson to my letter of January 1969. This is followed, not surprisingly, I think, by some comments from me.

One other day, when I became involved in a dispute with Carlson about some editorial matters, I had a little bit of a run-in with her. Her paper had been sent from the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, she held a position with her as Associate Professor of Psychology at California College of Education, but my call was returned from Berkeley, Maryland. It turned out that when she wrote her paper she was on leave from Cal State, using a USPHS Fellowship to pursue, as it is, her research into "cognitive affective processes" in, e.g., development. She is still on leave from Cal State, but in the process of settling in as a member of the staff of the Social Sciences Section of the Educational Research Division of the University. After reading what she has to say about psychology, I am doing

The importance of attitude-behavior relationships is discussed in terms of conceptual, methodological, and situational considerations. The paper reviews studies in which attitudes and overt behavioral responses to the same attitude object were measured on separate occasions. The research reveals that attitudes do not always accurately predict behavior. A positive relationship to overt behavior is measured only about 10% of the variance in overt behavior is measured. Situational and methodological factors potentially account for the low correlation. Attitude-behavior relationships are discussed. It is suggested that attitudes and behaviors are more closely related, the more similar the situations in which the two kinds of responses are obtained.

## **The Activists' Corner**

**David Krech**

**University of California, Berkeley**

**Nevitt Sanford**

**The Wright Institute, Berkeley**

*On the question of training in social psychology . . .*

Here we go back to the question of training in social psychology. There follows the response of Dr. Rae Carlson to our column of January 1969. This is followed, not surprisingly I suspect, by some comments from me.

The other day, when it became necessary to telephone Dr. Carlson about some editorial matters, I had a little trouble catching up with her. Her paper had been sent from the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey; the new APA directory lists her as Associate Professor of Psychology at California State College at Fullerton; but my call was returned from Bethesda, Maryland. It turned out that when she wrote her paper she was on leave from Cal State, using a USPHS Fellowship to pursue, at ETS, her research into "cognitive-affective processes in relation to ego development." She is still on leave from Cal State, but in the process of settling in as a member of the staff of the Social Sciences Section of the Extramural Research Division of NIMH. After reading what she has to say about psychology departments

one can only hope that she will some day give us an equally hard-hitting analysis of that other bureaucracy.

Nevitt Sanford

*Rae Carlson's Comments: Motes, beams, and training . . .*

Sanford and Krech have earned the grateful applause of the discipline by posing a critical problem (the need for immediate training of "social clinicians" and "problem-centered generalists" in psychology departments) and a set of solutions to the problem (graduate-student recruitment, curriculum reform, and field work). Yet many of us who for years have been saying "Alpha"—in tones ranging from gentle whispers through shrill screams—will pause a bit before voicing the "Beta" of their script. One cannot quarrel with their goals, nor repudiate their means—yet the proposals feel wrong, somehow.

The fundamental difficulty with the Sanford-Krech proposal is this: their conception of psychology's part in the diagnosis and remediation of social illness and irrelevancy involves the creation of a professional program of specialists to deal with problems which are partly the result of professionalization and specialization. Moreover, "social-clinicians" and "problem-centered generalists" already ABOUND: they are trained—and well trained—in schools of social work, public administration, education, and elsewhere. There is very little reason to expect that academic psychologists—mostly naive newcomers to the field of social action and social responsibility—can "compete" with experienced academic-practitioners of other disciplines unless their program can offer genuine insights and competencies apposite to the problems.

To what extent is psychology prepared to meet the implicit requirements of such a program? Accepting the goal set by Sanford and Krech, what is involved in the instrumentalities they propose? Their three steps toward solution involve somewhat different issues.

*Recruitment and selection of graduate students.* Sanford and Krech propose criteria for graduate student selection which all psychology departments should endorse immediately—but for survival of the discipline, not for a missionary task.

While psychology departments would be greatly enriched by this new breed of student, it is not clear that a graduate program is the optimal way of serving either the student or society. Those effective persons capable of integrating social concerns in a personal-professional identity are likely to be a small minority among those seeking a credential from our graduate psychology

departments; they will have earned it already—by direct involvement in those human concerns which the “program” would didacticize—or will earn it on their own time, not for curricular-credit. Meanwhile, graduate admissions committees, awkward and insecure about applying these new criteria, will require some lengthy experience before acquiring the ability to discriminate among the sincere, the opportunistic, the talented students applying.

*Curricular reform.* Sanford and Krech would earn the undying gratitude of our discipline if their proposals would ultimately shake up our departments to the point where “teaching one’s own career” receives the disdain it merits—and thus stamp out the opportunism which an insecure “science” rewards ritualistically. But this has little to do with social action. And it is not likely to occur until or unless there obtain some general sanctions from the discipline, supported by granting-agency policies, academic societies’ standards, etc.

Without some genuine reorientation of our academic-disciplinary structure, the scenes and scripts based upon the Sanford-Krech proposals are easily written—and are currently playing on a number of campuses. A single plot will illustrate this point: Young Innovative Teacher proposes a new “relevant” course; Departmental Curriculum Committee blesses his proposal, while also pointing out that academic standards and disciplinary integrity require maintaining traditional “core” (i.e., usual offerings, including teaching-of-own-career by senior faculty, etc.); Young Innovator gets released-time, gets his innovative contribution into his personnel record, and is promoted thereby; Department Chairman proudly points to departmental Innovation, and this message is transmitted via Administration and Public Information apparatus; Students (except for a few who know better) are pleased, because they are being “relevant” and “professional”—and, in fact, a healthy Hawthorne effect enables students to learn some things they’d have missed otherwise; Psychology is enriched by having the Innovation reported in several journal articles and an APA symposium. Everybody wins—but not much else happens.

*Field Work.* The graduate student who has missed involvement in field problems prior to his graduate career should surely be permitted, indeed required, to encounter the real world even at this rather late date. One’s only quarrel with the Sanford-Krech proposal on this score is their rather wishful recommendation that this field work be taken with a faculty member who is himself involved in such relevant field work. Has anyone attempted a census to discover how many psychologists in graduate faculties are so

involved? Or how continuously and responsibly? Or whether psychologists' entrees into relevant field problems are better than access through other routes?

One's impression is that academic psychologists are "involved" in two ways: (a) as professionals—consultants, directors, sub-contractors; and (b) as private citizens, where they carry no academic credit potential. Intuitively, one feels that responsible advisement of students would encourage the latter route. But this does not add up to a "program."

Before essaying a graduate program in social relevance, psychology would do well to consider its competence, its commitments—and the alternatives open to concerned students and faculty. Because the writer subscribes wholeheartedly to the concerns and visions of Sanford and Krech, these dysphoric and apparently cynical comments—wrung from a good deal of difficult participant-observation—are offered with great ambivalence, and from a conviction that more direct, feasible, and relevant options are available.

If an academic discipline may be permitted an "identity crisis," this is it. The problem—implicit in the Sanford-Krech proposals—is that of constructing an identity which consolidates our strongest identifications, transmuting these components into a responsible "adult" role, while repudiating outgrown infantile components of narcissism, opportunism, and the like. (A re-examination of identifications might well include some bibliotherapy: for example, re-readings of James's anticipations of OEO's mission in his chapter on Instincts, of Litmann's paper on "the social irrelevance of psychology," of Becker's response to last year's social explosions, and of the collected works of Parkinson.)

Toward a positive set of alternatives, some modest proposals are offered at levels of individual participation, departmental programs, and disciplinary policy.

Personal involvement of psychologists-as-persons (not as automatic-experts) in the problems of our time is prerequisite to any program for relevant education. For the academic psychologist, this means *contribution* of his personal time and skill as aide, as volunteer-tutor, as grantsmanship-expert helping grassroots people cope with bureaucratic mazes. It means the humility of becoming an apprentice before one is "expert." It means undertaking the difficult and painful responsibility of assuring ourselves of the genuine "relevance" of our own teaching and research.

Psychology departments (through individual members) must overcome their defensive snobbery about "service courses." For the real movers-and-shakers of society are not likely to be psychology majors—much less psychology graduate students. Our jour-

nalists, leaders, congressmen's and legislators' children, and voters will be found in our undergraduate courses. And if their experience of psychology is that of hostile or dependent conscripts for required participation in dismal "experiments," the consequences of these missed-opportunities are solely our own responsibility. Within our departments we could explore the development of competence in "relevant" content and method by offering non-credit courses (and the "tithing" involved in carrying such responsibility without monetary or curricular credit could operate as a valuable selection device for students and faculty alike).

The discipline—and its organ, APA—commands immense, unused powers which might be activated by the membership. Small examples: (a) What does it mean that "elections," "insurance," and the like command far more man-hours and postage than the dissemination of socially relevant messages—which are currently largely confined to SPSSI Newsletters? (b) Why hasn't APA undertaken curricular innovations—at all educational levels—comparable to those of biologists, mathematicians, and several other disciplines? (c) Why are we psychologists so content with such "expressive" behavior as protest-and-demonstration—e.g., the Chicago crisis, which was real and important, but surely not the definition of our concern—opting for "holidays" rather than long-term, living commitment? (d) Why do APA publications—the vital network of scientific communication in our field—acquiesce in the irrelevant opportunism of a science built upon exploitive manipulation of captive undergraduates, when our editorial boards (generously blessed with SPSSI members) could formulate more responsible journal policies? All of these examples speak to the implicit responsibilities and powers of those who would be involved in psychology's socially relevant curricula.

Putting-one's-own-house-in-order is rarely a popular indoor sport. But it would seem to be a necessary first step for any person—or discipline—seriously committed to significant involvement in the problems of our time. Sanford and Krech are too polite to castigate us for our past and present sins, or to exhort us toward the effort and atonement which their proposals implicitly demand. But this hidden agenda needs to become explicit; and until we have dealt effectively with problems clearly within our responsibility and jurisdiction, it would seem highly presumptuous to offer professional training in solving society's problems.

Rae Carlson

### *Sanford's Comments:*

I shall comment on only a few of Dr. Carlson's good points,

while earnestly hoping that other people will have their say in these columns.

Before getting to the heart of the matter, which is how psychology is to reform itself, I want to make a couple of points about the competence and potentialities of psychology—and have some recourse to the department of fuller explanation.

First, I don't think it adds to our understanding of the present state of affairs to compare unfavorably the training of academicians-practitioners in psychology departments with that carried out in schools of social work, public administration, and education. These latter fields also suffer from professionalization and specialization. In their efforts to overcome their relatively low status in the universities, they imitate the worst features of the older disciplines, turning out research that bears as little relation to practice as that produced in a psychology or a sociology department. I do not doubt that these professional schools sometimes produce able or even brilliant practitioners, but I suggest that the practice of most graduates of these schools is narrowly focused and poorly based in psychological and social theory, and that their research, which usually follows the model of pure science, is usually not quite up to the standard of the more established academic departments. In sum, I want to be sure that we do not think we can leave the training of social clinicians to these professional schools or that a psychology department bent on making its work more socially relevant ought to become more like them.

The real weakness of psychology, where social relevance is concerned, is something that it shares with other academic departments and with the professional schools, and that is its inability or unwillingness to integrate theory and practice, or inquiry and action. I have been urging for some time, most recently in *The Activists' Corner* (Sanford, 1968), in favor of a new approach to human problems. Unlike the old research and development model according to which some people do research, others use the research in building prototypes of what would be desirable, while still others make the new discoveries "operational," the new approach requires that the *same* group of scientist-practitioners do research on a problem, find leverage points for action, aid in the taking of action, and evaluate the effects of action. This approach to problems has to be multidisciplinary because problems do not order themselves according to the existing structure of departments and professions but require for their solution the knowledge and methods of various disciplines. This was the essential idea underlying the founding of the Institute for the Study of Human Problems at Stanford in 1961 and The Wright Institute in Berkeley in 1968. I think it is fair to say, too, that this idea is well repre-

sented in the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, which is presided over by SPSSI's own Kenneth B. Clark.

Ideally, the training of problem-centered generalists should be guided by the principles underlying this human problems approach to research and action and should take place in centers where this approach is fully realized. It seems to me that this is one way of responding to those failings of psychology departments to which Dr. Carlson points. I think I felt much as she does when I began advocating—and practicing—training in university-based human problems institutes some years ago (Sanford, 1965).

Interestingly enough, the idea of the multidisciplinary, problem-oriented institute seems to be catching on in influential circles. The report of the Special Commission on the Social Sciences of the National Science Board, which is just out (Special Commission, 1969) recommends that the federal government immediately allocate ten million dollars for problem oriented centers; and the Behavioral and Social Sciences Survey under the sponsorship of the National Academy of Science and the Social Science Research Council and the chairmanship of Ernest R. Hilgard is urging that we establish graduate schools of applied behavioral science. If the great funding agencies really do put their influence behind problem-solving research and training for action, and are careful to see that the funds do not find their way into the coffers of the existing departments and schools, then psychology departments could comfortably go on doing what they do.

How is it, then, that I have joined Krech in urging that social clinicians and problem-oriented generalists be trained in departments of psychology; and that I am actually lending a hand in the development of a new program of training in social-clinical psychology (see below)? For one thing, I am still parochial enough to believe that psychology has, or could have, much to offer those who would solve human problems. Actually, the facts and theories of psychology, along with those of other social sciences, underlie much of the work of those professions that Dr. Carlson speaks of approvingly; indeed, such facts and theories must have a fundamental place in—and lend a necessary intellectual dimension to—the work of human problems institutes. Psychology, then, must be kept alive. It will surely dry up unless it refreshes itself from time to time through involvement with genuine problems.

*A Human Problems Approach.* The human problems approach is a way of advancing science as well as a means for solving problems (Sanford, 1968). Again, the human problems approach must be promoted whenever and wherever the opportunity presents itself. Although Dr. Carlson's analysis is largely correct—and not unduly cynical—there is restiveness among psychology graduate

students and some of their instructors as well as among their counterparts in sociology and political science. It is not likely that strengthening psychology in the way that Krech and I propose will lead to its becoming a more formidable obstacle in the way of establishing problem-oriented institutes than it is now. On the contrary, experience with genuine problems tends to make scientists multidisciplinary in outlook and tolerant of approaches other than their own. As a matter of fact I can imagine a training program in social psychology—a pretty broad field if one chooses to define it in that way—becoming for all practical purposes a multidisciplinary, problem-oriented institute. “A rose by any other name”—and in the present case it might come to look pretty enough to qualify for some of those millions the Special Commission is talking about. Such a program would have the great practical advantage of enabling its graduates to be members of an established discipline and thus, unlike their fellows in new or unusual training programs, to have a range of opportunities for suitable employment. It will be some time before human problems institutes become commonplace, and longer still before terms like “social clinician” or “problem-oriented generalist” come to denote prestige and high employability. Psychology departments, on the other hand, are with us and will be, and the promoter of the human problems approach will want to try all possible alternatives.

But Dr. Carlson is right: there is not much hope of doing anything about training in psychology until the discipline has been reformed along the lines she suggests. But I must add at once: there is not much hope of reforming psychology until we *do* something. I mean reason, argument, and exhortation by themselves won't get us very far. We must do what the organization theorists say, i.e., find some way to “intervene in the system.” In this connection I have two things to report.

### *Student Activism and Educational Reform*

First, Krech and I have been impressed by the effectiveness of student activism in bringing about improvements in undergraduate education, and we believe there is potential for such activism among graduate students. Accordingly, we are sending copies of our article on training to all graduate students in the country—excepting those in experimental and physiological psychology—together with the following covering letter:

“The plain fact is that no important changes in the training of psychologists are going to occur until graduate students begin to exert pressure. There is no other source of motive power.

“David Krech and I have been concerned with improving training in social

psychology. In the following article, which was written for "The Activists' Corner" of the *Journal of Social Issues*, we present our ideas for making social psychology more useful to the individual student and more relevant to the problems of society.

"The aim of "The Activists' Corner" has been to provoke not merely discussion of action, but action itself. We are therefore distributing our article among graduate students in the hope that they will now carry the ball.

"We are not urging students to get behind our particular model of training or to support our particular suggestions. It is our hope, rather, that students will come up with their own proposals and begin organizing themselves with a view to getting their proposals put into effect. We would be happy to have the columns of "The Activists' Corner" used for these purposes. This would, in fact, brighten the corner where *we* are."

### *A Training Program in Social-Clinical Psychology*

Second, a highly recommended—though not very daring nor always effective—way of influencing a system is to set up a new system within it or on its fringes. Well, The Wright Institute of Berkeley, California has set up a training program leading to the Ph.D. in "social-clinical" psychology—a program that aims to prepare men and women for careers of research and action on human problems. Students have been admitted for the Fall 1969 quarter. The announcement of the program says:

"The Institute's Ph.D. program in social-clinical psychology is based on the idea that individuals cannot be understood apart from the social contexts in which they live and that an understanding of social structures and processes depends in part on knowledge of personality dynamics. Thus, while covering the traditional domains of clinical psychology, for example, psychological testing and psychotherapy, the program includes sociological and anthropological as well as social psychological perspectives on the subcultures and social structures in which individuals are studied and helped. The student is aided in his efforts to integrate these lines of inquiry by his field experience which, beginning in the first year and continuing throughout his normal four years of training, will require that he take some responsibility for one or more individuals in a clinical setting or in one of a variety of public agencies, organizations, or institutions. A mastery of the essential core of psychology and a doctoral dissertation will be required of all students."

We'll see what comes of these actions.

Nevitt Sanford

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## Comments and Rejoinders

**Comment on:** "*Racially Separate or Together?*"  
by Thomas F. Pettigrew, *JSI*, January, 1969.

Russell Eisenman  
Temple University

*Does Contact Between Negroes and Whites Decrease Prejudice?*

In the excellent paper which was the author's presidential address to SPSSI, Pettigrew has presented evidence against the contentions of both white segregationists and black militants who seek a racially separate America. Pettigrew's major point is that separation leads to increased prejudice, since there can be no interaction which allows each person to see the other for what he really is. The present paper takes issue with one of Pettigrew's points, *viz.*, his thesis that equal-status contact between Negroes and whites leads to more favorable attitudes. This point is very important, and the fact that evidence, to be reviewed here, suggests a less optimistic picture than that presented in Pettigrew's paper should be seriously considered by anyone seeking to improve Negro-white relations.

The studies cited by Pettigrew (1969) consistently show that contact between the races can lead to more positive attitudes. Although Pettigrew once mentions that contact can, in fact, make matters worse, his presentation of studies showing favorable effects, and his generally optimistic tone are misleading. Simpson and Yinger (1959) have emphasized that equal-status contact between members of different groups does not necessarily reduce prejudice or lead to favorable attitudes. For example, Simpson and Yinger pointed out that the Lambert and Bressler (1955)

interviews with Asian students in the United States showed that the Asian students reacted negatively to interactions with Americans in which the Americans made statements about the lower status of Asian cultures. Even more to the point is a study by Mussen (1950) of 106 white boys in an interracial camp. After a four-week period, 28 white boys were significantly less prejudiced, but 27 were significantly more prejudiced. According to Mussen, the more prejudiced campers had more aggressive feelings and needs, expressed more dissatisfaction with the camp, and felt that they had been victims of aggression. A reasonable interpretation is that personality interacts with situational change to determine attitude. In Mussen's study, it might have been possible to predict which campers would be likely to be more prejudiced and which less prejudiced, based on existing personality and attitudes.

Integration in schools is an issue of great importance, and a study by Cole, Steinberg, and Burkheimer (1968) showed the failure of integration in a Southern college to result in more favorable attitudes. After three years of integration whites still had highly prejudiced attitudes toward Negroes, as shown by such statements as "Niggers smell"; "Niggers are inferior"; and "Integration will lead to intermarriage."

In contrast to the optimistic view fostered by the studies which Pettigrew cited, I suggest a more cautious interpretation, and also suggest a basis of hypothesizing whether or not equal-status contact will lead to favorable attitudes. When there is some basis for expecting that members of one group already are somewhat receptive to contact with another group, then contact may foster favorable attitudes. This conclusion is consistent with the studies Pettigrew cites which suggest that change often occurred among whites who had already shown some receptiveness to associating with Negroes.

A consideration of yet another area, effects of integration on Negro self-esteem, also suggests that Pettigrew's comments may have been overly optimistic and one-sided. What others think about a person may greatly influence how that person feels about himself (e.g., Combs & Snygg, 1959). If Negroes meet with negative experiences in their interactions with whites, it is quite possible for the Negroes to come away with lowered self-esteem. Some studies (Katz & Benjamin, 1960; Pugh, 1943) have indicated lowered self-concepts among Negroes as a result of contact with whites. The nature of the contact should be of importance; favorable contact should lead to favorable self attitudes (Yarrow, Campbell, & Yarrow, 1958) while other situations will show no change one way or the other (Williams & Byars, 1968).

It is believed that the studies considered in this critique suggest that Pettigrew's points are overstated, and result, at least in part, from a selective review of the literature. We should neither expect such favorable results from Negro-white contacts as Pettigrew's paper would lead us to believe, nor should we be as pessimistic as we might be if only the studies cited in this critique were considered. Together, the Pettigrew paper and the present one offer a more balanced picture of what can and what cannot be expected from contact between Negroes and whites. Perhaps Sherif (1958) is correct in his claim that contact is most effective in reducing intergroup tensions when both groups strive toward some superordinate goal. If the groups are not working together, contact may be ineffective in creating favorable attitudes, and among some people may even lead to increased hostility.

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### Rejoinder

Thomas F. Pettigrew  
Harvard University

Eisenman emphasizes a well-known and important point: namely, that the effect of intergroup contact on intergroup attitudes is dependent upon the type of contact involved. Further,

Eisenman maintains that equal-status of the two groups involved is a necessary but not sufficient condition for assuring the reduction of prejudice. But these points do not constitute, in my view, a critique of the Allport thesis I advanced in my SPSSI presidential address.

The problem arises from Eisenman's misreading of the thesis of my address. He oversimplifies it to read that "equal-status contact between Negroes and whites leads to more favorable attitudes." I maintained no such thing. Indeed, Eisenman admits that I mentioned that intergroup contact can make matters worse, but he failed to quote the entire paragraph from my original paper which makes this point and clearly states the actual thesis:

Not all intergroup contact, of course, leads to increased acceptance; sometimes it only makes matters worse. Gordon Allport (1954), in his intensive review of this research concluded that four characteristics of the contact situation are of the utmost importance. Prejudice is lessened when the two groups: (a) possess equal status in the situation, (b) seek common goals, (c) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, and (d) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws, or custom. Reviewing the same work, Kenneth Clark (1953) came to similar conclusions, and correctly predicted one year prior to the Supreme Court ruling against *de jure* public school segregation that the process would be successful only to the extent that authorities publicly backed and rigorously enforced the new policy. (Pettigrew, 1969, p. 56)

Note, too, that the Sherif stress upon the importance of superordinate goals, which impresses both Eisenman and myself, essentially combines Allport's second and third conditions. In fact, Sherif's ingenious "Robbers' Cave" study (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) constitutes the sharpest experimental evidence for all four of Allport's conditions.

In other words, following Allport, I do not hold that equal status alone is sufficient when the other three conditions are not met. I am aware of the interesting studies of Lambert and Bressler (1955), Mussen (1950), Cole, Steinberg, and Burkheimer (1968)—as well as others not cited by Eisenman—and their essentially negative findings on intergroup contact. These papers were not cited in my SPSSI address, not because of any selective review, but simply because they support rather than counter my argument. In each study, Allport's four conditions are not attained; hence, their negative findings which Eisenman wishes to stress are actually consistent with the thesis I advanced.

While they are supportive of Allport's contentions, their relevance to Eisenman's argument against the power of the equal-status condition alone to reduce prejudice is more equivocal. All three of the studies upon which he relies involved situations where the real equality of status between the groups was at least ques-

tionable. And this raises two points worthy of brief mention: What do we actually mean by "equal status" between two groups in a contact situation? And how do Allport's four conditions actually distribute in interracial contact situations in American society?

The literature on equal-status contact has long been confused by a conceptual ambiguity: Is the status which should be equal in or out of the interracial situation, or both? If the equal-status criterion can only be met by individuals who bring to the situation roughly equivalent status positions in the larger society, then obviously the racial ecology of our society severely limits the attainment of this condition. But my reading of the relevant literature would place special emphasis upon the status held by the two races in the face-to-face encounter itself. And this condition can be and is often met. If, for example, black students are accorded equal dignity, status, and power on an interracial college campus, the equal-status criterion can still be satisfied even though the majority of blacks may come from working-class homes and the majority of whites may come from middle-class homes.

But how commonly do racially equal-status situations occur in American society today? For that matter, how common are situations meeting all four of Allport's conditions? No definitive data on this critical point exist, though fragmentary evidence suggests that these contact situations are less common than integrationist ideologists would like to believe and more common than separatist ideologists maintain. In my SPSSI address, I cited a number of realms where social psychologists had empirically found Allport's criteria to hold. And an unpublished study on interracial neighborhoods throughout the country conducted by Norman Bradburn and his colleagues at the National Opinion Research Center has uncovered a surprisingly large number of such areas. Likewise, the nationwide Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman, *et al.*, 1966) obtained data that reveal numerous schools—even many in the South—where cross-racial friendship is widespread.<sup>1</sup> Why are we typically surprised by these data?

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<sup>1</sup>At Harvard University, David Cohen, Robert Riley, and the author have intensively reanalyzed Coleman's ninth-grade data from the urban Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions. We have focused especially upon the critical cross-racial friendship item. And we find in biracial schools whose student bodies range from one to 15 percent Negro that, roughly speaking, the average Negro student reports that about 40 percent of his close friends are white, while the average white student reports that about 25 percent of his close friends are Negro. In schools with between 15 and 40 percent Negroes, the average Negro reports about 25 percent of his close friends are white, while the average white reports about 35 percent of his close friends are Negro. Considering the fact that the item does not exclude non-school friends, these data suggest rather widespread cross-racial friendship—a reasonably adequate output indicator of Allport's four conditions operating in many of these ninth-grades.

Perhaps, selective perception is at work: uniraical realms and interracial situations in conflict are conspicuous, while interracial situations in harmony are typically out of view. When biracial contact really "works," blacks and whites both forget that it is "biracial."

But the problem of testing Eisenman's proposition that equal-status contact is not in itself sufficient to produce favorable attitudes is that Allport's four conditions are highly intercorrelated. Apparently, few situations boast the equal-status condition without also being characterized by common and superordinate goals with authority sanction. Indeed their intimate association suggests that Allport was actually describing a single social process, a process which does not easily allow for an isolation of its components. At any rate, I suspect Eisenman's proposition is correct; consequently, I stressed all four of Allport's conditions. But we shall not know until we can locate and simulate intergroup situations that separate out these criteria.

A few minor points: Eisenman's conclusion that positive change can result from contact only for those receptive to the contact simply ignores the relevant data. As carefully stated in my address, many contact studies revealing significant reductions in prejudice have carefully controlled for this factor, and some of the public-housing desegregation studies even found the greatest positive effects among the *most* initially prejudiced (*a la* dissonance theory). As for self-esteem effects, I believe the distinction made in the address between mere "desegregation" and true "integration" is highly relevant—with only the latter meeting all four of Allport's criteria.

Finally, in finding my address "optimistic," Eisenman misinterpreted my feelings as well as my theory. In fact, I feel anything but optimistic these days about American race relations. I would be if I thought Allport's four conditions were being more widely attained. But during these depressing days of presidential retreat (i.e., no authority sanction for positive racial change) on virtually all vital domestic issues, the short-term prospects for this possibility seem dim indeed. The ideas for how to bring them about, such as metropolitan educational parks (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967), exist now. We *can* as a society attain them—but *will* we try?

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## Response to Pettigrew's Rejoinder

Russell Eisenman

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In his rejoinder Pettigrew advocates a position somewhat different from that in his original article. In his rejoinder he advocates using Allport's (1954) four situational characteristics as criteria to analyze racial contact situations. Since Allport's four conditions were not attained in the contact studies which I mentioned in my critique, Pettigrew feels he was justified in omitting them from his original article. A re-reading of that original article will show that his claim is unjustifiable. Pettigrew did not apply Allport's four conditions to the articles he reviewed, but instead chose contact studies with favorable outcomes regardless of whether or not the four conditions were present. This is most apparent on pages 54 and 55 of Pettigrew's original paper where, beginning his section on *Contact Studies*, he states, "The most solid social psychological evidence of racial attitude change comes from the contact studies. Repeated research in a variety of newly desegregated situations discovered that the attitudes of both whites and Negroes toward each other markedly improved." Next, a series of studies are reported with favorable effects of contact. Yet most seem to fall short of Allport's four conditions; Pettigrew cannot reasonably use Allport's conditions as a reason for not citing negative results, but ignore these conditions when dealing with positive results.

An excellent review of contact studies is contained in a paper by Amir (1969). He presents both positive and negative results,

and considers many important methodological problems. Amir also agrees with me and not Pettigrew when he writes:

The studies reported earlier in this section considered the direction (i.e., positive or negative) of the initial attitude as a determinant and the intensity as an outcome. Specifically, it was found that initial positive attitudes tend to become more positive as a result of contact situations, and initial negative attitudes will tend to become more negative (Amir, 1969, p. 337).

Amir considers both equal-status contacts and non-equal-status contacts. His review is recommended to all interested in this important area.

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### Comment on: *The Promotion of Prejudice*

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Studies of prejudice have often been concerned with demonstrating the relationship of prejudice to personality factors, to child rearing, or to social conditions. Social scientific journals have described expressions of prejudice, as well as ways to decrease it. It might be of interest, however, to follow a case in which the publicized views held by an educational psychologist would appear to increase prejudice and to examine the various factors that interacted and contributed to such an effect.

*The Originator.* Arthur Jensen, a Professor of Education at the University of California in Berkeley, had been asked by the *Harvard Educational Review* to write an article on the nature of intelligence and the extent to which it can be modified by experience. The editors of that journal sent Jensen an outline of the topics they wanted him to treat and, according to the editors, this outline made no mention of racial differences in intelligence. In a mimeographed statement dated March 5, 1969, the editors of the *Harvard Educational Review*, apparently trying to satisfy the many inquiries about the Jensen review, state: "The outline sent to Dr. Jensen made no specific mention of a discussion of racial differences in intelligence. However, it is our policy with respect to such outlines that they are only a general indication of the areas we want the author to cover and that he is free to carry out our general charge to him in the way he thinks most appropriate."

Jensen submitted to the *Harvard Educational Review* (Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter 1969) the longest article ever published in that journal. Essentially a review of the literature, it included a section on racial differences in intelligence in which the author expounded his by now well-known theories on the genetic inferiority of Negroes in intelligence and learning ability. While Jensen's views on racial differences did not seem germane to his discussion of the importance of heredity in intelligence or to his discussion of different teaching methods for pupils of various abilities, the inclusion of this section seemed justified by the principle of freedom of expression.

*The Originator of the theory as disseminator.* The editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* also say in the mimeographed statement mentioned above that Jensen released the text of his article to *U.S. News and World Report* several weeks before his review article was to be published. The March 10, 1969 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* published an article on it entitled "Can Negroes learn the way whites do?" While the *Harvard Educational Review* is read by relatively few people and mainly by scholars, *U.S. News and World Report* is a national popular magazine.

Jensen is currently vice-president of the American Educational Research Association. This association held a convention in Los Angeles during the first week of February 1969, prior to publication of the *Harvard Educational Review* article. It included a symposium on "Race and Intelligence," in which Jensen expounded his views on the genetic inferiority of Negroes in intellectual ability and the advantage of rote learning methods for people inferior in intelligence. His speech was widely quoted by the press.

*Support for dissemination of the originator's viewpoint by his academic discipline.* While Jensen may or may not have suggested the symposium on race and intelligence, the Educational Research Association accepted it as a meaningful scientific topic for a symposium.

No heed was paid to the fact that there is no pure race, that "race" popularly used mainly refers to skin color, and that a symposium on "Race and Intelligence" is no more justified than a symposium on "Eye Color and Intelligence." While somebody might do research on such an esoteric topic, it can hardly be considered a worthwhile topic for a symposium. No attention was paid to the fact that when the environment cannot be controlled, the topic of "Race and Intelligence" becomes one of polemics and that such a symposium is pseudoscientific in character.

No care was taken to have scholars present at the symposium to oppose Jensen's polemics, so that different views could simultaneously be heard and then quoted by the press. Similarly, the

*Harvard Educational Review* had no simultaneous serious rebuttal of Jensen's racial views. Opposing views were published by the journal in two subsequent issues, but did not receive the publicity given to Jensen's views.

*The news media.* Jensen's statements on race at the symposium were picked up by an Associated Press dispatch and widely circulated throughout the newspapers of this nation. *Newsweek Magazine* (March 31, 1969) published an article on it entitled "Born Dumb." Of all the articles available in popular magazines only *Time Magazine* (April 11, 1969) conveyed some doubt about Jensen's views to its readers.

The San Francisco Bay area may serve as an illustration of the dissemination of this story: All major Bay area newspapers carried accounts of Jensen's views. It was rather topical for this area since at that time people attending a school board meeting to discuss integration of schools in San Francisco had reportedly been beaten up by goons, and in nearby Richmond the three liberal members of a five-man school board had resigned because of claimed threats to their lives and those of their families. The *Oakland Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Richmond Independent*, and the *Berkeley Gazette* all had extensive accounts of Jensen's views on race. The *Berkeley Gazette*, the only local daily of a liberal university town, topped all accounts by having two front-page articles—the first one in a special frame, the second one several days later—giving a more extensive account.

*Control of the press.* While the Jensen story was well covered by the press, it was impossible to get opposing views published. Psychologists and anthropologists at Berkeley wrote to newspapers and to *Newsweek*, but no accounts appeared. Even letters were not accepted.

My personal experience may serve as an illustration: I had written a short statement citing a number of studies that could be used to contradict Jensen's views and included a statement by the geneticist Curt Stern. Neither *Newsweek* nor *U.S. News and World Report* accepted it. It was also rejected as a letter to the editor by the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Oakland Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *New York Times*. When the *Berkeley Gazette* came out with its second front page article on Jensen's racial views, I went to talk to the editors, stating that there was another side to this issue and demanding that my statement be published with the same prominence as Jensen's. The *Gazette* executive editor, backed by the city editor, told me that Jensen's views were news, while the other side was not, and that, after all, Jensen was the author of the longest article ever published by the *Harvard Educational Review*. After further arguments the editor eventually agreed

to publish my statement as a "Letter to the Editor" and promised that the reporter who wrote the extensive review of Jensen's views on race would collect a number of views representing the other side, which would be published soon. My letter to the editor was then published March 7, 1969. The promised article presenting other viewpoints never appeared. Instead of it, the executive editor wrote several columns, one eulogizing Jensen, one eulogizing William Shockley (a physicist who dabbles in genetics and has views similar to Jensen's), and a couple of columns commending Shockley's vain attempts to get the National Academy of Sciences involved in this type of issue.

The publicity office of the university, contacted for help in publicizing a statement in opposition to Jensen's, reported that they were unable to do so. They explained that a written statement was not considered news and that a large public conference was necessary to attain publicity for viewpoints opposing Jensen's. The statement by the Council of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (see JSI, Summer 1969) which was issued in response to Jensen's article was published in this region only in the student newspaper.

*The readers of the Jensen article.* One might well ask at whom all this publicity was directed. A local sample of black and white people not connected with the university showed that it was mainly white people who read the statement in the newspapers. White teachers, school administrators, educational policy makers, and the general white population not connected with the university would be particularly likely to be exposed to the Jensen viewpoint without any counter-information. It seems clear that this may have an adverse effect on teacher expectation (with its counterpart of a decrement in student performance), on parents who are dubious about integration of schools, and on policy makers and taxpayers wondering about the usefulness of continuing compensatory education or the enforcement of integration. Lee Edson in an article on Jensen in the *New York Times Magazine* (August 31, 1969) states that "a Congressman put all 123 pages of the article into the Congressional Record and segregationists took to citing the article in court as the word of science. Since then word has filtered down that the article was distributed as must reading by Daniel Patrick Moynihan to members of the Nixon Cabinet."

*Response of the university community.* For several weeks letters appeared in the Berkeley student newspaper commenting on the Jensen story. On the whole, letters centered on scientific aspects of his views. There were students who contradicted some of Jensen's statements, and there were some faculty members, including University of California anthropology Professor Sherwood L.

Washburn, who published brief letters opposing Jensen's views. A few letters referred to Jensen as a racist. Jensen, himself, answered some of the criticism; and some students and some Ph.D. researchers defended his views.

*Response of the radical community (SDS).* Letters submitted under the auspices of the "Students for a Democratic Society" openly accused Jensen of racism and included statements on the racist nature of our society. Their statements culminated in asking for Jensen's dismissal. This demand was not supported by other groups or individuals opposing Jensen's views.

*Response to SDS.* In response to SDS a number of university people, both faculty and students rallied to Jensen's defense. In the upholding of free expression of opinion, Jensen himself was supported and defended. As on other issues, SDS offered some valid criticism but put it in such crass terms that it brought forth a reaction, in which the validity of the criticism, if not the issue itself, was lost.

The people so concerned with academic freedom and the freedom to express a variety of views seemed oddly not equally ready to fight for the freedom of the public to receive a variety of opinions. Freedom of expression increases in value if people are allowed to listen. A person's freedom to voice his opinion by himself in a locked room is limited in value. Academicians concerned with freedom of expression sometimes do not consider that the freedom for all sides to be heard may actually be restricted to a few universities, like Berkeley, and be totally denied to the public at large.

*Reaction of the administration.* On February 7, 1969 the first report of the Jensen story had appeared in the *Berkeley Gazette*. A conference to discuss Jensen's views was set for May 27th. The chancellor of U.C., Berkeley, had been approached and had agreed to sponsor and fund this conference, which was to be co-sponsored by the Departments of Sociology and Education. Several speakers including Jensen were invited; presentations of the speakers were to be followed by a debate. It was felt that even if Jensen would refuse to attend, the conference would draw some publicity.

After speakers to such an open conference had been invited, Jensen insisted at a meeting of the symposium organizers and administrative personnel handling the symposium that conditions for his participation in the symposium include that it be closed to the general public and that only a panel of experts be admitted to attend. The organizers of the conference were willing to go ahead with the conference as planned whether or not Jensen participated, but the chancellor was hesitant about sponsorship of a

symposium on Jensen without Jensen's participation. The personnel in the administrative unit sided with the view that Jensen's conditions be met.

Consequently a closed panel meeting was held and video-taped. A press conference was held later in the afternoon with Jensen and most of the panel participants present. A replay of the video-taped conference was announced in the student newspaper and shown in the evening to a student audience. Following the presentation of the video-tape some of the participants present took part in a discussion; Jensen had refused to attend. While the consensus of opinions at the meeting did not support Jensen's views, the fact that it was a closed meeting, with merely a video-taped replay later, defeated the aim of getting good press coverage. Only the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on the proceedings. No report appeared in the *Berkeley Gazette*, the *Oakland Tribune*, the *Richmond* paper, or other local newspapers; neither AP, *Time*, *Newsweek*, or *U.S. News and World Report* carried the story, although they had extensively publicized Jensen's views.

*Conclusions.* In this case a number of factors contributed to the promotion of prejudice.

1. The author of a theory that supposedly shows inferiority of a race.
2. The author's interest and efforts to disseminate his theory through the news media.
3. The support of the author's discipline in giving his theory scientific prestige and aiding in its dissemination.
4. The eagerness of the press to give widespread exposure to such a theory.
5. The unwillingness of the press to print material opposing the theory.
6. The author's success in suppressing a public conference with the university administration's connivance.
7. The ineptness of the opposition which went ahead with a conference under conditions that precluded the generation of any significant publicity.
8. Extreme verbal attacks on the author by leftist organizations generating sympathy and support for the author (rubbing off on his theory).

This case illustrates the great importance of the news media in promoting or fighting prejudice. What is news and who decides what is taken to be news? Evidently what is considered to be "news" and presented to the public as "scientific" and "factual" is decided by a white society in which black people—or white people who consider blacks equally human and able—have little control.

**Rejoinder: *The Promotion of Dogmatism***

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Alfert's article begins with a falsehood. It is a fatuous falsehood which I conclusively refuted many months ago, and yet Alfert persists in it. For some reason she apparently wants to spread the notion that the editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* (*HER*) solicited my article ("How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?") and at the same time sent me a suggested outline of topics to be covered, an outline which, Alfert claims, "made no mention of racial differences in intelligence." Alfert originally made this assertion in a letter to the *Daily Californian* (April 30, 1969). Assuming that Alfert has read the references cited in her own article, she must have known that this statement was untrue before she wrote the article for this journal (see Edson, 1969). Yet she continues to perpetuate a falsehood. The simple fact of the matter is that the outline\*<sup>1</sup> sent to me by the co-chairman of the editorial board of *HER* on April 26, 1968 includes the following statement: "A. 1. b. A clear statement of your position on social class and racial differences in intelligence." In the context of the entire outline of the article, a failure to include a discussion of racial differences in intelligence would have been a glaring omission. It is actually to the credit of *HER*'s editors that they did not assert an ostrich-like denial of this issue by deliberately omitting it in their outline.

Alfert's recent activities thus merely add further documentation to the already ample evidence of an entrenched dogmatism among some persons in the social sciences concerning the causes of the observed average difference of about one standard deviation in intelligence test scores between American Negroes and other groups in our population, mainly whites and Orientals. Those, including myself, who question the unproved hypothesis that all races and population groups are identical with respect to the genetic factors involved in the development of mental abilities are reviled and vilified by many of those who promulgate this doctrine and who, like Alfert, are apparently extremely intolerant of any open-minded and scientific approach to the study of this question. A recent flagrant example of such intolerance is the SPSSI Council's press release of May 2, 1969 (JSI, 1969) censuring my *HER* article (Jensen, 1969a). I have commented on the SPSSI statement in detail elsewhere (Jensen, 1969c)\*.

<sup>1</sup>Items followed by an asterisk (\*) can be obtained from the author on request.

And now we have SPSSI's official Journal publishing Alfert's piece, which, like the statement of the SPSSI Council, is not intellectually responsible criticism or genuine research, but mere propaganda. Judging from Alfert's letters to the *Berkeley Gazette* (March 7, 1969)\* and to the *Daily Californian* (April 30, 1969)\*, it is clear that her interest in my *HER* article is not addressed to its actual content or to making a careful analysis or critique thereof. It appears that she is simply angered because I do not condone her dogmatism concerning the causes of racial differences in intelligence. I hold to no doctrinaire position on this subject, nor do most scientists who have studied the matter. But I fear that it might be hard for Alfert to believe that scientists do not have the kind of religious fervor about their opinions which she has exhibited about hers.

Since Alfert has gone so far as to call me a "racist" (*Daily Californian*, April 30, 1969, p. 9)\*, the reader should be allowed to know just what my position actually is on the subject of race differences. First of all, I have always advocated dealing with persons as individuals, each in terms of his own merits, characteristics, and needs. I am opposed to according any treatment to persons solely on the basis of their race, color, national origin, or social class background. I am also opposed to ignoring or refusing to investigate the causes of the well-established differences among racial groups in the distribution of educationally, occupationally, and socially relevant traits, particularly IQ. I believe that the cause of the observed differences in IQ and scholastic performance among different racial groups is scientifically still an open question, an important question, and a researchable one. I believe that official statements, apparently accepted without question by some social scientists—such as, "It is a demonstrable fact that the talent pool in any one ethnic group is substantially the same as in any other ethnic group (U.S. Office of Education, 1966)" and, "Intelligence potential is distributed among Negro infants in the same proportion and pattern as among Icelanders or Chinese, or any other group (Department of Labor, 1965)"—are without scientific merit. They lack any factual basis and must be regarded only as hypotheses. The fact that different racial groups in this country have widely separated geographic origins and have had quite different histories which have subjected them to different selective social and economic pressures makes it highly likely that their gene pools differ for some genetically conditioned behavioral characteristics, including intelligence or abstract reasoning ability. Nearly every anatomical, physiological, and biochemical system investigated shows racial differences. Why should the brain be an exception?

The reasonableness of the hypothesis that there are racial differences in genetically conditioned behavioral characteristics, including mental abilities, has been expressed in writings and public statements by such eminent geneticists as Kenneth Mather, Cyril D. Darlington, Sir Ronald A. Fisher, and Sir Francis Crick, to name but a few. In my articles in *HER* (Jensen, 1969a, 1969b) I indicated several lines of evidence which support my assertion that a genetic hypothesis is not unwarranted and can be scientifically researched. The fact that we still have only inconclusive conclusions with respect to this hypothesis does not mean that the *opposite* of the hypothesis is true. Alternatives to a purely environmental hypothesis of intelligence differences are essential if we are to advance our understanding. Scientific investigation proceeds most effectively by means of what Platt has called "strong inference," which means pitting against one another alternative hypotheses that lead to different predictions and then submitting these predictions to an empirical test.

Contrary to the misleading impression that Alfert's paper tries to give, it was *HER* itself, not I, who sent prepublication copies of my article to numerous major news media. As was reported in the *New York Times Magazine* (Edson, 1969)\*, *U.S. News and World Report* interviewed me on the topic after learning about the article, and they requested a prepublication copy which I later provided with the consent of *HER*. The editors of *HER* further cooperated by providing *U.S. News* with prepublication copies of seven other articles dealing with this topic from their Spring 1969 issue. The article that appeared in *U.S. News* (March 10, 1969) came out almost a month after *HER*'s publication of my article (February 15, 1969). *U.S. News* actually gave one of the more accurate accounts of my views in the popular press. Would Alfert suggest that we should repeal the First Amendment, at least when it comes to the expression of ideas that conflict with her own beliefs?

The symposium on "Race and Intelligence" at the annual convention of the American Educational Research Association (Los Angeles, February 6, 1969) was excellent, but I cannot take credit for organizing it or for inviting the several participants. (This was done by Dr. David Feldman.) I was asked to serve as chairman and as one of the symposium's two discussants. The panel consisted of three psychologists of differing viewpoints and a geneticist (Dr. Cavalli-Sforza) who was suggested for the panel by one of my better critics, Professor Joshua Lederberg, a Nobel Laureate in genetics and head of Stanford's Department of Genetics (see Lederberg, 1969). Plans are being made to publish the entire symposium. My own discussion of the several papers ("Can

We and Should We Study Race Differences?")\* has been expanded for publication; it includes all the points I made in the 15 minutes allotted for my discussion at the convention. Readers will be able to judge for themselves the accuracy of Alfert's assertion that in this symposium I "expounded . . . on the genetic inferiority of Negroes." This is another blatant falsehood. Alfert also misrepresents my views on other matters. The above named paper fully answers all these misconceptions as well as Alfert's incredible statement that the subject of race differences "can hardly be considered a worthwhile topic for a symposium."

Alfert seems to believe that she and her likes are the only ones whose letters-to-the-editor do not get published. Neither do mine, in many cases. It seems to me that Alfert should have less to complain about than I have on this score. Although the *Daily Californian* (Apr. 30, 1969) published Alfert's defamatory letter about me, impugning my integrity, calling me a "racist," and suggesting that students should boycott my classes, they never published my reply to Alfert's letter. Furthermore, a number of eminent scientists (two Nobel Laureates and several members of the National Academy of Sciences) have written letters-to-the-editors on all sides of this topic but have never seen them published (they have sent me their carbon copies). Thus the impression Alfert tries to create—that the press has treated only her and her side badly—is without any basis in fact.

In the spring, 1969, Alfert was one of the instigators of what, hopefully from her standpoint, was to have been a confrontation between a group of prestigious critics of my *HER* article and me before a mass audience of students and the general public, to be held in the largest auditorium on the Berkeley campus. I disapproved of the plan because of the circus atmosphere that I felt was liable to be generated by such a highly publicized event open to the general public, especially after I was alerted by a reliable source that the SDS was planning a general disturbance at this hoped-for public auto-da-fé. I insisted, and the chancellor supported me, that the entire symposium be videotaped under studio conditions in order to preserve a permanent record, and that it be attended by an invited audience consisting only of professors and researchers in relevant fields who would be qualified to take part in the discussions that followed the formal presentations by the panelists. (The invited audience was composed of faculty from anthropology, education, genetics, law, political science, psychology, and sociology.) I was also encouraged in this method of conducting the symposium because University Extension was eager to obtain a videotape for wide distribution to other colleges through its rental audio-visual library and for use in classes on the Berke-

ley campus. The symposium was actually held under these conditions, which insured freedom from outside disturbances and also guaranteed the widest possible audience through the making of a permanent record on videotape. As one could have expected, knowing the participants, it was a dignified meeting. Curt Stern (genetics) was chairman, and papers were given by Aaron Cicourel (sociology), Lee Cronbach (psychology), Joshua Lederberg (genetics), William Libby (genetics), and Arthur Stinchcombe (sociology). I responded, on the average for about five minutes, to each paper; this was followed by interchanges among the panelists and then the discussion was opened to the audience for about forty-five minutes of questions and reactions. In all, it lasted nearly three hours. From my standpoint it was a success. The videotape has since been shown four times on the Berkeley campus. Unfortunately, it has not been sufficiently publicized by University Extension, so there have been few requests for it from other colleges. In addition to the costly videotape, a complete sound tape can be purchased at cost (\$20) from University Extension. I hope that by means of either video or audio the symposium will reach an even wider audience than it has so far. Viewers and listeners may then see why the final outcome of this project, which Alfert originally helped to set in motion, has apparently made her so unhappy.

Alfert claims that "extreme verbal attacks on the author {Jensen} by leftist organizations" have generated sympathy and support for me. If this is true, I can surely thank Alfert for much of the sympathetic support I have received, because her letter to the *Daily Californian* (Apr. 30, 1969) was easily the most crudely abusive I have yet seen in print and, of those that have come to my attention, it is the only one that is—so a lawyer friend informs me—clearly defamatory and actionable.

But Alfert's wish that only one viewpoint be tolerated—the antithesis of scientific inquiry—has already gone down in defeat. My article in the *HER* has undoubtedly given much renewed impetus to searching thought, discussion, and new research by leaders in education, genetics, psychology, and sociology, who are concerned with the important fundamental questions of individual and group differences and their implications for public education. I expect that my work will stimulate further relevant research as well as efforts to apply the knowledge gained thereby to educationally and socially beneficial purposes. The whole society will benefit most if scientists and educators treat these problems in the spirit of scientific inquiry rather than as a battlefield upon which one or another preordained ideology may seemingly triumph. With respect to the study of racial differences, as in the study of all

other natural phenomena, I advocate that we try to follow the general course proposed by John Stuart Mill: "If there are some subjects on which the results obtained have finally received the unanimous assent of all who have attended to the proof, and others on which mankind have not yet been equally successful; on which the most sagacious minds have occupied themselves from the earliest date, and have never succeeded in establishing any considerable body of truths, so as to be beyond denial or doubt; it is by generalizing the methods successfully followed in the former enquiries, and adapting them to the latter, that we may hope to remove this blot on the face of science."

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## Response to Jensen's Rejoinder

Elizabeth Alfert

1. The Editors of the *Harvard Educational Review* have sent me a mimeographed letter stating that it was Jensen who released the text of his article to the *U.S. News and World Report* several weeks before the review article was to be published, and that their outline for Jensen had not included racial differences. If Jensen claims this to be untrue, he should ask these editors to retract their statement which was sent out to many people.

2. Unequal treatment by the news media of opposing opinions on the genetic basis of racial differences is illustrated in my paper. Jensen concurs that at his insistence the public was excluded from the University of California symposium, held in an attempt to publicize various viewpoints. While the U.C. Information Office had promised substantial publicity for a large public conference, the adopted format of the conference made it impossible to get any significant news coverage. At that conference Jensen's views were opposed by four out of five discussants, es-

pecially strongly by Nobel laureate geneticist Joshua Lederberg. Only William Libby, a geneticist from the School of Agriculture, supported Jensen.

3. Jensen implies that I have referred to him as racist in a letter to the student newspaper. *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1961 edition) defines racist as "one who advocates or believes in racism," and racism as "the assumption that psychocultural traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another, which is usually coupled with a belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination over others." Whether or not this applies to Jensen and his views should be decided by the readers. The instigators of many court actions in the South who attempted to block school integration and who cited Jensen's views in support of their action (*New York Times Magazine*, August 31, 1969) can certainly be called racists. I am not aware that Jensen spoke out against such blatant misuse of his theories.

4. All of Jensen's verbosity cannot conceal the fact that the majority of eminent researchers in the fields of genetics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology do not support his contentions. While racial differences in performance have been found, their genetic basis has not been established. It is only recently that environmental variables other than social class have been considered in racial comparisons. Steven R. Tulkin's article "Race, Class, Family, and School Achievement" (*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1968, 9, 31-37), curiously not cited in Jensen's review, shows that significant differences in intelligence and school achievement between black and white upper-socioeconomic-class children disappear when children are equated on relevant environmental variables. According to the *Los Angeles Times* of October 12, 1969, sixth grade children of the 90% black Windsor Hills Elementary School in Los Angeles recently exceeded in IQ score all the other 435 schools in the district, including all the high-achieving, predominantly white schools in West Los Angeles. The relatively high socioeconomic family background of this particular group of black children clearly plays a significant role.

Curt Stern, an eminent human geneticist at the University of California and member of the National Academy of Sciences, authorized on February 11, 1969, the release of the following statement on mental performance of diverse ethnic groups:

Mental attributes vary greatly within any racial group, from mental deficiency to excellence. Part of this variation in a group is caused by variations of the social environment in which children are brought up, while part is due to hereditary differences. In comparing individuals of different racial groups such as whites and Negroes one finds that many individual

Negroes score higher on certain mental tests than many whites but that on the average Negroes score lower. This lower average performance of the underprivileged group is greatly dependent on environmental factors. Whether hereditary differences contribute to the difference in average performance is not known since it is very difficult to separate social and biological factors when one compares different ethnic groups. Our lack of knowledge is so great that it is impossible to predict whether whites will ultimately be shown to be higher in average mental endowment than Negroes, or whether the reverse is true.

5. The intent of my paper was not to single out Jensen but to show how various facets of society combined to result in the effective promotion of prejudice, even though none of the interacting agents can be accused of sole responsibility for producing such an effect.

With respect to the first amendment: I have never questioned Jensen's right to express his opinions, and I must reject his attempt to intimidate me into refraining from expressing mine.

## Counter Response

Arthur R. Jensen

Dr. Alfert is grasping at straws. Her careless research methods are displayed first in the fact that even after I had refuted her claim that the *Harvard Educational Review* (HER) had not explicitly solicited my views on racial IQ differences, she still did not take the trouble to seek out the truth on this matter. A request for a copy of HER's letter to me is all it would have taken, or a 3 or 4 minutes' phone call to the editorial office of HER. Dr. Alfert would have found that the truth of the matter, including the release of my article to *U.S. News*, was given in my previous reply. I myself phoned an editor of HER to check out the mimeographed letter mentioned by Dr. Alfert (and sent also to others who requested an "explanation" of HER's publication of my article). I was told that their mimeo letter had been a "mistake," and the chief editor sent me a letter of apology, fully acknowledging their error. The erroneous statement also was set right in the *Harvard Crimson*. All this information was just as available to Dr. Alfert as it was to me, if she had been interested in ferreting out the facts.

Dr. Alfert states that four out of five discussants at the videotaped symposium "opposed" my views. The real question, however, is did they refute anything in my HER article with any evidence or logical reasoning based thereon? They did not, and I urge readers to procure the videotape or the sound tape to see and hear for themselves. Professor Lederberg's opinion of my position is spelled out in greater detail elsewhere (Lederberg, 1969).

Dr. Alfert gives us Webster's definition of "racist," and since she has called me a "racist" in print, she apparently has decided that this dictionary definition fits me. Anyone who tries to find anything in any of my writings or personal activities that corresponds to this definition will get some idea of Dr. Alfert's recklessness in making these accusations. I have spoken and written emphatically against racial segregation and discrimination in any form. Does Dr. Alfert wish to imply that one is a "racist" because he has not written anything about specific court cases in the South? Of course, it is obvious to me that her use of the label "racist" is merely name-calling—an easy way to avoid the substantive issues. It is in a class with Thomas F. Pettigrew's being quoted by a newspaper as labelling my *HER* article "obscene" and Martin Deutsch's calling it in a public address "abominable."

Is there any survey that substantiates Dr. Alfert's sweeping generalization that the majority of researchers in genetics, psychology, etc., do not agree with my position? Does Dr. Alfert's apparent belief that such a statement carries any weight, even if it were true, mean she believes that scientific questions are answered by a show of hands? Since when is head-counting any substitute for the analysis of existing evidence and the design of better studies?

Dr. Alfert's activities, I believe, were mainly stimulated by my contention that genetic hypotheses of racial IQ differences are reasonable and tenable and have not been discredited by evidence. I urged that genetic hypotheses be subjected to appropriate scientific study. Does this upset Dr. Alfert because she hopes that people will believe genetic hypotheses already have been scientifically disproved? If not, what is all her fuss about?

The Tulkin article referred to by Dr. Alfert is one of the 43 published studies of Negro-white IQ differences which attempted to control for socioeconomic status (SES) and/or other environmental factors. In all but three of these studies, the white mean was higher than the Negro within SES groups; the remaining mean difference, over all studies, with SES "controlled," was 11 IQ points (Shuey, 1966). Tulkin statistically "controlled" both for SES and a number of more subtle family variables. He concluded: "When family differences were also statistically controlled, there were no significant racial differences on test scores in the upper socioeconomic group, although differences remained significant in the lower socioeconomic group."

But the statistical matching of racial groups on SES and other environmental factors is an invalid method in any of these studies, since it presumes that SES, etc., are entirely *causal* variables. Since there is substantial evidence that there are genetic as

well as environmental differences between SES groups (within races), a matching procedure (statistical or actual) results in some degree of matching on the genetic as well as the environmental factors involved in mental development. Thus the independent and dependent variables in these experiments are hopelessly confounded. Paul Meehl has written cogently on this "sociologists' fallacy":

While every sophomore learns that a statistical correlation does not inform us as to the nature of the causality at work (although, except for sampling errors, it does presumably show *some* kind of causal relation latent to the covariation observed), there has arisen a widespread misconception that we can somehow, in advance, sort nuisance-variables into a class which occurs only at the input side. This is, of course, almost never the case. The usual tendency, found widely among sociologists and quite frequently among psychologists (particularly among those of strong environmentalist persuasion) is to assume *sub silentio* that there is a set of demographic-type variables, such as social class, domicile, education, and the like, that always operate as nuisance variables to obscure true relationships, and that function primarily as exclusively on the *input* side from the standpoint of causal analysis. This automatic assumption is often quite unjustified. Example: We study the relationship between some biological or social input variable, such as ethnic or religious background, upon a psychological output variable, such as IQ or *n Achievement*. We find that Protestants differ from Catholics or that Whites differ from Blacks. But we find further that the ethnic or religious groups differ in socio-economic class. We conclude, as an immediate inference and almost as a matter of course, that we have to 'control' for the socio-economic class variable, in order to find out what is the 'true' relationship between the ethnic or religious variable and the psychological output variable. But of course no such immediate inference is defensible, since on certain alternative hypotheses, such as a heavily genetic view of the determiners of social class, the result of such a 'control' is to bring about a spurious reduction of unknown magnitude in what is actually a valid difference (Meehl, 1970).

The *Los Angeles Times* (Oct. 12, 1969) printed a story to the effect that the sixth grade class in one school (Windsor Hills), with 90 percent black pupils, in Los Angeles, had a mean IQ of 115. The fact that this made headline news is interesting in itself, to say nothing of Dr. Alfert's citation of this article, since mean IQs of 115 or higher are found for some entire schools and school districts. It is a fact, for example, that prior to Fall 1968, several entire elementary schools (i.e., grades K-6) in Berkeley had mean IQs in the 120 to 125 range, and all the elementary schools of a large suburb of Berkeley had an overall mean IQ of 116. Statistics released by the Los Angeles City Schools indicate that their schools with 90% or more minority pupils have an average IQ of 88, while schools with less than 25% minority have an average IQ of 104. Given a mean IQ of 88, and assuming a normal distribu-

tion and a standard deviation of 15, we should expect approximately 3.6 percent of children in the 90% or more minority schools to obtain IQs *above* 115. Should it be so surprising, then, that in one sixth grade class in a 90% minority school a number of these high IQ pupils should come together to yield a *mean* IQ of 115? (In the two previous years the IQs in this school averaged near 100.) It is even less surprising if you consider that the pupils attending the Windsor Hills school come from homes in the \$35,000 to \$150,000 bracket. The newspaper report adds that "most Windsor Hills students come from wealthy homes with parents who are doctors, lawyers, or professional people."

In any case, a newspaper story is not a journal article or a research report and cannot be properly evaluated. Dr. Alfert's holding up this news report as if it disproves anything I said in my *HER* article is grasping at straws indeed.

Finally, does Dr. Alfert take satisfaction in the state of our ignorance that Curt Stern so nicely describes concerning the causes of the observed racial differences in intelligence and scholastic performance? I, for one, deplore the inadequacy of our scientific knowledge on this important problem. I deplore also the notion that the subject cannot or should not be studied scientifically, as we would study any other phenomenon, and I believe that ideologically-motivated doctrinaire opinions in this area have seriously hindered the scientific community from actually coming to grips with the problem. I therefore continue to advocate behavior-genetic research on human differences, including their racial aspects—not just more studies based on the false premise that genetic factors have already been ruled out as a possible source of differences, but research aimed at reducing our uncertainty about the roles of heredity and environment.

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